JOSEPHUS

VII

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WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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IN NINE VOLUMES

VII

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, BOOKS XII–XIV

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PREFATORY NOTE

It is a matter of great regret to me that illness, pressure of other duties and the excessive size of this volume have caused me to abandon the plan of discussing in Appendices E to M some of the historical problems connected with *Ant.* XII-XIV, as has been done in Appendices B, C and D. In place of detailed discussions I have given selected bibliographies. I hope to deal with these problems in a work on the history of the Jews during the period of the Second Commonwealth, which should appear some time after the completion of the last volume of this translation of Josephus.

Ralph Marcus

January 15, 1942

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES

ΙΟΥΔΑΪΚΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΙΒ

(i. 1) Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν οὖν ὁ τῶν Μακεδόνων
βασιλεὺς καταλύσας τὴν Περσῶν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ τὰ
κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν τὸν προειρημένον καταστησά-
2 μενος τρόπον τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον. μεταπεσούσης δ'
εἰς πολλοὺς τῆς ἀρχῆς Ἀντίγονος μὲν τῆς Ἀσίας
ἐπικρατεῖ, Σέλευκος δὲ Βαβυλῶνος καὶ τῶν κεῖθι
ἐθνῶν, Λυσίμαχος δὲ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον διεῖπεν,
τὴν δὲ Μακεδονίαν εἶχε Κάσσανδρος, Πτολεμαῖος
3 δὲ ὁ Λάγου τὴν Αἴγυπτον εἰλήφει. στασιαζόντων
δὲ τούτων καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους φιλοτιμουμένων
ὑπὲρ τῆς ἰδίας ἀρχῆς πολέμους τε συνεχεῖς καὶ
μακροὺς συνέβη γίγνεσθαι[1] καὶ τὰς πόλεις κακο-
παθεῖν καὶ πολλοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἀποβάλλειν
τῶν οἰκητόρων, ὡς καὶ τὴν Συρίαν ἅπασαν ὑπὸ
Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λάγου τότε Σωτῆρος χρηματί-
ζοντος τἀναντία παθεῖν αὐτοῦ τῇ ἐπικλήσει.
4 κατέσχε δὲ οὗτος καὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα δόλῳ καὶ
ἀπάτῃ χρησάμενος· εἰσελθὼν γὰρ σαββάτοις εἰς

[1] συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι FVE: συνέβη γίνεσθαι L.

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[a] Josephus' sources for Hellenistic history will be discussed in an appendix to the last volume of this translation.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES

BOOK XII

(i. 1) [a] Having overthrown the Persian empire and settled the affairs of Judaea in the manner described above, Alexander, the king of Macedon, died.[b] And his empire fell to the share of many, Antigonus becoming master of Asia, and Seleucus of Babylon and the nations thereabouts, while Lysimachus ruled the Hellespont, Cassander held Macedon, and Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, took Egypt.[c] But, as these quarrelled and fought jealously with one another, each for his own kingdom, the result was that continual and prolonged wars arose, and the cities suffered through their struggles and lost many of their inhabitants, so that all of Syria at the hands of Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, who was then called *Soter* (Saviour),[d] suffered the reverse of that which was indicated by his surname. And this king seized Jerusalem by resorting to cunning and deceit. For he entered the

Quarrels of Alexander's successors.

[b] At Babylon, in June, 323 B.C.

[c] He was appointed satrap of Egypt by Philip Arrhidaeus, the new Macedonian king, about 5 months after Alexander's death, and assumed the title of king about 305 B.C.; *cf.* E. Bevan, *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, 1927, pp. 18 ff.

[d] According to Pausanias, i. 8. 6, it was the Rhodians who gave Ptolemy this surname. Bevan, p. 51, says he assumed the title "saviour and lord" between 308 and 306 B.C.

τὴν πόλιν ὡς θύσων, μήτε τῶν Ἰουδαίων αὐτὸν
ἀμυνομένων, οὐδὲν[1] γὰρ ὑπενόουν πολέμιον, καὶ
διὰ τὸ ἀνύποπτον καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ἀργίᾳ καὶ
ῥαθυμίᾳ τυγχανόντων, ἀπόνως ἐγκρατὴς γίγνεται
5 τῆς πόλεως καὶ πικρῶς ἦρχεν αὐτῆς. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ
τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ καὶ Ἀγαθαρχίδης ὁ Κνίδιος ὁ τὰς
τῶν διαδόχων πράξεις συγγραψάμενος, ὀνειδίζων
ἡμῖν δεισιδαιμονίαν ὡς δι᾽ αὐτὴν ἀποβαλοῦσι τὴν
6 ἐλευθερίαν, λέγων οὕτως· "ἔστιν ἔθνος Ἰουδαίων
λεγόμενον, οἳ πόλιν ὀχυρὰν καὶ μεγάλην ἔχοντες
Ἱεροσόλυμα ταύτην περιεῖδον ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίῳ
γενομένην, ὅπλα λαβεῖν οὐ θελήσαντες, ἀλλὰ διὰ
τὴν ἄκαιρον δεισιδαιμονίαν χαλεπὸν ὑπέμειναν
7 ἔχειν δεσπότην." Ἀγαθαρχίδης μὲν οὖν ταῦτα περὶ
τοῦ ἔθνους ἡμῶν ἀπεφήνατο. ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος
πολλοὺς αἰχμαλώτους λαβὼν ἀπό τε τῆς ὀρεινῆς
Ἰουδαίας καὶ τῶν περὶ Ἱεροσόλυμα τόπων καὶ τῆς
Σαμαρείτιδος καὶ τῶν ἐν[2] Γαριζείν, κατῴκισεν
8 ἅπαντας εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀγαγών. ἐπεγνωκὼς[3] δὲ
τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων περί τε τὴν τῶν
ὅρκων φυλακὴν καὶ τὰς πίστεις βεβαιοτάτους
ὑπάρχοντας ἐξ ὧν ἀπεκρίναντο Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πρεσβευσαμένῳ πρὸς αὐτοὺς μετὰ τὸ κρατῆσαι Δαρείου
τῇ μάχῃ, πολλοὺς αὐτῶν εἰς τὰ φρούρια καταλοχίσας καὶ τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ

[1] οὐδὲ FVW.
[2] ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ cod. NC ap. Hudson.
[3] ἐγνωκὼς FLV.

[a] Or "religious scrupulousness," if we suppose that Josephus is giving the word δεισιδαιμονία a more favourable connotation (as in *Ant.* x. 42) than his source Agatharchides.

city on the Sabbath as if to sacrifice, and, as the Jews did not oppose him—for they did not suspect any hostile act—and, because of their lack of suspicion and the nature of the day, were enjoying idleness and ease, he became master of the city without difficulty and ruled it harshly. This account is attested by Agatharchides of Cnidus, the historian of the Diadochi, who reproaches us for our superstition,[a] on account of which we lost our liberty, in these words.[b] "There is a nation called Jews, who have a strong and great city called Jerusalem, which they allowed to fall into the hands of Ptolemy by refusing to take up arms and, instead, through their untimely superstition submitted to having a hard master." This, then, was the opinion which Agatharchides expressed about our nation. Now Ptolemy, after taking many captives both from the hill country of Judaea and the district round Jerusalem and from Samaria and those on Garizein,[c] brought them all to Egypt and settled them there.[d] And, as he recognized that the people of Jerusalem were most constant in keeping their oaths and pledges, as shown by the reply which they gave to Alexander when he sent an embassy to them after defeating Darius in battle, he assigned many of them to his garrisons, and at Alexandria gave them equal

Ptolemy Soter takes Jerusalem.

Cf. Aristeas § 13.

[b] The following statement, included in a longer excerpt from Agatharchides, is found in *Ap.* i. 205 ff.

[c] Mount Gerizim, where the Samaritan temple stood, *cf. Ant.* xi. 310, 346.

[d] This information is taken in part from the Letter of Aristeas, on which see § 11 note *b*, but the following sentence on the reply made by the Jews to the envoys of Alexander and on the alleged civic rights of the Jews is not found in Arist. The date of the settlement of Ptolemy's captives in Egypt is not known ; perhaps it was after the battle of Gaza between Ptolemy and Demetrius Poliorcetes in 312 B.C.

ποιήσας ἰσοπολίτας, ὅρκους ἔλαβε παρ' αὐτῶν ὅπως τοῖς ἐκγόνοις τοῦ παραθεμένου τὴν πίστιν
9 διαφυλάξωσιν. οὐκ ὀλίγοι δ' οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων Ἰουδαίων ἑκουσίως[1] εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον παρεγένοντο, τῆς τε ἀρετῆς τῶν τόπων αὐτοὺς καὶ τῆς τοῦ
10 Πτολεμαίου φιλοτιμίας προκαλουμένης.[2] στάσεις μέντοι γε τοῖς ἐκγόνοις αὐτῶν πρὸς τοὺς Σαμαρείτας τὴν πάτριον ἀγωγὴν τῶν ἐθῶν ἀποσώζειν προαιρουμένοις ἐγίγνοντο καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐπολέμουν, τῶν μὲν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν τὸ παρ' αὐτοῖς[3] ἱερὸν ἅγιον εἶναι λεγόντων καὶ τὰς θυσίας ἐκεῖ πέμπειν ἀξιούντων, τῶν δὲ Σικιμιτῶν εἰς τὸ Γαριζεὶν ὄρος κελευόντων.
11 (ii. 1) Βασιλεύσαντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔτη δώδεκα καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Σωτῆρος τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἕν,[4] ἔπειτα τὴν βασιλείαν τῆς Αἰγύπτου παραλαβὼν ὁ Φιλάδελφος καὶ κατασχὼν

[1] ἑκουσίως om. P.
[2] Naber: προσκαλουμένης codd. E: invitati Lat.
[3] Naber: αὐτοῖς codd.
[4] καὶ ἕν om. E Lat.

[a] The historicity of Josephus' various references to the civic rights of Alexandrian Jews will be discussed in an appendix to the last volume of this translation.

[b] This statement is ascribed to Hecataeus of Abdera in *Ap.* i. 186 f., who is quoted as saying that after the battle of Gaza many of the inhabitants of Syria (= Palestine), "hearing of his kindliness and humanity (τὴν ἠπιότητα καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν), desired to accompany him to Egypt and to associate themselves with his realm," and that among these was "Ezechias, a chief priest (ἀρχιερεύς) of the Jews." The authenticity of these quotations from Hecataeus is defended by (among others) H. Lewy, (*cf. Ant.* xi. 339 note) and A. Olmstead, who writes in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, lvi., 1936, p. 244, "So long as this was the only reference to Ezechias, its authenticity might be denied, but by his excavations at Beth Zur Professor Sellers has given us

civic rights with the Macedonians [a] and exacted oaths of them that they would keep faith with the descendants of him who had placed them in a position of trust. But not a few of the other Jews as well came to Egypt of their own accord, for they were attracted by the excellence of the country and Ptolemy's liberality.[b] Their descendants, however, had quarrels with the Samaritans because they were determined to keep alive their fathers' way of life and customs, and so they fought with each other, those from Jerusalem saying that their temple was the holy one, and requiring that the sacrifices be sent there, while the Shechemites [c] wanted these to go to Mount Garizein.

(ii. 1) Alexander reigned twelve years, and after him Ptolemy Soter forty-one [d]; then Philadelphus took over the royal power in Egypt and held it for Ptolemy Philadelphus orders a translation

another witness, again contemporary, a Philisto-Arabian coin with the names of Jehohanan and Hezekiah in Hebrew [O. R. Sellers, *Citadel of Beth Zur*, 1933, pp. 73 ff.]. Jehohanan is Honnai or Onias I, the true high priest, Hezekiah or Ezechias is a high priest, his chief financial officer, what the Greeks called διοικητής, who naturally placed his name also on the coins he minted. With this unexpected proof that Hecataeus knew more than his critics, we are constrained to accept his other statements, that Jewish soldiers were taken to Egypt by Ptolemy I, given some sort of modified citizenship, and granted lands under military tenure." For detailed discussions of Jewish settlements in Egypt in the early Hellenistic period *cf.* L. Fuchs, *Die Juden Aegyptens*, 1924, pp. 5 f., and A. Tscherikower, *Jews and Greeks* (in Hebrew), 1930, pp. 278 ff.; for the literature consult W. Schubart, *Einführung in die Papyruskunde*, 1918 pp. 329 f.

[c] Gr. "Sikemites"; Shechem was the biblical name of the city later occupied by the Samaritans; *cf. Ant.* xiii. 75.

[d] Variant "forty"; he was satrap from 323 to 305 B.C., and king from 305 to 283 B.C., thus ruling Egypt for 41 years.

αὐτὴν ἐπ' ἔτη ἑνὸς δέοντα τεσσαράκοντα τόν τε
νόμον ἡρμήνευσε καὶ τοὺς δουλεύοντας ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ
τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ἀπέλυσε τῆς δουλείας ὄντας
12 περὶ δώδεκα μυριάδας ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης· Δη-
μήτριος ὁ Φαληρεύς, ὃς ἦν ἐπὶ τῶν βιβλιοθηκῶν
τοῦ βασιλέως, σπουδάζων εἰ δυνατὸν εἴη πάντα
τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην συναγαγεῖν βιβλία καὶ
συνωνούμενος, εἴ τι που μόνον ἀκούσειε σπουδῆς
ἄξιον ὂν ἢ ἴδοι, τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως προαιρέσει
(μάλιστα γὰρ περὶ τὴν συλλογὴν τῶν βιβλίων
13 εἶχε φιλοκάλως) συνηγωνίζετο. ἐρομένου δ' αὐτόν
ποτε τοῦ Πτολεμαίου πόσας ἤδη μυριάδας ἔχοι
συνειλεγμένας βιβλίων, τῶν μὲν ὑπαρχόντων εἶπεν
εἶναι περὶ εἴκοσι, ὀλίγου δὲ χρόνου εἰς πεντήκοντα
14 συναθροίσειν. μεμηνῦσθαι δ' ἔλεγεν αὐτῷ πολλὰ
εἶναι καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς
νομίμων συγγράμματα σπουδῆς ἄξια καὶ τῆς
βασιλέως βιβλιοθήκης, ἃ τοῖς ἐκείνων χαρακτῆρσιν
καὶ τῇ διαλέκτῳ γεγραμμένα πόνον αὐτοῖς οὐκ
ὀλίγον παρέξειν εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν μεταβαλλόμενα
15 γλῶτταν. δοκεῖ μὲν γὰρ εἶναι τῇ ἰδιότητι τῶν
Συρίων γραμμάτων ἐμφερὴς ὁ χαρακτὴρ αὐτῶν
καὶ τὴν φωνὴν ὁμοίαν αὐτοῖς ἀπηχεῖν, ἰδιότροπον

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[a] From 283 to 245 B.C.

[b] Here begins Josephus' close paraphrase of the so-called Letter of Aristeas, a Hellenistic Jewish apologetic work, probably written sometime in the 2nd century B.C. The English reader may conveniently consult the following translations (with notes): H. St. J. Thackeray in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, xv., 1903, pp. 337-391, also in a separate volume, revised, 1928; M. Andrews in *CAP* ii. 83-122; H. Meecham, *The Oldest Version of the Bible*, 1932. The most learned and comprehensive edition, with translation and

thirty-nine years[a]; and he had the Law translated[b] and released from slavery some hundred and twenty thousand[c] natives of Jerusalem who were slaves in Egypt, for the following reason. Demetrius of Phalerum,[d] who was in charge of the king's library, was anxious to collect, if he could, all the books in the inhabited world, and, if he heard of, or saw, any book worthy of study, he would buy it; and so he endeavoured to meet the wishes of the king, for he was very much devoted to the art of book-collecting. Now, when Ptolemy once asked him how many tens of thousands of books he had already gathered together, he replied that the present number was about two hundred thousand but that within a short time he would assemble some five hundred thousand. He added that he had been informed that among the Jews also there were many works on their law, which were worthy of study and of a place in the king's library, but, being written in the script and language of this people, they would be no small trouble to have translated into the Greek tongue. For, he said, though their script seemed to be similar to the peculiar Syrian (Aramaic) writing, and their language to sound like the other, it was, as it happened, of a

of the Jewish Law for his library. Aristeas § 9.

commentary, is by R. Tramontano, *La Lettera di Aristea a Filocrate*, 1931. For the relation of Josephus' text to that of Arist. consult G. Stählin, *Josephus und der Aristeasbrief* in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, cii., 1930, pp. 323-331. Josephus reproduces about one-third of his original, the chief omissions being Arist. §§ 82-171 and §§ 187-292.

[c] Arist. "a little more than 100,000": *cf.* § 24 note.

[d] A famous Athenian philosopher of the Peripatetic school, born *c.* 350 B.C. He came to Egypt in 297 B.C. and was employed in state affairs by Ptolemy I, but was dismissed and banished by Ptolemy Philadelphus soon after his accession to the throne. Arist.'s account of him is therefore fictitious.

δὲ αὐτὴν εἶναι συμβέβηκεν. οὐδὲν οὖν ἔλεγε κωλύειν καὶ ταῦτα μεταβαλόντα (δύνασθαι γὰρ τῆς εἰς ταῦτα χορηγίας εὐποροῦντα[1]) ἔχειν ἐν τῇ βιβλιο-
16 θήκῃ καὶ τὰ παρ᾽ ἐκείνοις. δόξας οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἄριστα τὸν Δημήτριον φιλοτιμουμένῳ[2] περὶ πλῆθος αὐτῷ βιβλίων ὑποτίθεσθαι γράφει τῷ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερεῖ ταῦτα γίγνεσθαι.

17 (2) Ἀρισταῖος[3] δέ τις φίλος ὢν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ σπουδαζόμενος ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ διὰ μετριότητα, πολλάκις μὲν καὶ πρότερον ἔγνω παρακαλέσαι τὸν βασιλέα ὅπως ἀπολύσῃ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους Ἰουδαίους, ὅσοι κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν
18 ἦσαν αὐτοῦ, καιρὸν δ᾽ ἐπιτήδειον τοῦτον εἶναι δοκιμάσας τῆς δεήσεως, πρώτοις περὶ τούτου διαλέγεται τοῖς ἄρχουσι τῶν σωματοφυλάκων Σωσιβίῳ τῷ Ταραντίνῳ καὶ Ἀνδρέᾳ, συναγωνίσασθαι περὶ ὧν ἐντυγχάνειν μέλλει τῷ βασιλεῖ
19 παρακαλῶν αὐτούς. προσλαβὼν οὖν[4] καὶ τὴν τῶν προειρημένων γνώμην ὁ Ἀρισταῖος, προσελθὼν τῷ βασιλεῖ λόγους πρὸς αὐτὸν τοιούτους ἐποιήσατο·
20 " οὐ χρὴν ἀπατωμένους ἡμᾶς, ὦ βασιλεῦ, περιορᾶν, ἀλλὰ τἀληθὲς ἀπελέγχειν· τοὺς γὰρ τῶν Ἰουδαίων

[1] εὐποροῦντας PLW fort. recte.
[2] φιλοτιμούμενον LAVW et fort. Lat.
[3] Ἀριστέος P: Ἀριστέας Arist.
[4] FLV: δὲ rell.

[a] Variant "they."
[b] Variant "had given him excellent advice in his (Demetrius') zeal to obtain."

distinct type. There was, however, nothing, he said, to prevent them from having these books translated and having the writings of this people also in their library, for he [a] had abundant resources from which to meet the expense. And so the king, deciding that Demetrius had given him excellent advice as to how to realize his ambition of obtaining [b] a large number of books, wrote to the high priest of the Jews that this might be done.

(2) Now a certain Aristaeus,[c] who was one of the king's closest friends and was respected by him for his discreet behaviour,[d] had even before this often made up his mind to urge the king to set free the Jewish captives throughout his kingdom, and, judging this to be a favourable moment for his request, he first spoke of it to the commanders of the bodyguard, Sosibius of Tarentum [e] and Andreas,[f] and urged them to second his efforts in the matter on which he was about to petition the king. And so, when he had secured the assent of the forementioned men, Aristaeus went to the king and addressed him in the following words. "We ought not, O King, to allow ourselves to be deceived, but to show the truth as it is;

Aristaeus persuades Ptolemy Philadelphus to free the Jewish slaves in Egypt. Aristeas § 12.

[c] Gr. Aristaios; the name is spelled "Aristeas" in the original Letter.

[d] Or, more literally, "moderation."

[e] The only Sosibius known to have lived at Alexandria in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus was an historian who came from Sparta. Better known is the Sosibius mentioned by Polybius, xv. 25 ff., as the ψευδεπίτροπος of Ptolemy Philopator, *cf.* Bevan, pp. 220 ff.; his son, also named Sosibius, was a member of the bodyguard of Ptolemy Epiphanes. For other persons of this name living in Egypt *cf.* Tramontano's note *ad loc.*

[f] There seems to be only one prominent Andreas in Egypt known to us, a physician at the court of Ptolemy Philopator, *cf.* Polybius v. 81.

νόμους οὐ μεταγράψαι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ μεθερμηνεῦσαι διεγνωκότες εἰς τὸ σοὶ κεχαρισμένον, τίνι καὶ λόγῳ χρώμενοι τοῦτο πράξαιμεν ἄν, πολλῶν
21 Ἰουδαίων ἐν τῇ σῇ βασιλείᾳ δουλευόντων; οὓς τῇ σαυτοῦ μεγαλοψυχίᾳ καὶ χρηστότητι ποιῶν ἀκολούθως ἀπόλυσον τῆς ταλαιπωρίας, τὴν βασιλείαν σου διέποντος τοῦ θεμένου τοὺς νόμους
22 αὐτοῖς θεοῦ, καθὼς ἐμοὶ πολυπραγμονήσαντι μαθεῖν ὑπῆρξεν. τὸν γὰρ ἅπαντα συστησάμενον θεὸν καὶ οὗτοι καὶ ἡμεῖς σεβόμεθα, Ζῆνα καλοῦντες αὐτὸν ἐτύμως,[1] ἀπὸ τοῦ πᾶσιν ἐμφύειν τὸ ζῆν τὴν ἐπίκλησιν αὐτοῦ θέντες.[2] ὅθεν εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῖς ἐξαίρετον τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν θρησκείαν πεποιημένοις[3] ἀπόδος τοῖς τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ
23 βίον ἀπολελοιπόσιν.[4] ἴσθι μέντοι γε, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὡς οὔτε γένει προσήκων αὐτοῖς οὔτε ὁμόφυλος ὢν ταῦτα περὶ αὐτῶν ἀξιῶ· πάντων δὲ ἀνθρώπων δημιούργημα ὄντων τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ δὴ[5] γιγνώσκων

[1] A (corr.): ἑτοίμως rell.
[2] νοήσαντες FVE.
[3] τοῖς . . . πεποιημένοις ed. pr.: τοὺς . . . πεποιημένους codd.
[4] ἀπειληφόσιν FV: ὅθεν . . . ἀπολελοιπόσιν] quopropter ad honorem dei, quem eximia religione placant, liberos eos patriae moribusque suis restitue Lat.
[5] δὴ om. PFLV.

[a] That is, to make a copy of the Hebrew original (to be obtained from Palestine); μεταγράψαι, however, is taken by

for, since we have decided not only to transcribe [a] the laws of the Jews but also to translate them for your pleasure, by what right should we do this while so many Jews are slaves in your kingdom? In accordance, therefore, with your magnanimity and goodness set them free from their misery, since the God who gave them their laws is the same who presides over your kingdom, as I have succeeded in learning after much study. For both they and we worship the God who created the universe, whom we call by the appropriate term *Zēna*,[b] giving Him that name from the fact that He breathes life (*zēn*) into all creatures.[c] Do you, then, for the honour of God restore (their freedom) to those who worship Him with peculiar devotion but have been deprived of their native land and the manner of life which they led there.[d] You should, however, know, O King, that it is not because I am related to them by race or am their countryman that I ask these things on their behalf, but I urge you to do this because all men are the handiwork of God,

F. Wutz, *Die Transkriptionen von der Septuaginta bis zu Hieronymus*, Pt. I, 1925, to mean "transliterate," that is, to transcribe the Hebrew text in Greek characters (as in Origen's Hexapla). Proceeding on this assumption, Wutz attempts to prove that the Septuagint is a translation made not from a Hebrew text in Hebrew characters, but from a Hebrew text in Greek characters. This theory (first proposed by Tychsen in the 18th century) is generally rejected by scholars, rightly so in the opinion of the present writer.

[b] Accus. case of "Zeus."

[c] Such etymologizing of divine names to show the universal and natural attributes of the Greek gods was common in the Stoic writings of the late Hellenistic period; a similar etymology of "Zeus" appears in the fragments of the Hellenistic Jewish philosopher Aristobulus (*ap.* Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica* xiii. 12. 7), τὸν διὰ τῶν ποιημάτων Δία καὶ Ζῆνα.

[d] Text somewhat uncertain.

αὐτὸν ἡδόμενον τοῖς εὖ ποιοῦσιν, ἐπὶ τοῦτο καὶ σὲ παρακαλῶ."

24 (3) Ταῦτ' εἰπόντος τοῦ Ἀρισταίου ἀναβλέψας εἰς αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἱλαρῷ καὶ γεγηθότι τῷ προσώπῳ "πόσας," εἶπεν, "ὑπολαμβάνεις τῶν ἀπολυθησομένων ἔσεσθαι μυριάδας;" ὑποτυχόντος δὲ Ἀνδρέου, παρειστήκει γάρ, καὶ φήσαντος ὀλίγῳ πλείονας ἔσεσθαι τῶν ἕνδεκα[1] μυριάδων "ἦ μικρὰν ἄρα," εἶπεν, "ἡμᾶς, Ἀρισταῖε, δωρεὰν αἰτεῖς."
25 Σωσιβίου δὲ καὶ τῶν παρόντων φησάντων ὡς ἄξιον αὐτὸν δέοι τῆς αὐτοῦ μεγαλοψυχίας τῷ παρεσχηκότι τὴν βασιλείαν θεῷ χαριστήριον ποιήσασθαι, διαχυθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκέλευσεν, ὅταν τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀποδιδῶσιν τὸ μισθοφορικόν, καὶ ὑπὲρ ἑκάστου τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς αἰχμαλώτων καταβαλεῖν δραχμὰς
26 ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι.[2] καὶ περὶ ὧν ἠξίουν[3] προθεῖναι γράμματα ὑπέσχετο μεγαλοπρεπῶς τε ἔχοντα καὶ τὴν Ἀρισταίου προαίρεσιν βεβαιοῦντα καὶ πρὸ ταύτης τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ βούλησιν, καθ' ἣν οὐ μόνον τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀχθέντας αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου στρατιᾶς ἀπολύσειν ἔλεγεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς προϋπάρχοντας ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ εἴ τινες αὖθις
27 ἐπεισήχθησαν. πλειόνων δ' ἢ τετρακοσίων ταλάντων τὰ τῆς[4] ἀπολυτρώσεως γενήσεσθαι φαμένων ταῦτά τε συνεχώρει καὶ τὸ ἀντίγραφον τοῦ προσ-

[1] δέκα Zonaras Lat. Arist.: ιβ' Syncellus.
[2] ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι] εἴκοσι Arist. hic et infra. [3] ἠξίου PFV.
[4] τὰ τῆς Cocceji: τῆς codd. E.

[a] This last sentence gives a somewhat different sense from the corresponding section in Arist., in which Aristeas expresses confidence that God will cause the king to grant his request because He favours men who pray with pure motives.

[b] Arist. "a little more than 100,000."

and particularly because I know that He is pleased with those who do good.[a] "

(3) When Aristaeus had spoken these words, the king looked at him with a cheerful and happy expression, and asked, " How many tens of thousands to be set free do you suppose there will be ? " And when Andreas, who was standing beside him, replied that there would be a little more than a hundred and ten thousand,[b] the king said, " It is indeed but a small gift that you are asking, Aristaeus." But Sosibius and the others present said that he ought to make a thank-offering worthy of his own magnanimity to God who had bestowed the kingdom on him, and so, being gently persuaded by them, he gave orders that, when they paid the soldiers their wages, they should also pay them a hundred and twenty drachmas [c] for every captive they had. And, as for what they [d] requested, he promised to publish a decree conceived in liberal terms and giving effect to the proposal of Aristaeus and, what was more, the will of God, in accordance with which he said that he would set free not only those brought by his father and his army, but also those who had previously been found in the kingdom and any who were subsequently brought in. And although they said that the cost of redeeming them would be more than four hundred talents,[e] he

Ptolemy Philadelphus orders the ransoming of Jewish slaves. Aristeas § 19.

[c] Only 20 drachmas in Arist.

[d] Variant " he " (Aristeas).

[e] So Arist. here, but *cf.* § 33 note *e*. The silver talent was equal to 6000 drachmas ; the reckoning in Arist. of a little more than 100,000 slaves at 20 drachmas each would give somewhat less than 400 talents, whereas Josephus' reckoning of 110,000 slaves at 120 drachmas each would give 2200 talents. Thus he is inconsistent in here reproducing Arist.'s total of 400 talents (unless, indeed, 120 drachmas is a scribal error for 20).

τάγματος εἰς δήλωσιν τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως μεγαλο-
28 φροσύνης ἔγνωσαν[1] διαφυλάξαι. ἦν δὲ τοιοῦτον·
" ὅσοι τῶν συστρατευσαμένων ἡμῶν τῷ πατρὶ τήν
τε Συρίαν καὶ Φοινίκην ἐπέδραμον καὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν
καταστρεψάμενοι σώματα λαβόντες αἰχμάλωτα
διεκόμισαν εἴς τε τὰς πόλεις ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν χώραν
καὶ ταῦτα ἀπημπόλησαν, τούς τε πρὸ αὐτῶν ὄντας
ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ εἴ τινες νῦν εἰσήχθησαν,
τούτους ἀπολυέτωσαν οἱ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἔχοντες, ὑπὲρ
ἑκάστου σώματος λαμβάνοντες δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν
εἴκοσι, οἱ μὲν στρατιῶται μετὰ καὶ τῶν ὀψωνίων,
οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλικῆς τραπέζης κομι-
29 ζόμενοι τὰ λύτρα. νομίζω[2] γὰρ αὐτοὺς καὶ παρὰ
τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς προαίρεσιν καὶ παρὰ τὸ δέον
ᾐχμαλωτίσθαι, τήν τε[3] χώραν αὐτῶν διὰ τὴν στρα-
τιωτικὴν αὐθάδειαν κεκακῶσθαι, καὶ διὰ τὴν εἰς
Αἴγυπτον αὐτῶν μεταγωγὴν πολλὴν ὠφέλειαν ἐκ
30 τούτου τοῖς στρατιώταις γεγονέναι. τὸ δίκαιον
οὖν σκοπῶν καὶ τοὺς καταδεδυναστευμένους παρὰ
τὸ προσῆκον ἐλεῶν, ἀπολύειν κελεύω τοὺς ἐν ταῖς
οἰκετείαις ὄντας Ἰουδαίους, τὸ προγεγραμμένον
κομιζομένους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν κεφάλαιον τοὺς κεκτη-
μένους, καὶ μηδένα περὶ τούτων κακουργεῖν, ἀλλ'
31 ὑπακούειν τοῖς προστεταγμένοις. βούλομαι δὲ
τὰς ἀπογραφὰς[4] ἀφ' ἧς ἐξεπέμφθησαν ἐπὶ τρεῖς
ἡμέρας ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἐπ'[5] αὐτῶν ὑπάρχοντας,
παραδεικνύντας εὐθὺς[6] καὶ τὰ σώματα· τοῦτο γὰρ
τοῖς ἐμαυτοῦ πράγμασιν ἡγοῦμαι συμφέρειν. προσ-

[1] ἔγνω W: ἔγνων in quibusdam codd. teste Hudson.
[2] νομίζων PAW. [3] δὲ FLV.
[4] ex Arist. Hudson: προγραφὰς codd.: dispositiones Lat.

granted it ; and as evidence of the king's munificence they [a] decided to preserve a copy of the decree, which was as follows : "All the slaves whom those serving in our father's army took captive after invading Syria and Phoenicia and subduing Judaea, and brought to our cities and our country and sold them, and those slaves who were formerly in my kingdom and any who have recently been imported—all these their owners shall set free and receive a hundred and twenty drachmas [b] for each slave, the soldiers to get this redemption money together with their wages, the others from the king's exchequer. For I believe that it was contrary to my father's intention and to what is right that they were made captives, and that their country was ravaged through the army's lack of discipline, and also that from their removal to Egypt the soldiers have greatly benefited. Having regard, therefore, to justice and feeling pity for those who have been unworthily oppressed, I command their owners to set free those Jews who are in their service, for whom they are to receive the forementioned sum, and no one shall act dishonestly in this matter, but they shall obey these orders. And it is my will that they present their lists [c] of slaves before those who are in charge of the matter within three days after the publication of this edict, and that they produce their slaves promptly. For I regard this as being to the interest of my government. And any-

Text of Ptolemy's decree. Aristeas § 22.

[a] Variants "he" and "I" ; Arist. has "I believe it will be useful to include (κατακεχωρίσθαι) a copy of the decree."

[b] *Cf.* § 25 note *c*.

[c] "Lists" is restored from Arist., the mss. of Josephus have "notices" (of sale).

[5] P: ὑπ' rell.   [6] αὐτοῖς ed. pr.

αγγελλέτω δὲ τοὺς ἀπειθήσαντας ὁ βουλόμενος, ὧν τὰς οὐσίας εἰς τὴν βασιλικὴν κτῆσιν ἀνενεχθῆναι
32 βούλομαι." τούτου δὲ τοῦ προστάγματος ἀναγνωσθέντος τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα[1] ἔχοντος, μόνου δὲ λείποντος τοῦ περὶ τῶν πρότερον καὶ τῶν αὖθις εἰσηγμένων Ἰουδαίων μὴ διεστάλθαι, προσέθηκεν αὐτὸς μεγαλοφρόνως καὶ τὸ περὶ τούτων φιλάνθρωπον, καὶ τὴν τῶν διαφόρων[2] δόσιν οὖσαν ἀθρόαν ἐκέλευσε τοῖς ὑπηρέταις τῶν πραγμάτων[3]
33 ἀπομερίσαι καὶ τοῖς βασιλικοῖς τραπεζίταις. γενομένου δὲ τούτου, ταχέως ἐν ἑπτὰ ταῖς πάσαις ἡμέραις τέλος εἰλήφει τὰ δοχθέντα τῷ βασιλεῖ, τάλαντα δ' ὑπὲρ ἑξήκοντα καὶ τετρακόσια τῶν λύτρων ἐγένετο· καὶ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν νηπίων εἰσέπραττον οἱ δεσπόται τὰς εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν δραχμάς, ὡς τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων διδόναι κελεύσαντος ἐν τῷ προγράψαι ὑπὲρ ἑκάστου σώματος λαμβάνειν τὸ προειρημένον.
34 (4) Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγένετο κατὰ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως βούλησιν μεγαλοπρεπῶς, ἐκέλευσε τὸν Δημήτριον εἰσδοῦναι[4] καὶ τὸ περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν βιβλίων ἀναγραφῆς δόγμα· οὐδὲν γὰρ εἰκῇ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν[5] ᾠκονομεῖτο,[6] πάντα δὲ μετὰ

[1] ἀλλ' εὖ Naber. [2] φόρων PLAW.
[3] ταγμάτων FV Arist.
[4] P Arist.: ἐκδοῦναι aut δοῦναι rell. [5] + τούτοις Hudson.
[6] Bekker: ᾠκονόμηται (-ιται P) PAW: ᾠκονόμητο FLVE.

[a] Arist. adds that the person denounced is to become the slave of the informer.
[b] The variant, usually meaning "tribute," is corrupt.
[c] Variant (also in Arist.) "paymasters of the troops."
[d] Banking was a royal monopoly in Egypt; for a brief account of the royal bankers *cf.* Bevan, pp. 150 ff.

one who so wishes may inform against those who disobey,[a] and it is my will that their property be turned over to the royal estate." When this edict was read over to the king, it contained all the other provisions but omitted the directions concerning the Jews who had previously or subsequently been brought into the country, and so he himself magnanimously added his humane instructions concerning them as well; and as the money for expenses[b] was to be paid out as a lump sum, he ordered it to be apportioned between the officials of the government[c] and the royal bankers.[d] When this was done, the decree of the king was quickly carried out in just seven days, and the redemption-money came to more than four hundred and sixty[e] talents, for the slave-holders collected the hundred and twenty[f] drachmas even for infants, as if the king had commanded that payment should be made for these too, when he announced that they should receive the forementioned sum for each slave.[g]

(4) When this had been done on a lavish scale in accordance with the king's wish, he ordered Demetrius to present a memorial of the decree concerning the copying of the Jewish books, for nothing used to be directed by the kings in a haphazard manner, but

Demetrius of Phalerum presents a memorial of the proposed translation. Aristeas § 28.

[e] Arist. 660; *cf.* § 27 note *e*.

[f] Arist. 20.

[g] The totals in both Arist. and Josephus fail to agree with the sums indicated by the number of persons ransomed: in Arist. the sum of 660 talents is too great for 100,000 at 20 drachmas and their children, unless there were as many children as adults (in which case 660 talents would be just about right), while the 460 talents of Josephus (in itself a reasonable sum for 100,000 adults and a third as many children at 20 drachmas each) would suffice for only 23,000 persons at 120 drachmas each.

35 πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας ἐπράττετο. διὸ καὶ τὸ τῆς εἰσδόσεως[1] ἀντίγραφον καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν κατατέτακται καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀπεσταλμένων ἀναθημάτων καὶ τὸ ἐφ' ἑκάστου κατασκευασθέν, ὡς ἀκριβεστάτην εἶναι τὴν τοῦ τεχνίτου τοῖς ὁρῶσι μεγαλουργίαν καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν κατασκευασμάτων ἐξοχὴν τὸν ἑκάστου δημιουργὸν εὐθέως ποιῆσαι[2] γνώριμον. τῆς μέντοι γ' εἰσδόσεως τὸ ἀντίγραφον

36 ὑπῆρχε τοιοῦτον· "βασιλεῖ μεγάλῳ παρὰ Δημητρίου. προστάξαντός σου, ὦ βασιλεῦ, περί τε τῶν ἔτι λειπόντων εἰς ἀναπλήρωσιν τῆς βιβλιοθήκης συγγραμμάτων, ὅπως συναχθῇ, καὶ περὶ τῶν διαπεπτωκότων, ὅπως τῆς δεούσης ἐπιμελείας τύχῃ, πάσῃ κεχρημένος περὶ ταῦτα σπουδῇ δηλῶ σοι τὰ τῆς Ἰουδαίων νομοθεσίας βιβλία λείπειν ἡμῖν σὺν ἑτέροις· χαρακτῆρσιν γὰρ Ἑβραϊκοῖς γεγραμμένα καὶ φωνῇ τῇ ἐθνικῇ ἐστιν ἡμῖν ἀσαφῆ.

37 συμβέβηκε δ' αὐτὰ καὶ ἀμελέστερον ἢ ἔδει[3] σεσημάνθαι διὰ τὸ βασιλικῆς οὔπω τετυχηκέναι προνοίας. ἔστι δὲ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι καὶ ταῦτα παρὰ σοὶ διηκριβωμένα· φιλοσοφωτέραν γὰρ καὶ ἀκέραιον τὴν νομοθεσίαν εἶναι συμβέβηκεν ὡς ἂν οὖσαν θεοῦ.

[1] ἐκδόσεως cod. NC ap. Hudson, Eusebius.
[2] coni. Niese: ποιήσειν PAW: εἶναι FLV.
[3] Danisius: ἔχει codd. E Lat. fort. recte.

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[a] Meaning slightly uncertain, possibly "so that the great skilfulness of the craftsman was quite clear to any who saw (the offerings)."

[b] νομοθεσία is a word frequently used by Hellenistic Jewish writers to denote the Pentateuch.

everything was done with great care. Therefore a copy of the memorial and of the letters has been set down here, as well as the number of the dedicatory offerings sent (to Jerusalem) and the workmanship of each, so that the great skilfulness of the craftsman may be quite clear to any who sees this account [a] and that the artificer of each may become known for the outstanding quality of his work. Now, as for the copy of the memorial, it read as follows: "To the great king from Demetrius. You have commanded, O King, that the writings which are still wanting to complete the library shall be collected and that those which are imperfect shall be given the necessary care, wherefore I have taken pains in this matter, and I wish to inform you that we still lack, among others, the books of the Jewish legislation.[b] For being written in Hebrew characters and in the language of that nation they are unintelligible to us. And it so happens that they have been copied [c] with less care than they needed,[d] because they have not yet been made an object of royal concern. But it is necessary that these too should be found among your books in an emended form, for their legislation is very wise and pure as a result of coming from God. For this reason,

[c] The exact meaning of σεσήμανται in Arist., which Josephus has taken over in the infin. σεσημάνθαι, is a matter of dispute. Some scholars take it to mean "interpreted" and think it refers to previous Greek translations of the Pentateuch, *cf.* Z. Frankel, *Vorstudien zu der Septuaginta*, 1841, p. 61, note *k*. It seems clear from the context, however, that it refers to Hebrew MSS. of the Pentateuch which have been carelessly copied from an original scroll (presumably kept in the Temple at Jerusalem).

[d] Conjectured: MSS. "than are" (*cf.* Arist. "than exist," which probably means "than exist elsewhere").

38 διὸ καὶ τοὺς ποιητὰς αὐτῆς καὶ τοὺς συγγραφεῖς τῶν ἱστοριῶν οὐκ ἐπιμνησθῆναί φησιν Ἑκαταῖος ὁ Ἀβδηρίτης, οὐδὲ τῶν κατ' αὐτὴν πολιτευσαμένων ἀνδρῶν, ὡς ἁγνῆς οὔσης καὶ μὴ δέον αὐτὴν βε-
39 βήλοις στόμασιν διασαφεῖσθαι. ἐὰν οὖν σοι δοκῇ, βασιλεῦ, γράψεις τῷ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερεῖ ὅπως ἀποστείλῃ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἓξ ἀφ' ἑκάστης φυλῆς τοὺς ἐμπειροτάτους τῶν νόμων, παρ' ὧν τὸ τῶν βιβλίων σαφὲς καὶ σύμφωνον ἐκμαθόντες, καὶ τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἑρμηνείαν ἀκριβὲς λαβόντες, τῶν πραγμάτων[1] ἀξίως ταῦτα καὶ τῆς[2] σῆς προαιρέσεως συναγάγωμεν."

40 (5) Τοιαύτης οὖν τῆς εἰσδόσεως γενομένης ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκέλευσεν Ἐλεαζάρῳ τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ τῶν Ἰουδαίων γραφῆναι περὶ τούτων, ἅμα καὶ τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν δουλευόντων παρ' αὐτοῖς Ἰουδαίων δηλοῦντας αὐτῷ, καὶ πρὸς κατασκευὴν δὲ κρατήρων καὶ φιαλῶν καὶ σπονδείων ἔπεμψε χρυσίου μὲν ὁλκῆς τάλαντα πεντήκοντα[3] λίθων δὲ πολυτελῶν
41 ἀσυλλόγιστόν τι πλῆθος. προσέταξε δὲ καὶ τοὺς φύλακας τῶν κιβωτῶν, ἐν αἷς ἐτύγχανον οἱ λίθοι, τὴν ἐκλογὴν τοῖς τεχνίταις αὐτοῖς οὗπερ ἂν ἐθελήσωσιν εἴδους ἐπιτρέπειν. διετάξατο δὲ καὶ νομίσματος εἰς θυσίας καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς χρείας πρὸς
42 ἑκατὸν τάλαντα τῷ ἱερεῖ[4] δοθῆναι. διηγήσομαι δὲ τὰ κατασκευάσματα καὶ τὸν τρόπον τῆς

[1] γραμμάτων A.
[2] καὶ τῆς ex Arist. Niese: τῆς codd. E.
[3] + ἀργυρίου δὲ τάλαντα ἑβδομήκοντα ex Arist. Naber.
[4] ἱερῷ FLAV.

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[a] Whether Arist. here cites the genuine work of the Greek historian Hecataeus, who wrote a History of Egypt and

Hecataeus of Abdera [a] tells us, the poets and historians have made no mention of it or of the men whose lives have been governed by it, on the ground that it was sacred and not to be revealed by profane mouths. If, then, O King, it be your pleasure, write to the high priest of the Jews to send six elders from each tribe who are most versed in their laws, in order that when we have learned from them the clear and consistent meaning of these and obtained an accurate translation, we may have a collection of these books which shall be worthy of their contents and of your design."

(5) Such, then, was the memorial, and, when it was submitted, the king ordered a letter to be written about these matters to Eleazar, the high priest of the Jews, informing him, at the same time, of the release of the Jewish slaves in their country; and for the making of mixing-bowls, shallow bowls and libation bowls he sent fifty talents' weight of gold [b] and an incalculable number of precious stones. He also ordered the keepers of the chests in which the stones lay to leave to the craftsmen themselves the choice of whatever kind they wished. He also directed that money to the amount of one hundred talents be given to the priest [c] for sacrifices and other necessities. Now I shall describe the objects and the form of their

Ptolemy Philadelphus orders gifts to be sent to the high priest Eleazar. Aristeas § 33.

was a contemporary of Ptolemy I (*cf.* Dr. Thackeray's note on *Ap.* i. 183), or a Hellenistic Jewish pseudepigraph. ("Pseudo-Hecataeus") has long been disputed. H. Lewy (*cf.* § 9 note *b*) believes that the phrase (in Arist. § 31) "because the view of life contained in them (the books of Moses) has something sacred and solemn" is a quotation from the genuine Hecataeus. For a more detailed discussion of this point *cf.* Tramontano, pp. 94 ff.

[b] Arist. adds "and 70 talents of silver."

[c] Variant "temple."

δημιουργίας αὐτῶν μετὰ τὸ προεκθέσθαι τὸ ἀντί-
γραφον τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τῆς γραφείσης Ἐλεαζάρῳ
τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ, ταύτην λαβόντι τὴν τιμὴν ἐξ αἰτίας
43 τοιαύτης· τελευτήσαντος Ὀνίου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ὁ
παῖς αὐτοῦ Σίμων γίγνεται διάδοχος, ὁ καὶ δίκαιος
ἐπικληθεὶς διά τε τὸ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβὲς καὶ τὸ
44 πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοφύλους εὔνουν. ἀποθανόντος δὲ
τούτου καὶ νήπιον υἱὸν καταλιπόντος τὸν κληθέντα
Ὀνίαν, ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ἐλεάζαρος, περὶ οὗ τὸν
λόγον ποιούμεθα, τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην παρέλαβεν,
45 ᾧ γράφει Πτολεμαῖος τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον· "βασιλεὺς
Πτολεμαῖος Ἐλεαζάρῳ τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ χαίρειν. πολ-
λῶν ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ βασιλείᾳ κατῳκισμένων Ἰουδαίων,
οὓς αἰχμαλωτισθέντας ὑπὸ Περσῶν ὅτ' ἐκράτουν
ὁ ἐμὸς πατὴρ ἐτίμησε, καὶ τοὺς μὲν εἰς τὸ στρα-
τιωτικὸν κατέταξεν ἐπὶ μείζοσιν μισθοφοραῖς,[1]
τισὶν δὲ γενομένοις ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ σὺν αὐτῷ τὰ
φρούρια καὶ[2] τὴν τούτων φυλακὴν παρέθετο, ἵνα
46 τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ὦσιν φοβεροί, τὴν ἀρχὴν[3] ἐγὼ
παραλαβὼν πᾶσι μὲν φιλανθρώπως ἐχρησάμην,
μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς σοῖς πολίταις, ὧν ὑπὲρ δέκα μὲν
μυριάδας αἰχμαλώτων δουλευόντων ἀπέλυσα, τοῖς

[1] P: μισθοφορίαις rell. Arist.
[2] καὶ χωρία καὶ AWE.
[3] τὴν δ' ἀρχὴν P Lat.: ἀρχὴν οὖν LAWE.

[a] The following sections, §§ 43-44, come from another source than Arist. On Simon the Just and the other high priests of the pre-Maccabean period, *cf.* Appendix B.

[b] Lit. "the fortresses and the guarding of these."

[c] The mss. of Arist. have ὅπως τὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἔθνος φόβον μὴ ἔχῃ διὰ τούτων, "in order that through them the Egyptian nation might not have any fear"; most editors of Arist., however, omit μή, "not," as do Josephus and Eusebius, understand-

workmanship after I have reproduced a copy of the letter written to the high priest Eleazar, who obtained this office in the following way.[a] On the death of the high priest Onias, he was succeeded by his son Simon, who was surnamed the Just because of both his piety toward God and his benevolence to his countrymen. But as he, when he died, left an infant son named Onias, his brother Eleazar, of whom we are now writing, took over the high priesthood, and it was to him that Ptolemy wrote in the following manner. "King Ptolemy to Eleazar the high priest, greeting. There are many Jews settled in my kingdom who were made captives by the Persians when they were in power and whom my father honoured, enrolling some of them in his army with high pay, and entrusting to others, who came to Egypt with him, the guarding of the fortresses[b] in order that they might inspire the Egyptians with fear[c]; and, when I took over the royal power, I showed kindness to all men, especially to your fellow-citizens,[d] of whom I have set free over one hundred thousand captive slaves,[e] paying their

Ptolemy's letter to Eleazar. Aristeas § 35

ing Arist. to mean that the Jewish garrisons were intended to protect the Ptolemaic ruler against native uprisings.

[d] This use of πολῖται, both in Arist. and Josephus, to denote the co-religionists in Egypt of the Jews of Palestine is one of several instances which show how far it was from the Hellenistic mind, whether pagan or Jewish, to distinguish between race and nationality or between nationality and religion, as is assumed by S. Zeitlin in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, N.S. xxvi., 1936, pp. 313-348.

[e] M. Rostovtzeff writes in *Yale Classical Studies*, iii., 1932, p. 68, "Many Jewish slaves might have appeared on the Alexandrian market after or during the so-called First Syrian War of Ptolemy Philadelphus; it seems probable that a little later a detail of that διάγραμμα was regulated by a special order, of which a fragment is P. Hib. 29 (*c.* 265 B.C.)." See also W. L. Westermann in *AJP* 59 (1938), 19-28.

δεσπόταις αὐτῶν ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν λύτρα καταβαλών.
47 τοὺς δὲ ἀκμάζοντας ταῖς ἡλικίαις εἰς τὸν στρατιωτι-
κὸν κατάλογον κατέταξα, τινὰς δὲ τῶν περὶ ἡμᾶς
καὶ τὴν τῆς αὐλῆς πίστιν εἶναι δυναμένων[1] ταύτης
ἠξίωκα, νομίζων ἡδὺ τῷ θεῷ τῆς ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ
προνοίας ἀνάθημα τοῦτο καὶ μέγιστον ἀναθήσειν.
48 βουλόμενος δὲ καὶ τούτοις χαρίζεσθαι καὶ πᾶσι
τοῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην Ἰουδαίοις τὸν νόμον
ὑμῶν ἔγνων μεθερμηνεῦσαι, καὶ γράμμασιν Ἑλ-
ληνικοῖς ἐκ τῶν Ἑβραϊκῶν μεταγραφέντα κεῖσθαι
49 ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ βιβλιοθήκῃ. καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις ἐπι-
λεξάμενος ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς ἓξ ἀφ᾽ ἑκάστης φυλῆς
ἤδη πρεσβυτέρους,[2] οἳ καὶ διὰ τὸν χρόνον ἐμπείρως
ἔχουσι τῶν νόμων καὶ δυνήσονται τὴν ἑρμηνείαν
αὐτῶν ἀκριβῆ ποιήσασθαι· νομίζω γὰρ τούτων
ἐπιτελεσθέντων μεγίστην δόξαν ἡμῖν[3] περιγενή-
50 σεσθαι. ἀπέσταλκα δέ σοι περὶ τούτων δια-
λεξομένους Ἀνδρέαν τὸν ἀρχισωματοφύλακα καὶ
Ἀρισταῖον ἐμοὶ τιμιωτάτους, δι᾽ ὧν καὶ ἀπαρχὰς
ἀναθημάτων εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ θυσιῶν καὶ τῶν
ἄλλων ἀπέσταλκα τάλαντα ἀργυρίου ἑκατόν. καὶ

[1] τὴν . . . δυναμένων] τῆς ἐμῆς αὐλῆς (βουλῆς A) πιστῶν εἶναι δυναμένων FLAV: περὶ τὴν τῆς αὐλῆς πίστιν ἱκανῶν Naber (qui verba εἶναι δυναμένων post περὶ ἡμᾶς repon.).

[2] + πέμψαι (πέμψας E) FLVE Lat.

[3] ἡμῖν post ἐπιτελεσθέντων hab. PAW.

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[a] Text slightly uncertain; Arist. has τοὺς δὲ δυναμένους καὶ περὶ ἡμᾶς εἶναι τῆς περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν πίστεως ἀξίους. For similar phrases *cf.* § 215, τῶν περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν δυνατῶν (also found in Herodotus), and 1 Macc. x. 37, καὶ ἐκ τούτων κατασταθήσεται ἐπὶ χρειῶν τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐσῶν εἰς πίστιν; the similarity of this last clause with the phrase in Arist. § 37 is one of the points of Momigliano's argument, *Prime Linee di Storia della Tradizione Maccabaica*, 1931,

owners the redemption-money out of my own purse. Those who were in the prime of life I enrolled in the army list, and on others, who might be of service to us and occupy positions of trust at court,[a] I have conferred this honour in the belief that I should thus be making a welcome and also very considerable offering to God in return for His providential care of me. Being also desirous to confer a favour both on these Jews and on all those throughout the habitable world, I have decided to have your Law translated and, when it has been rendered from the Hebrew into a Greek text,[b] to have it deposited in my library. You will, therefore, do well to select [c] from each tribe six good men of advanced age who by reason of their age are well versed in the laws and will be able to make an accurate translation of it. For I believe that from this achievement the greatest glory will accrue to us. And I have sent Andreas, the commander of the bodyguard, and Aristaeus—men whom I hold in the greatest honour—to discuss these matters with you, and by their hands I have also sent dedicatory offerings as first-fruits [d] for the temple, and one hundred talents of silver for sacrifices and other purposes.

p. 164, that Arist. is in part based on 1 Macc. Other parallels to the phrase in Arist. are cited by Tramontano in his note *ad loc.*

[b] γράμμασι here (and in Arist.) means, of course, "literature" not "letters" (*i.e.* characters). This passage is therefore no support for the transcription theory of Wutz, *cf.* § 20 note *a*.

[c] The variant adds "and send."

[d] Lit. "first-fruits (or "oblations") of dedicatory-offerings"; ἀπαρχαί in LXX translates Heb. *t'rûmāh* "offering" (to the priest or temple) as well as *rêšîth* "first-fruits." Andrews takes the phrase as appositional with the "100 talents of silver."

σὺ δ' ἡμῖν ἐπιστέλλων περὶ ὧν ἂν θέλῃς ποιήσεις κεχαρισμένα."

51 (6) Τῆς οὖν ἐπιστολῆς τοῦ βασιλέως κομισθείσης πρὸς τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον ἀντιγράφει πρὸς αὐτὴν ὡς ἐνῆν μάλιστα φιλοτίμως· "ἀρχιερεὺς Ἐλεάζαρος βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίῳ χαίρειν. ἐρρωμένων σοῦ τε καὶ τῆς βασιλίσσης Ἀρσινόης καὶ τῶν τέκνων
52 καλῶς ἡμῖν ἔχει πάντα. τὴν δ' ἐπιστολὴν λαβόντες μεγάλως ἥσθημεν ἐπὶ τῇ προαιρέσει σου, καὶ συναθροίσαντες τὸ πλῆθος ἀνέγνωμεν αὐτὴν ἐμφανίζοντες αὐτῷ ἣν ἔχεις πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσέβειαν.
53 ἐπεδείξαμεν δ' αὐτῷ καὶ τὰς φιάλας ἃς ἔπεμψας χρυσᾶς εἴκοσι καὶ ἀργυρᾶς τριάκοντα καὶ κρατῆρας πέντε καὶ τράπεζαν εἰς ἀνάθεσιν, ἅ τε εἰς θυσίαν καὶ εἰς ἐπισκευὴν ὧν ἂν δέηται τὸ ἱερὸν τάλαντα ἑκατόν, ἅπερ ἐκόμισαν Ἀνδρέας καὶ Ἀρισταῖος οἱ τιμιώτατοί σου τῶν φίλων, ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ καὶ παιδείᾳ διαφέροντες καὶ τῆς σῆς ἀρετῆς ἄξιοι.
54 ἴσθι δ' ἡμᾶς τὸ σοὶ συμφέρον, κἂν ᾖ τι παρὰ φύσιν, ὑπομενοῦντας· ἀμείβεσθαι γὰρ ἡμᾶς δεῖ τὰς σὰς εὐεργεσίας πολυμερῶς εἰς τοὺς ἡμετέρους πολίτας
55 κατατεθείσας. εὐθὺς οὖν ὑπὲρ σοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς σου καὶ τέκνων καὶ φίλων προσηγάγομεν θυσίας, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος εὐχὰς ἐποιήσατο γενέσθαι σοι τὰ κατὰ νοῦν καὶ φυλαχθῆναί σου τὴν βασιλείαν

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[a] This was Arsinoe II, daughter of Ptolemy I and successively wife of Lysimachus, Ptolemy Keraunos and her brother Ptolemy Philadelphus, whom she married between 279 and 274 B.C., after he had banished his first wife, Arisinoe, the daughter of Lysimachus.

[b] Probably the children of Ptolemy Philadelphus and Arsinoe I, adopted by Arsinoe II (*cf.* schol. on Theocritus xvii. 128).

And so, if you write to us what your pleasure is, you will confer a favour on us."

(6) Accordingly, when the letter of the king had been delivered to Eleazar, he wrote back in reply to it as obligingly as possible. "Eleazar the high priest to King Ptolemy greeting. If you and Queen Arsinoe [a] and your children [b] are in good health, all is well with us. On receiving your letter we were greatly pleased with your proposal, and gathering together the people, we read it to them and made plain to them the piety which you show toward God. We also showed them the twenty shallow bowls of gold, the thirty of silver and the five mixing-bowls and the table for offerings [c] and the hundred talents for sacrifices and for the other things which the temple may need, which gifts were brought by Andreas and Aristaeus, your most honoured friends, who are good men, eminent in learning and worthy of your own excellent qualities. Be assured that we shall submit to anything that is of benefit to you, even though it exceed our nature,[d] for we ought to make a return for the kindness which you have shown our fellow-citizens in various ways. We therefore promptly offered sacrifices on behalf of you and your sister and children and friends,[e] and the people offered up prayers that your plans may be realized and that your kingdom may be preserved in peace and that

The high priest's reply to Ptolemy. Aristeas § 41.

[c] The table of shew-bread is meant (*cf.* §§ 60 ff.), which in LXX Chron. is called "the table of setting forth" (προθέσεως), with which ἀνάθεσις here is probably synonymous.

[d] Lit. "beyond" or "against nature"; παρὰ φύσιν (in Arist.) is translated by Andrews "even though your request is very unusual."

[e] For historical instances of sacrifices performed in the Temple at Jerusalem on behalf of pagan rulers *cf.* Schürer ii. 302 ff.

ἐν εἰρήνῃ τήν τε τοῦ νόμου μεταγραφὴν ἐπὶ συμ-
56 φέροντι τῷ σῷ λαβεῖν ὃ προαιρῇ τέλος. ἐπελέ-
ξαμεν[1] δὲ καὶ πρεσβυτέρους ἄνδρας ἓξ ἀπὸ φυλῆς
ἑκάστης, οὓς πεπόμφαμεν ἔχοντας τὸν νόμον.
ἔσται δὲ τῆς σῆς εὐσεβείας καὶ δικαιοσύνης τὸ
μεταγραφέντα τὸν νόμον εἰς ἡμᾶς ἀποπέμψαι μετ'
ἀσφαλείας τῶν κομιζόντων. ἔρρωσο."
57 (7) Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἀντέγραψεν. ἐμοὶ
δ' οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ἔδοξεν εἶναι τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν
ἑβδομήκοντα πρεσβυτέρων, οἳ τὸν νόμον ἐκόμιζον
ὑπὸ Ἐλεαζάρου πεμφθέντες, δηλοῦν· ἦν γὰρ ταῦτα
58 ὑπογεγραμμένα ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ. τὴν μέντοι γε
τῶν ἀναθημάτων πολυτέλειαν καὶ κατασκευὴν ἣν
ἀπέστειλεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῷ θεῷ, οὐκ ἀνεπιτήδειον
ἡγησάμην διελθεῖν, ὅπως ἅπασιν ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως
περὶ τὸν θεὸν φιλοτιμία φανερὰ γένηται· ἄφθονον
γὰρ τὴν εἰς ταῦτα δαπάνην χορηγῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ
παρὼν ἀεὶ τοῖς τεχνίταις καὶ τὰ ἔργα ἐπιβλέπων
οὐδὲν ἀμελῶς οὐδὲ ῥαθύμως εἴα γίγνεσθαι τῶν
59 κατασκευασμάτων. ὧν ἕκαστον[2] οἷον ἦν[3] τὴν
πολυτέλειαν διηγήσομαι, τῆς μὲν ἱστορίας ἴσως
οὐκ ἀπαιτούσης τὴν ἀπαγγελίαν, τὸ δὲ τοῦ
βασιλέως φιλόκαλον καὶ μεγαλόφρον οὕτω συ-
στήσειν τοῖς ἐντευξομένοις ὑπολαμβάνων.
60 (8) Πρῶτον δὲ τὰ περὶ τῆς τραπέζης ἐκθήσομαι.
εἶχε μὲν οὖν δι' ἐννοίας ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπερμεγεθέ-
στατον τοῖς μέτροις ἀπεργάσασθαι τὸ κατα-
σκεύασμα, προσέταξε δὲ μαθεῖν τὸ μέγεθος τῆς

[1] ἐπελεξάμην PL Lat. fort. recte.
[2] ἑκάστου V.
[3] οἷόν τε FV ed. pr.

[a] Variant " I."

the translation of the Law may be of benefit to you and reach the end which you desire. We[a] have also chosen six elders from each tribe and have sent them along with the Law. And it will be the part of your piety and uprightness to send back the Law when it has been translated, together with those who are bringing it, in safety. May you keep well."

(7) This, then, was the high priest's reply. But I have not thought it necessary to report the names of the seventy[b] elders who were sent by Eleazar and brought the Law, their names being set down at the end of the letter.[c] However, as for the magnificence and workmanship of the dedicatory offerings which the king sent to the temple of God, I have thought it not inappropriate to describe them, in order that the king's eagerness to honour God may be apparent to all. For the king gave unlimited sums to be spent for these gifts and was constantly with the craftsmen, and looking over their work, did not allow any of the objects to be carelessly or indifferently made. How magnificent each of these was I shall describe, although perhaps my History does not call for such an account, because I believe that in this way I shall bring home to my readers the king's love of art and his magnanimity.

Magnificence of Ptolemy's gifts to the high priest. Aristeas § 51.

(8) First of all I shall give a description of the table. Now the king had in mind to make this object of unusually large dimensions, and he gave orders to learn the size of the table which was set up (in the

Ptolemy designs a table for the temple. Aristeas § 52.

[b] Arist. 72. Josephus carelessly forgets that there were 6 from each of the 12 tribes (§ 56). Possibly from this statement in Josephus comes the familiar designation of the Alexandrian version of Scripture as *οἱ ἑβδομήκοντα* or *ο′* (although *οβ′* also occurs in the mss.), in Latin *Septuaginta.*

[c] Arist. §§ 47-50 (the names being fictitious).

ἀνακειμένης ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις τραπέζης πόσον τέ ἐστιν καὶ εἰ δύναται τούτου μεῖζον κατα-
61 σκευασθῆναι. μαθὼν δὲ καὶ τὴν οὖσαν ἡλίκη τις ἦν, καὶ ὅτι αὐτῆς οὐδὲν κωλύει μείζονα γενέσθαι, φήσας καὶ πενταπλασίονα τῆς ὑπαρχούσης τῷ μεγέθει βούλεσθαι κατασκευάσαι, φοβεῖσθαι δὲ μὴ πρὸς τὰς λειτουργίας ἄχρηστος διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ μεγέθους γένηται (βούλεσθαι γὰρ οὐκ ἀνακεῖσθαι μόνον εἰς θέαν τἀναθήματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ
62 πρὸς τὰς λειτουργίας εὔχρηστα) καὶ διὰ τοῦτο λογισάμενος σύμμετρον κατεσκευάσθαι τὴν προτέραν τράπεζαν, ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ σπάνιν χρυσοῦ, τῷ μεγέθει μὲν οὐκ ἔγνω τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν ὑπερβαλεῖν, τῇ δὲ ποικιλίᾳ καὶ τῷ κάλλει τῆς ὕλης
63 ἀξιολογωτέραν κατασκευάσαι. δεινὸς δὲ ὢν συνιδεῖν πραγμάτων παντοδαπῶν φύσιν καὶ λαβεῖν ἐπίνοιαν ἔργων καινῶν καὶ παραδόξων, καὶ ὅσα ἦν ἄγραφα τὴν εὕρεσιν αὐτὸς παρέχων διὰ τὴν σύνεσιν καὶ ὑποδεικνὺς τοῖς τεχνίταις, ἐκέλευσε ταῦτα κατασκευάζεσθαι καὶ τὰ ἀναγεγραμμένα πρὸς τὴν ἀκρίβειαν αὐτῶν ἀποβλέποντας ὁμοίως ἐπιτελεῖν.

64 (9) Ὑποστησάμενοι τοίνυν ποιήσασθαι τὴν τράπεζαν, δύο μὲν καὶ ἡμίσους πηχῶν τὸ μῆκος,

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[a] *i.e.* in Scripture.

[b] In the following sections on the table of shew-bread Arist. (followed by Josephus) greatly amplifies the brief description given in the LXX, Ex. xxv. 23 ff., xxxvii. 10 ff., although the LXX was supposedly not yet in existence. Beside committing an anachronism the author of this pseudepigraph has freely used his imagination in describing the table, and his

temple) at Jerusalem, to see how large it was and whether it was possible for a larger one than this to be constructed. And when he learned what the size of the existing table was and that there was nothing to prevent a larger one being made, he said that he would like to construct one as much as five times as large as the one there, but was afraid that it might be of no use in the temple ministrations because of its excessive size, for it was his wish to make dedicatory-offerings not merely for show but also to be of use in the temple ministrations; it was for that reason, he reflected, that the former table had been constructed of moderate proportions, and not through lack of gold; and so he decided not to go beyond the existing table in size, but to construct one more remarkable for the variety and beauty of its materials. And, as he was clever in understanding the nature of all sorts of things and devising new and wonderful objects, he himself, where there were no written directions,[a] furnished a design of his own invention and, after explaining it to the craftsmen, ordered them to make these objects, and, where there were written directions, he ordered the men to follow these exactly and complete their work similarly.

(9)[b] Having, therefore, undertaken to make a table after this model,[c] they constructed one two and a

Description of the table;

description remains obscure in many places. The notes following are meant chiefly to clarify the relation of Josephus' text to that of Arist.; for fuller explanations of the architectural or decorative details the reader should consult the commentaries on Arist.

[c] Other translators of Josephus render ὑποστησάμενοι merely by "having undertaken" (to make), neglecting its special sense "to make something after a model," and by placing a comma before κατεσκεύαζον, leave this verb as a needless doublet of ποιούμενοι.

ἑνὸς δὲ τὸ εὖρος, τὸ δ' ὕψος ἑνὸς καὶ ἡμίσους κατεσκεύαζον, ἐκ χρυσοῦ τὴν ὅλην τοῦ ἔργου καταβολὴν ποιούμενοι. τὴν μὲν οὖν στεφάνην παλαιστιαίαν εἰργάσαντο, τὰ δὲ κυμάτια στρεπτὰ τὴν ἀναγλυφὴν ἔχοντα σχοινοειδῆ, τῇ τορείᾳ θαυμαστῶς
65 ἐκ τῶν τριῶν μερῶν μεμιμημένην. τριγώνων γὰρ ὄντων αὐτῶν ἑκάστη γωνία τὴν αὐτὴν τῆς ἐκτυπώσεως[1] εἶχε διάθεσιν, ὡς στρεφομένων αὐτῶν μίαν καὶ μὴ διάφορον τὴν ἰδέαν αὐτοῖς συμπεριφέρεσθαι. τῆς δὲ στεφάνης τὸ μὲν ὑπὸ τὴν τράπεζαν ἐγκεκλιμένον[2] ὡραίαν εἶχε τὴν ἀποτύπωσιν,[3] τὸ δ' ἔξωθεν περιηγμένον ἔτι μᾶλλον τῷ κάλλει τῆς ἐργασίας ἦν ἐκπεπονημένον, ὡς ὑπ' ὄψιν καὶ
66 θεωρίαν ἐρχόμενον. διὸ καὶ τὴν μὲν ὑπεροχὴν ἀμφοτέρων τῶν μερῶν ὀξεῖαν συνέβαινε γίγνεσθαι, καὶ μηδεμίαν γωνίαν τριῶν οὐσῶν ὡς προειρήκαμεν, περὶ τὴν μεταγωγὴν τῆς τραπέζης ἐλάσσονα βλέπεσθαι. ἐνδιέκειντο δὲ ταῖς σχοινίσιν τῆς τορείας λίθοι πολυτελεῖς παράλληλοι, περόναις
67 χρυσαῖς διὰ τρημάτων κατειλημμένοι. τὰ δ' ἐκ πλαγίου τῆς στεφάνης καὶ πρὸς ὄψιν ἀνατείνοντα ᾠῶν ἐκ λίθου καλλίστου πεποιημένων θέσει κατακεκόσμητο, ῥάβδοις τὴν ἀναγλυφὴν ἐοικότων πυκναῖς, αἳ περὶ τὸν κύκλον τῆς τραπέζης εἴληντο.
68 ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν τῶν ᾠῶν διατύπωσιν στέφανον περιήγαγον οἱ τεχνῖται παντοίου καρποῦ φύσιν ἐντετορευμένον, ὡς ἀποκρέμασθαί τε βότρυς καὶ στάχυας

[1] ἐντυπώσεως PAW: formae Lat.
[2] Naber; ἐκκεκλιμένον P; ἐγκεκλεισμένον LAW: ἦν κεκλεισμένον FV: inclusa Lat.
[3] διατύπωσιν FV Arist.

[a] Arist. 2 (as in Scripture).
[b] So in Scripture and in Eusebius' paraphrase of Arist.;

half[a] cubits in length, one in width[b] and one and a half in height, and made the whole foundation of the work out of gold. Moreover they wrought a rim of a handbreadth and twisted wave-mouldings carved in low relief of a rope-design, of which the modelling was a marvellously faithful imitation, on all three surfaces. For these (rims) were triangular, and each angle had the same pattern worked in it, so that, when they were turned, the same form without any difference appeared on every surface. Now, on the rim, the side sloping down toward[c] the table had lovely modelling, but the side turned outwards was adorned with even greater beauty of workmanship, since it came under the eye of the spectator. For that reason the upper edge, where the two surfaces met, was an acute angle, and no one angle, of which there were three, as we have said before, appeared less than the others when the table was carried round. And in the coils of the relief-work were set precious stones, one beside another, and they were secured with gold pins by which they were pierced. The side of the rim which slanted upward to meet the eye was ornamented with an egg-pattern made of most beautiful stone resembling in its carving the continuous flutings which ran all round the table. And below the egg-modelling the craftsmen set round a wreath on which were carved in relief the likenesses of all kinds of fruit, so that clusters of grapes hung down and ears

its rims. Aristeas § 57.

the dimension of width is omitted in the MSS. of Arist. itself, probably through an oversight.

[c] Conjectured; MSS. "turning out"; Arist. has τὸ μὲν εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν τράπεζαν ἀπόκλιμα. The nature of the rim is puzzling; Dr. Thackeray, in his translation of Arist., helpfully suggests that it was a "triangular rotatory bar crowning the border and turning on pivots at the corner."

ἀναστῆναι καὶ ῥόας ἀποκεκλεῖσθαι. τοὺς δὲ λίθους εἰς πᾶν γένος τῶν προειρημένων καρπῶν, ὡς ἑκάστου τὴν οἰκείαν ἐντετυπῶσθαι χρόαν, ἐξεργασάμενοι συνέδησαν τῷ χρυσῷ περὶ ὅλην τὴν
69 τράπεζαν. ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν στέφανον ὁμοίως ἡ τῶν ᾠῶν διάθεσις πεποίητο καὶ ἡ τῆς ῥαβδώσεως ἀναγλυφή, τῆς τραπέζης ἐπ' ἀμφότερον μέρος ἔχειν τὴν αὐτὴν τῆς ποικιλίας τῶν ἔργων καὶ γλαφυρότητος θέαν κατεσκευασμένης, ὡς καὶ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων[1] κυμάτων θέσιν καὶ τὴν τῆς στεφάνης μηδὲ[2] τῆς τραπέζης ἐφ' ἕτερον μέρος ἐναλλαττομένης γίγνεσθαι διάφορον, τὴν δ' αὐτὴν ἄχρι καὶ τῶν ποδῶν ὄψιν τῆς ἐπιτεχνήσεως διατετάσθαι.
70 ἔλασμα γὰρ χρυσοῦ τὸ πλάτος τεσσάρων δακτύλων ποιήσαντες καθ' ὅλου τοῦ τῆς τραπέζης πλάτους εἰς τοῦτο τοὺς πόδας αὐτῆς ἐνέθεσαν, ἔπειτα περόναις καὶ κατακλεῖσιν[3] αὐτοὺς ἐνέσφιγγον τῇ τραπέζῃ κατὰ τὴν στεφάνην, ἵνα τὴν θέαν τῆς καινουργίας καὶ πολυτελείας, ἐφ' ᾧ τις ἂν στήσῃ
71 τὴν τράπεζαν μέρει, παρέχωσι τὴν αὐτήν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς τραπέζης μαίανδρον ἐξέγλυψαν, λίθους αὐτῷ κατὰ μέσον ἀξιολόγους ὥσπερ ἀστέρας ποικίλης ἰδέας ἐνθέντες, τόν τε ἄνθρακα καὶ τὸν σμάραγδον ἥδιστον προσαυγάζοντας αὐτῶν ἑκάτερον τοῖς ὁρῶσιν, τῶν τε ἄλλων γενῶν ὅσοι περισπούδαστοι καὶ ζηλωτοὶ πᾶσιν διὰ τὴν πολυτέλειαν τῆς φύσεως
72 ὑπάρχουσιν. μετὰ δὲ τὸν μαίανδρον πλέγμα τι σχοινοειδὲς περιῆκτο ῥόμβῳ τὴν κατὰ μέσον ὄψιν

[1] ἄλλων om. FV Lat. Arist.
[2] μετὰ LAW.
[3] κατακλείσεσιν FLAVW.

of grain stood up and pomegranates were inclosed.[a] And they fashioned stones for every species of the above-mentioned fruits, so that each was represented in its own colour, and they fastened them to the gold [b] round the whole table. Similarly, below the wreath another egg-pattern was made, and flutings were carved in low relief, the table being constructed with the same appearance of variety of workmanship and elegance on both ends,[c] so that, even when the table was turned the other way there was no difference in the two wave-mouldings and rims, but the same form of decoration extended right down to the feet. For they made a plate of gold four fingers wide along the whole width of the table, into which they set the feet and then fastened them to the table near the rim by pins and clamps, in order that, on whichever side the table was placed, they might present the same appearance of original workmanship and costliness. On the table itself [d] they carved a meander, in the midst of which they set valuable stones of various forms like stars,[e] such as the ruby and emerald, each of which sparkled most delightfully to the eye, and other kinds of stones which are most sought after and desired for their precious quality. Next to the meander was carried round a network of rope-design,[f] with a

Top of the table. Aristeas § 66.

[a] The exact meaning of ἀποκεκλεῖσθαι (not found in Arist.) is doubtful; it seems to be something like "were outlined distinctly."

[b] Less probably (with Andrews) "with gold."

[c] Whether ends or sides are meant is far from clear.

[d] *i.e.* the top surface.

[e] This detail, peculiar to Josephus, probably rests, as Dr. Thackeray suggests, on a reading πλειάδων πολυειδῶν "pleiads of various forms" in Arist. § 66, where our mss. have πυλιάδων, an unknown word.

[f] The "rope-design" is a detail added by Josephus.

ἐμφερές, ἐφ' οὗ κρύσταλλός τε λίθος καὶ ἤλεκτρον ἐντετύπωτο,[1] τῇ παραλλήλῳ τῆς ἰδέας γειτνιάσει ψυχαγωγίαν θαυμαστὴν παρέχον τοῖς βλέπουσιν.
73 τῶν δὲ ποδῶν ἦσαν αἱ κεφαλίδες εἰς κρίνα μεμιμημέναι τὰς ἐκφύσεις, τῶν πετάλων ὑπὸ τὴν τράπεζαν ἀνακλωμένων, εἰς ὀρθὸν δὲ τὴν βλάστησιν
74 ἔνδοθεν παρεχόντων ὁρᾶν. ἡ δὲ βάσις αὐτοῖς ἦν ἐξ ἄνθρακος λίθου παλαιστιαία πεποιημένη, σχῆμα κρηπῖδος ἀποτελοῦσα, τὸ δὲ πλάτος ὀκτὼ δακτύλων ἔχουσα, καθ' οὗ τὸ πᾶν ἔλασμα τῶν ποδῶν
75 ἐρήρειστο. ἀνέγλυψαν δὲ λεπτομερεῖ καὶ φιλοπόνῳ τῇ τορείᾳ τῶν ποδῶν ἕκαστον, κισσὸν αὐτοῖς καὶ κλήματα ἀμπέλων σὺν καὶ βότρυσιν ἐκφύσαντες, ὡς εἰκάσαι μηδὲν ἀποδεῖν τῆς ἀληθείας· καὶ γὰρ πρὸς τὸ πνεῦμα διὰ λεπτότητα καὶ τὴν ἐπ' ἄκρον[2] αὐτῶν ἔκτασιν κινούμενα, φαντασίαν τῶν κατὰ φύσιν μᾶλλον ἢ τέχνης μιμημάτων παρεῖχεν.
76 ἐκαινούργησαν δὲ ὥστε τρίπτυχον οἱονεὶ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς ὅλης κατασκευάσαι τραπέζης, τῆς ἁρμονίας πρὸς ἄλληλα τῶν μερῶν οὕτω συνδεδεμένης, ὡς ἀόρατον εἶναι καὶ μηδ' ἐπινοεῖσθαι τὰς συμβολάς. ἥμισυ δὲ πήχεως οὐκ ἔλασσον τῇ τραπέζῃ τὸ πάχος
77 συνέβαινεν εἶναι. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἀνάθημα τοῦτο κατὰ πολλὴν τοῦ βασιλέως φιλοτιμίαν τοιοῦτο τῇ τε πολυτελείᾳ τῆς ὕλης καὶ τῇ ποικιλίᾳ τῆς καλλονῆς καὶ τῇ μιμήσει τῇ κατὰ τὴν τορείαν τῶν τεχνιτῶν συνετελέσθη, σπουδάσαντος εἰ καὶ μὴ τῷ μεγέθει

[1] ἐκτετύπωτο PAW: impositi Lat.
[2] ἐπ' ἄκρον] ἐπάνω FLV.

[a] Lit. "parallel proximity (or "resemblance") of form"; no such phrase is found in Arist.

central panel shaped like a lozenge, into which were pressed stones of crystal and amber, and these by their appearance of regular alternation [a] afforded a wonderfully attractive sight to behold. As for the feet, they had capitals made to imitate unfolding lilies, with their petals bent back under the table, while within they held their stamens erect to be seen. And they had a base made of ruby a handbreadth high, which presented the appearance of a pedestal [b]; it was eight fingers wide, and on it the whole shaft [c] of the foot rested. They also carved each of the feet in relief with most delicate and painstaking modelling, creating ivy and vine-branches and clusters of grapes, so that one would suppose they were not other than real. For, as they moved in the wind because of their lightness and fine-edged tenuousness, they gave the appearance of natural things rather than of artificial imitations. The workmen also showed originality in constructing the whole table in the form [d] of a triptych, the parts being so smoothly held together that the places where they were joined could not be seen or even suspected. And the thickness of the table was no less than half a cubit. And so this dedicatory-offering was finished, such being the preciousness of its material and the variety of ornament and the imitative skill of the craftsmen in modelling, in accordance with the great munificence of the king, for he was eager to produce a table which, if it was not to be greater in size than

[b] κρηπίς (also found in Arist.) usually means "base" or "step" of a building, altar, etc.

[c] Lit. "plate"; Andrews "expanse," Meecham "weight."

[d] For σχῆμα "form" Arist. has στόμα "top" or "front" (lit. "mouth").

τῆς προανακειμένης τῷ θεῷ τραπέζης ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι διάφορος, τῇ μέντοι γε τέχνῃ καὶ τῇ καινουργίᾳ καὶ τῇ λαμπρότητι τῆς κατασκευῆς πολὺ κρείττονα καὶ περίβλεπτον ἀπεργάσασθαι.

78 (10) Τῶν δὲ κρατήρων χρύσεοι μὲν ἦσαν δύο, φολιδωτὴν δὲ εἶχον ἀπὸ τῆς βάσεως μέχρι τοῦ διαζώματος τὴν τορείαν, λίθων ταῖς σπείραις
79 ποικίλων ἐνδεδεμένων. εἶτα ἐπ' αὐτῆς[1] μαίανδρος πηχυαῖος τὸ ὕψος ἐξείργαστο κατὰ σύνθεσιν λίθων παντοίων τὴν ἰδέαν κατ' αὐτοῦ δὲ ῥάβδωσις ἀνεγέγλυπτο, καθ' ἧς πλέγμα ῥομβωτὸν δικτύοις
80 ἐμφερὲς ἕως τοῦ χείλους ἀνείλκυστο· τὰ δὲ μέσα λίθων ἀσπίδια τετραδακτύλων ἀνεπλήρου τὸ κάλλος. περιεστέφετο δὲ τὰ χείλη τοῦ κρατῆρος κρίνων σμίλαξι καὶ ἀνθεμίσι καὶ βοτρύων σχοινίαις
81 εἰς κύκλον περιηγμέναις. τοὺς μὲν οὖν χρυσέους κρατῆρας, δύο χωροῦντας ἑκάτερον ἀμφορέας, τοῦτον κατεσκεύασαν τὸν τρόπον· οἱ δ' ἀργύρεοι τῶν ἐσόπτρων τὴν λαμπρότητα πολὺ διαυγέστεροι γεγόνεισαν, ὡς τρανοτέρας διὰ τούτων τὰς τῶν
82 προσφερομένων ὄψεις ὁρᾶσθαι. προσκατεσκεύασε δὲ τούτοις ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ φιάλας τριάκοντα, ὧν ὅσα χρυσὸς ἦν ἀλλὰ μὴ λίθῳ πολυτελεῖ διείληπτο, σμίλαξι κισσοῦ καὶ πετάλοις ἀμπέλων ἐσκίαστο
83 φιλοτέχνως ἐντετορευμένων. ταῦτα δ' ἐγίγνετο μὲν καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν τῶν ἐργαζομένων θαυ-

[1] αὐτῇ PAW.

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[a] "Of gold" is omitted in the mss. of Arist., probably through oversight.
[b] Lit. "girdle."
[c] Arist. "scales" (φολίδων).

the one already dedicated to God, should at least in artistry and originality and splendour of construction be far superior and generally admired.

Description of the vessels. Aristeas § 73.

(10) Of the mixing-bowls two were of gold,[a] having scales in relief from the base to the middle,[b] with various stones fastened in the coils.[c] Then above this [d] was a meander, a cubit in height, formed by the combination of stones of all kinds, and next to it was some carved fluting, and above this a pattern of interlacing lozenges, resembling a net, extended to the brim. The spaces between were filled with bosses of stones four fingers in depth, which added beauty. And the brim of the mixing-bowl was wreathed with the stalks [e] and blossoms of lilies and clusters of grapes, which were carried round in a circle. Now this was the way in which they had made the mixing-bowls, each of which contained two *amphoreis*.[f] As for the silver ones, they shone much more brilliantly than mirrors, so that the images of any who approached could be seen in them more clearly. The king also had them make, in addition to these, thirty [g] shallow bowls of which the parts that were of gold but not studded with precious stones were overlaid [h] with tendrils of ivy and vine-leaves,[i] artistically carved in relief. These excellent effects were achieved partly through the skilfulness of the workers, who

[d] *i.e.* the relief work (τορείαν); Arist. omits the pronoun.

[e] The exact meaning of *σμίλαξι* here (and in § 82) is uncertain; the word is not found in Arist.

[f] Arist. "more than two *metretai*"; the *amphoreus* was the same as the *metretes*, equal to *c.* 9 gallons or 40 litres.

[g] No number is given in Arist.

[h] Lit. "were shaded."

[i] Arist. "about the rims they wove a wreath in relief work of ivy and myrtle and olive."

μασίων ὄντων περὶ τὴν τέχνην, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως σπουδῆς καὶ φιλοτιμίας
84 διαφερόντως ἀπηρτίζετο· οὐ γὰρ τῆς χορηγίας τὸ ἄφθονον καὶ μεγαλόψυχον τοῖς τεχνίταις παρεῖχεν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ χρηματίζειν τοῖς δημοσίοις πράγμασιν ἀπειρηκὼς αὐτὸς τοῖς κατασκευάζουσι παρῆν καὶ τὴν ὅλην ἐργασίαν ἐπέβλεπεν. αἴτιον δ' ἦν τοῦτο τῆς τῶν τεχνιτῶν ἐπιμελείας, οἳ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὴν τούτου σπουδὴν ἀποβλέποντες φιλοπονώτερον τοῖς ἔργοις προσελιπάρουν.
85 (11) Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ πεμφθέντα εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου ἀναθήματα. ὁ δ' ἀρχιερεὺς Ἐλεάζαρος ἀναθεὶς αὐτὰ καὶ τιμήσας τοὺς κομίσαντας καὶ δῶρα τῷ βασιλεῖ δοὺς κομίζειν
86 ἀπέλυσε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. παραγενομένων δ' εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, ἀκούσας Πτολεμαῖος τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἑβδομήκοντα τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἐληλυθότας, εὐθὺς μεταπέμπεται τὸν Ἀνδρέαν καὶ τὸν Ἀρισταῖον τοὺς πρέσβεις. οἱ δὲ ἀφικόμενοι τάς τε ἐπιστολὰς ἃς ἐκόμιζον αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἀπέδοσαν καὶ ὅσα φράζειν ἀπὸ
87 λόγων ὑπέθετο[1] ταῦτα ἐδήλωσαν. σπεύδων δ' ἐντυχεῖν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἥκουσι πρεσβυτέροις[2] ἐπὶ τὴν ἑρμηνείαν τῶν νόμων, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους οὓς χρειῶν ἕνεκα παρεῖναι συνέβαινεν ἐκέλευσεν ἀπολῦσαι, παράδοξον τοῦτο ποιῶν καὶ παρὰ
88 τὸ ἔθος· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τοιούτων αἰτιῶν ἀχθέντες διὰ πέμπτης ἡμέρας αὐτῷ προσῄεσαν, οἱ δὲ πρεσ-

[1] Niese: ἐπέθετο PAW: ἐπύθετο FLV: iusserat Lat.
[2] ἥκουσι πρεσβυτέροις FLV ed. pr.: πρεσβύταις ἥκουσιν rell.

[a] Here Josephus omits a large part of Arist. (§§ 83-171), which includes an account of the Alexandrian courtiers' visit

were admirable in their craft, but much more through the zeal and munificence of the king, for not only did he furnish the craftsmen with a lavish and generous abundance of material, but he also gave up attending to public affairs and himself came to see the artisans and supervised the whole work. This was the reason for the craftsmen's diligence, for, taking an example from the king and the zeal shown by him, they applied themselves to their tasks with greater will to labour.

Arrival of the Jewish elders at Alexandria. Aristeas § 172.

(11) [a] These, then, were the dedicatory-offerings sent to Jerusalem by Ptolemy. Now Eleazar, the high priest, after dedicating them to God and honouring the bearers, gave them gifts to take to the king, and sent them back to the king. And when they came to Alexandria, and Ptolemy heard of their arrival and of the coming of the seventy [b] elders, he at once sent for Andreas and Aristaeus, his envoys. Accordingly, when they came, they delivered to him the letters which they had brought him from the high priest, and reported to him all that the high priest had suggested that they should convey by word of mouth.[c] Thereupon, being eager to meet the elders who had come from Jerusalem to translate the laws, he gave orders to dismiss any others who might be present on official business, thereby doing something very unusual and contrary to custom. For those who were brought by such reasons used to come before him on the fifth day, while envoys were admitted after a month. On this occasion, however,

to Jerusalem, a description of the temple and *Akra*, and Eleazar's philosophical defence of the Mosaic law.

[b] *Cf.* § 57 note *b*.

[c] Text and meaning of the last clause uncertain: Arist. has simply "we delivered the letters from Eleazar."

βεύοντες διὰ μηνός· τότε τοίνυν ἀπολύσας ἐκείνους,
89 τοὺς πεμφθέντας ὑπὸ Ἐλεαζάρου περιέμενεν. ὡς
δὲ παρῆλθον μετὰ καὶ τῶν δώρων οἱ γέροντες ἃ
τῷ βασιλεῖ κομίσαι ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς αὐτοῖς ἔδωκε καὶ
τῶν διφθερῶν αἷς ἐγγεγραμμένους εἶχον τοὺς
νόμους χρυσοῖς γράμμασιν, ἐπηρώτησεν αὐτοὺς
90 περὶ τῶν βιβλίων. ὡς δ' ἀποκαλύψαντες τῶν
ἐνειλημάτων ἐπέδειξαν αὐτῷ, θαυμάσας ὁ βασιλεὺς
τῆς ἰσχνότητος τοὺς ὑμένας καὶ τῆς συμβολῆς τὸ
ἀνεπίγνωστον (οὕτως γὰρ ἥρμοστο) καὶ τοῦτο
ποιήσας χρόνῳ πλείονι, χάριν εἶπεν ἔχειν αὐτοῖς τε
ἐλθοῦσιν καὶ μείζονα τῷ πέμψαντι, πρὸ δὲ πάντων
91 τῷ θεῷ, οὗ τοὺς νόμους εἶναι συμβέβηκεν. ἐκ-
βοησάντων δ' ὑφ' ἓν καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ τῶν
συμπαρόντων γίγνεσθαι τὰ ἀγαθὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ, δι'
ὑπερβολὴν ἡδονῆς εἰς δάκρυα προύπεσεν, φύσει τῆς
μεγάλης χαρᾶς πασχούσης καὶ τὰ τῶν λυπηρῶν
92 σύμβολα. κελεύσας δὲ τὰ βιβλία δοῦναι τοῖς ἐπὶ
τῆς τάξεως, τότε τοὺς ἄνδρας ἠσπάσατο, δίκαιον
εἰπὼν εἶναι πρῶτον περὶ ὧν αὐτοὺς μετεπέμψατο
ποιησάμενον τοὺς λόγους, ἔπειτα κἀκείνους προσ-
ειπεῖν. τὴν μέντοι γε ἡμέραν καθ' ἣν ἦλθον πρὸς
αὐτὸν ἐπιφανῆ ποιήσειν καὶ κατὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἐπίσημον
93 εἰς ὅλον τὸν τῆς ζωῆς χρόνον ἐπηγγέλλετο· ἔτυχε
γὰρ ἡ αὐτὴ εἶναι τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς

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[a] I. Abrahams remarks, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, xiv., 1902, p. 340, "there is some rabbinic confirmation that the *χρυσογραφία* ['writing in gold'] . . . was associated with the scrolls of the law used in Alexandria. The statement in Aristeas confuses the *whole* ms. with the divine name. The name of God (according to *Tract. Sopherim*, i. 10) was so written in an Alexandrian codex."

[b] This psychological explanation is added by Josephus.

he dismissed these people and awaited those who had been sent by Eleazar. Now when the elders came with the gifts which the high priest had given them to take to the king and with the leather skins on which the laws were written in letters of gold,[a] he questioned them about these books. So they unrolled the wrappings and showed them to him, whereupon the king marvelled at the fineness of the membranes and the impossibility of telling where they were joined, so well were they fitted together; and, having done so for a long while, he said that he was thankful to them for coming, and more so to him who had sent them, but most of all to God, whose laws these were. Then both the elders and the others present cried out with one voice to wish the king happiness, at which he burst into tears through excess of pleasure, since it is natural for great joy to be expressed by the same signs as grief.[b] He then ordered the books to be given to those in charge of the records,[c] and only then did he greet the men, saying that it was right for him first to speak of the things for which he had summoned them and then to address them. He promised, moreover, that he would make a special occasion of the day on which they had come to him and would celebrate it every year so long as he lived, for, he said, the day of their coming happened to be the same as that of the victory

[c] *τὰ βιβλία δοῦναι τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς τάξεως* in Josephus corresponds to *εἰς τάξιν ἀποδοῦναι τὰ τεύχη* in Arist., which is generally translated "put the rolls back in their place" or "in order." Other scholars assume that Josephus has misunderstood this phrase, but his interpretation may be correct; *cf.* the phrase *τὰ τῆς τάξεως βιβλία* cited from the papyri by F. Preisigke, *Fachwörter des öffentlichen Verwaltungsdienstes Aegyptens*, 1915, p. 169, and translated by him as "die Amtsakten" ("official records").

νίκης ἣν Ἀντίγονον ναυμαχῶν ἐνίκησεν· συνεστιαθῆναί τε αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ καὶ καταλύσεις προσέταξεν αὐτοῖς δοθῆναι τὰς καλλίστας πρὸς τῇ ἄκρᾳ.

94 (12) Ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν ξένων ἀποδοχῆς τεταγμένος Νικάνωρ Δωρόθεον καλέσας, ὃς εἶχε τὴν περὶ τούτων πρόνοιαν, ἐκέλευεν ἑτοιμάζειν ἑκάστῳ τὰ δέοντα πρὸς τὴν δίαιταν.[1] διετέτακτο δὲ τοῦτον
95 ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν τρόπον· κατὰ γὰρ πόλιν ἑκάστην, ὅσαι[2] τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρῶνται περὶ τὴν δίαιταν, ἦν τούτων ἐπιμελόμενος καὶ κατὰ τὸ τῶν ἀφικνουμένων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔθος πάντ' αὐτοῖς παρεσκευάζετο, ἵνα τῷ συνήθει τρόπῳ τῆς διαίτης εὐωχούμενοι μᾶλλον ἥδωνται καὶ πρὸς μηδὲν ὡς ἀλλοτρίως ἔχοντες[3] δυσχεραίνωσιν. ὃ δὴ καὶ περὶ τούτους ἐγένετο, Δωροθέου διὰ τὴν περὶ τὸν βίον
96 ἀκρίβειαν ἐπὶ τούτοις καθεστῶτος. συνέστρωσε[4] δὲ πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ τὰ πρὸς τὰς τοιαύτας ὑποδοχάς, καὶ διμερῆ τὴν κλισίαν ἐποίησεν, οὕτως προστάξαν-

[1] ἑστίαν P: ἑστίασιν coni. Niese.
[2] ὅσαις P: ὅσαι οὐ FV: ὅσοι οὐ Naber.
[3] ἔχον FV: corrupti extraneis Lat.
[4] συνεστόρεσε LAW: συνεπόρισε Cocceji.

[a] If this is a reference to the battle of Cos *c.* 258 B.C. (for the date see the chronological note of W. Tarn in *CAH* vii. 862), it is an error or a deliberate correction of history, for Ptolemy Philadelphus was decisively defeated by Antigonus Gonatas in that battle. No other naval battle between these two rulers is known to us. Some years later there was a naval battle at Andros between a Ptolemy and an Antigonus, but it is not certain whether the Ptolemy was Philadelphus or his successor Euergetes, or whether the Antigonus was Gonatas or his successor Doson, or finally whether the battle was a victory or a defeat for the Egyptians. Moreover,

which he had gained over Antigonus in a naval battle:[a] and so he invited them to dine with him, and directed that they should be given the best lodgings near the citadel.[b]

(12) Accordingly Nicanor, who was the officer in charge of the reception of guests,[c] called Dorotheus, who took care of these matters, and told him to prepare whatever food was required by each. Now these matters were arranged by the king in the following way: for each city that had its own[d] habits of diet there was a person who looked after these and prepared all food for visitors in accordance with their customs, in order that they might have their usual kind of fare at the banquet-table, and so have the more pleasure and not take offence at anything to which they might be unaccustomed. And this is just what was done in their case, Dorotheus being put in charge of these matters because of his exactness in the details of living.[e] He therefore spread out[f] all the materials at his disposal for such receptions, and had the couches divided into two rows,

Ptolemy prepares a reception for the Jewish elders. Aristeas § 182.

Arsinoe II is assumed in Arist. to have been alive at the time of this victory, and neither battle was fought before 269 B.C., when she died; *cf.* Bevan, *Ptol.* p. 68, and Tramontano, p. 113 (with literature).

[b] The Jews of Alexandria lived near the royal palace or citadel (*cf.* Dr. Thackeray's note to *Ap.* ii. 33), in the north-eastern part of the city by the sea. The Palestinian elders, therefore, were appropriately lodged there.

[c] In Arist. Nicanor is called ἀρχιητρός "chief physician," which most editors emend to ἀρχεδέατρος, probably meaning "chief steward" or "chief major-domo" (Tramontano).

[d] Lit. "the same."

[e] Arist. has προσεχέστατος ὤν, "because he was most attentive" or "conscientious."

[f] Text and meaning uncertain; perhaps "arranged in good order."

τος τοῦ βασιλέως· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἡμίσεις ἐκέλευσεν ἀνὰ χεῖρα κατακλιθῆναι, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς μετὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ κλισίαν, οὐδὲν ἀπολιπὼν τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἄνδρας
97 τιμῆς. ἐπεὶ δ' οὕτως κατεκλίθησαν, ἐκέλευσε τὸν Δωρόθεον, οἷς ἔθεσι χρώμενοι διατελοῦσι πάντες οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφιγμένοι, κατὰ ταῦτα ὑπηρετεῖν. διὸ καὶ τοὺς ἱεροκήρυκας καὶ θύτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, οἳ τὰς κατευχὰς ἐποιοῦντο, παρῃτήσατο, τῶν δὲ παραγενομένων ἕνα Ἐλισσαῖον ὄνομα ὄντα ἱερέα παρεκάλεσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ποιήσα-
98 σθαι κατευχάς. ὁ δὲ στὰς εἰς μέσον ηὔχετο τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. εἶτα κρότος ἐξ ἁπάντων μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ βοῆς ἤρθη, καὶ παυσάμενοι πρὸς εὐωχίαν καὶ τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν
99 τῶν παρεσκευασμένων ἐτράπησαν. διαλιπὼν δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐφ' ὅσον ἔδοξεν ἀποχρῶντα καιρὸν εἶναι, φιλοσοφεῖν ἤρξατο καὶ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν λόγους ἐπηρώτα φυσικούς, καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ζητουμένων θεωρίαν ἀκριβῶς ἐκείνων περὶ παντὸς οὑτινοσοῦν λέγειν αὐτοῖς προβληθείη διασαφούντων, ἡδόμενος τούτοις[1] ἐφ' ἡμέρας δώδεκα τὸ συμπόσιον ἐποιή-
100 σατο, ὡς τῷ βουλομένῳ τὰ κατὰ μέρος γνῶναι τῶν

[1] τοιοῦτον FVE et fort. Lat.

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[a] The seating arrangement is not quite clear. Some scholars take ἀνὰ χεῖρα (conj. in Arist. for ἄναρχα of the MSS.) to mean "at his right," and μετὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ κλισίαν to

the king having so commanded; for he had ordered that half the guests should recline beside him and the others behind his own couch,[a] thus neglecting nothing in which he might show them honour. And when they had been seated in this manner, he told Dorotheus to serve them after the fashion to which all those who had come to him from Judaea were accustomed. He therefore dispensed with the sacred heralds and sacrificers and the others who used to offer prayers, but, instead, the king called upon one of the visitors, named Elissaeus,[b] who was a priest, to offer prayer. And so he stood in their midst and prayed for the happiness of the king and his subjects. Thereupon applause and cries of joy arose from all sides, and, when they had done, they turned to feasting and enjoying the good things that had been prepared. But the king, after waiting for what seemed a sufficiently long time, began to philosophize and asked each one of them about problems of nature,[c] and when, after considering the questions, they gave precise explanations concerning every single problem suggested to them for discussion, he was delighted with them and made the banquet last for twelve[d] days, so that anyone who wishes to find out the details

mean "at his left," since it was the custom to recline on the left arm, and so those seated at the king's left would be somewhat behind him. Chamonard, however, renders the second phrase by "à une table placée derrière la sienne."

[b] Gr. Elissaios = Heb. Elisha; Arist. has Eleazar, which some editors correct to Elisha on the basis of Josephus' reading.

[c] Or "problems of moral philosophy": for this meaning of *φυσικός* (esp. in Stoicism) *cf.* Chrysippus, ed. v. Arnim, fr. 68, *οὐδ' ἄλλου τινὸς ἕνεκεν τῆς φυσικῆς θεωρίας παραληπτῆς οὔσης ἢ πρὸς τὴν περὶ ἀγαθῶν ἢ κακῶν διάστασιν.*

[d] Only 7 days in Arist. (§ 275).

ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ ζητηθέντων εἶναι μαθεῖν ἀναγνόντι τὸ Ἀρισταίου βιβλίον, ὃ συνέγραψε διὰ ταῦτα.[1]

101 (13) Θαυμάζοντος δ' αὐτοὺς οὐ μόνον τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀλλὰ καὶ Μενεδήμου τοῦ φιλοσόφου προνοίᾳ διοικεῖσθαι πάντα φήσαντος καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' εἰκὸς καὶ τοῦ λόγου δύναμιν καὶ κάλλος εὑρῆσθαι, παύονται

102 μὲν περὶ τούτων ἐπιζητοῦντες.[2] γεγενῆσθαι δ' αὐτῷ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἀγαθῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔλεγεν ἤδη παρόντων αὐτῶν· ὠφελῆσθαι γὰρ παρ' αὐτῶν μεμαθηκότα πῶς δεῖ βασιλεύειν· κελεύει τε αὐτοῖς ἀνὰ τρία δοθῆναι τάλαντα καὶ τοὺς ἀποκατα-

103 στήσοντας ἐπὶ τὴν κατάλυσιν. διελθουσῶν δὲ τριῶν ἡμερῶν παραλαβὼν αὐτοὺς ὁ Δημήτριος καὶ διελθὼν τὸ ἑπταστάδιον χῶμα τῆς θαλάσσης πρὸς τὴν νῆσον καὶ διαβὰς πρὸς τὴν γέφυραν, προελθὼν ἐπὶ τὰ βόρεια μέρη συνέδριον ἐποιήσατο ἐν τῷ παρὰ τὴν ἠόνα κατεσκευασμένῳ οἴκῳ πρὸς διά-

104 σκεψιν πραγμάτων ἠρεμίας καλῶς ἔχοντι. ἀγαγὼν οὖν αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖ παρεκάλει, πάντων ὧν[3] δεηθεῖεν εἰς τὴν ἑρμηνείαν τοῦ νόμου παρόντων, ἀκωλύτως ἐπιτελεῖν τὸ ἔργον. οἱ δ' ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα φιλοτίμως

[1] διὰ ταῦτα] καὶ εἰς μνήμην διὰ ταῦτα κατέλειπεν P.
[2] ἔτι ζητοῦντες PAE.
[3] Niese: ὧν ἂν codd.

[a] Thus Josephus summarizes the long section in Arist. (§§ 187-292), which reports the dialectical discussion at the banquet table between the king and the several elders on matters of public morality.

[b] Here Josephus reverts for a moment to the beginning of Arist.'s account of the symposium, §§ 201-202.

[c] This celebrated philosopher from Eretria was a contemporary of Ptolemy Philadelphus and a friend of Antigonus Gonatas. Most scholars doubt that he was ever in Alexandria, but Tramontano holds it possible, *cf.* his note *ad loc.*

of the questions discussed at the banquet can learn them by reading the book which Aristaeus composed on this account.[a]

(13) [b] Now it was not only the king who admired them, but also the philosopher Menedemus,[c] who said that all things were governed by providence, and it is natural that through it power and beauty of speech are discovered [d]; after this they left off inquiring into these problems. Then the king said that he had already experienced the greatest of blessings through their being there, for he had profited by learning from them how he ought to reign, and he ordered that each of them should be given three talents and have attendants to take them back to their lodgings.[e] After an interval of three days Demetrius took them with him and, after walking seven stades [f] along the sea-embankment to the island [g] and crossing over by the bridge, proceeded to the north side and called a meeting in a house which had been built near the shore and was excellently fitted for the consideration of serious matters because it was so quiet there. And so he brought them there and requested them, since they had everything they might need for the translation of the law, to carry out their task without interruption. Thereupon they set to work as am-

The Jewish elders begin work on the translation. Aristeas § 201.

Aristeas § 293.

[d] Josephus' Greek (from καὶ διὰ τοῦτ') is obscure; Arist. is clearer, "it follows that all power and beauty of speech proceed from God."

[e] The corresponding passage in Arist. is obscure, ἑκάστῳ δὲ τρία τάλαντα προσέταξεν ἀργυρίου δοθῆναι καὶ τὸν ἀποκαταστήσοντα παῖδα; it may mean, as Josephus paraphrases, that each elder was given his three talents by a slave and accompanied by the same slave to his lodging.

[f] Somewhat less than a mile.

[g] Of Pharos. A map of Alexandria, showing the sites mentioned here, is given in Bevan, *Ptol.*

καὶ φιλοπόνως ἀκριβῆ τὴν ἑρμηνείαν ποιούμενοι μέχρι μὲν ὥρας ἐνάτης πρὸς τούτῳ διετέλουν ὄντες,
105 ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἀπηλλάττοντο θεραπείαν, ἀφθόνως αὐτοῖς τῶν πρὸς τὴν δίαιταν χορηγουμένων, καὶ προσέτι τοῦ Δωροθέου πολλὰ καὶ τῶν παρασκευαζομένων τῷ βασιλεῖ (προσέταξε γάρ)
106 αὐτοῖς παρέχοντος. πρωῒ δὲ πρὸς τὴν αὐλὴν παραγινόμενοι καὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἀσπαζόμενοι, πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀπῄεσαν τόπον, καὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ τὰς χεῖρας ἀπονιπτόμενοι καὶ καθαίροντες αὑτοὺς οὕτως ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν νόμων ἑρμηνείαν ἐτρέποντο.
107 μεταγραφέντος δὲ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἑρμηνείαν ἔργου τέλος ἐν ἡμέραις ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ δυσὶν λαβόντος, συναγαγὼν ὁ Δημήτριος τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἅπαντας εἰς τὸν τόπον ἔνθα καὶ μετεβλήθησαν οἱ νόμοι, παρόντων καὶ τῶν ἑρμηνέων
108 ἀνέγνω τούτους. τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἀπεδέξατο μὲν καὶ τοὺς διασαφήσαντας πρεσβυτέρους τὸν νόμον, ἐπῄνεσαν δὲ καὶ τὸν Δημήτριον τῆς ἐπινοίας ὡς μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν αὐτοῖς εὑρετὴν[1] γεγενημένον, παρεκάλεσάν τε δοῦναι καὶ τοῖς ἡγουμένοις αὐτῶν

[1] εὐεργέτην PFL.

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[a] 3 P.M.

[b] From this sentence (in the corresponding passage in Arist., §§ 304 ff.) it appears that the translators spent the late afternoon and evening at or near Ptolemy's palace, and after paying their respects at court every morning, left for the island of Pharos (for ἀπῄεσαν, "went back," Arist. has ἀπελύοντο, "were dismissed"). For the bearing of this point on the date of the composition of Arist. see H. Willrich, *Urkundenfälschung in der hellenistisch-jüdischen Literatur*, 1924, p. 88, and Tramontano's note *ad loc.* (*versus* Willrich).

[c] L. Sukenik, *Ancient Synagogues in Palestine and*

bitiously and painstakingly as possible to make the translation accurate, continuing at their work until the ninth hour,[a] when they took a recess to attend to their bodily wants, for food was liberally supplied them and Dorotheus, moreover, furnished them with many of the dishes prepared for the king—this by his command. And early each day they would go to the court, pay their respects to Ptolemy and then go back to the same place [b] and, after washing their hands in the sea and purifying themselves,[c] would betake themselves in this state to the translation of the laws. Now, when the Law had been transcribed and the work of translation brought to an end in seventy-two days, Demetrius assembled all the Jews at the same place where the laws had been rendered, and in the presence of the translators read them aloud. Thereupon the people expressed their approval of the elders who had interpreted the Law, and also praised Demetrius for conceiving the idea through which he had become the originator of great benefits to them, and they urged him as well

Greece, 1934, pp. 49 f., writes: "Although official Judaism has preserved no trace of a precept to that effect, there is abundant evidence that Jews in Hellenistic countries built their synagogues by preference in the proximity of water. Josephus, *Ant.* xiv. 10. 23, para. 258, tells of a decision of the people of Halicarnassus to suffer the Jews to . . . build synagogues, as was their custom, by the sea. At Philippi the apostle Paul and his companions went forth on a Sabbath outside the town gate near the river where they supposed there was a synagogue (Acts xvi. 13).

"As we have seen, the synagogues of Delos, Aegina and Miletus in fact lie close to the edge of the shore." He adds in a note, "It seems plausible to seek the motive for this Jewish custom of the Diaspora in . . . the ritual uncleanness of the land of the Gentiles," and cites an illustrative passage from *Mekhilta*, the rabbinic commentary on Exodus (xii. 1).

ἀναγνῶναι τὸν νόμον, ἠξίωσάν τε[1] πάντες ὅ τε ἱερεὺς καὶ τῶν ἑρμηνέων οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ τοῦ πολιτεύματος οἱ προεστηκότες, ἐπεὶ καλῶς τὰ τῆς ἑρμηνείας ἀπήρτισται,[2] καὶ διαμεῖναι ταῦθ', ὡς
109 ἔχει,[3] καὶ μὴ μετακινεῖν αὐτά. ἁπάντων δ'[4] ἐπαινεσάντων τὴν γνώμην ἐκέλευσαν, εἴ τις ἢ περισσόν τι προσγεγραμμένον ὁρᾷ τῷ νόμῳ ἢ λεῖπον, πάλιν ἐπισκοποῦντα τοῦτο καὶ ποιοῦντα φανερὸν διορθοῦν, σωφρόνως τοῦτο πράττοντες, ἵνα τὸ κριθὲν ἅπαξ ἔχειν καλῶς εἰς ἀεὶ διαμένῃ.

110 (14) Ἐχάρη μὲν οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ, τὴν αὑτοῦ προαίρεσιν εἴς τι χρήσιμον ὁρῶν τετελειωμένην, μάλιστα δὲ[5] τῶν νόμων ἀναγνωσθέντων αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ τὴν σοφίαν ἐξεπλάγη τοῦ νομοθέτου· καὶ πρὸς τὸν Δημήτριον ἤρξατο ποιεῖσθαι λόγους, πῶς οὕτως θαυμαστῆς οὔσης τῆς νομοθεσίας οὐδεὶς οὔτε τῶν ἱστορικῶν
111 αὐτῆς οὔτε τῶν ποιητῶν ἐπεμνήσθη. ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος μηδένα τολμῆσαι τῆς τῶν νόμων τούτων ἀναγραφῆς ἅψασθαι διὰ τὸ θείαν αὐτὴν εἶναι καὶ σεμνὴν ἔφασκεν, καὶ ὅτι βλαβεῖεν ἤδη τινὲς τούτοις
112 ἐγχειρήσαντες[6] ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, δηλῶν ὡς Θεόπομπος[7]

[1] ἠξίωσάν τε FV: ἀξιώσαντες rell.
[2] ἀπήρτιστο LAW.
[3] ἔχοι PLAW.
[4] δὲ αὐτῶν AW.
[5] μάλιστα δὲ E; μάλιστα ὡς δὲ PAW; ἥσθη δὲ μάλιστα FLV.
[6] ἐπιχειρήσαντες FLAVE.
[7] Θεόπομπος Dindorf: Θεόπομπός τε codd.

to give their leaders the Law to read[a]; and all of them, including the priest and the eldest of the translators[b] and the chief officers of the community,[c] requested that, since the translation had been so successfully completed, it should remain as it was and not be altered. Accordingly, when all had approved this idea, they ordered that, if anyone saw any further addition made to the text of the Law or anything omitted from it, he should examine it and make it known and correct it[d]; in this they acted wisely, that what had once been judged good might remain for ever.

(14) And so the king rejoiced at this act as well, seeing his design result in a useful accomplishment, but especially did he rejoice when the laws were read to him, and he was amazed at the depth of mind and wisdom of the lawgiver; and he began to discuss with Demetrius how it was that though this legislation was so admirable none of the historians or poets had made mention of it. Thereupon Demetrius explained that no one had ventured to undertake a description of these laws because of their divine and awful nature,[e] and that some who had already attempted this had been afflicted by God; and he

Ptolemy learns why the Jewish Law has remained unknown to Greeks. Aristeas § 312.

[a] Arist. "urged him to have the whole Law copied and give (a copy) to their leaders" (the original translation being meant for the king's library).

[b] Or "the elders who were the translators."

[c] The organization of the Jewish community (πολίτευμα) in Alexandria will be described in an appendix to the last volume of this translation.

[d] Arist. "he (Demetrius) ordered them to pronounce a curse, in accordance with their custom, on any who should alter, by adding or changing, any of the words which had been written, or by omitting anything"; *cf.* Deut. iv. 2, xii. 32.

[e] *Cf.* § 38 note *a*.

βουληθεὶς ἱστορῆσαί τι[1] *περὶ τούτων ἐταράχθη τὴν διάνοιαν πλείοσιν ἢ τριάκοντα ἡμέραις καὶ παρὰ τὰς ἀνέσεις ἐξιλάσκετο τὸν θεόν, ἐντεῦθεν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τὴν παραφροσύνην ὑπονοῶν· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὄναρ εἶδεν ὅτι τοῦτ' αὐτῷ συμβαίη περιεργαζομένῳ τὰ θεῖα καὶ ταῦτ' ἐκφέρειν εἰς κοινοὺς ἀνθρώπους θελήσαντι· καὶ ἀποσχόμενος κατέστη*
113 *τὴν διάνοιαν. ἐδήλου δὲ καὶ περὶ Θεοδέκτου τοῦ τῶν τραγῳδιῶν ποιητοῦ ἀναφέρεσθαι ὅτι βουληθεὶς ἔν τινι δράματι τῶν ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ βίβλῳ γεγραμμένων μνησθῆναι τὰς ὄψεις γλαυκωθείη, καὶ συνιδὼν τὴν αἰτίαν ἀπαλλαγείη τοῦ πάθους ἐξευμενισάμενος τὸν θεόν.*

114 (15) *Παραλαβὼν δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ταῦτα παρὰ τοῦ Δημητρίου, καθὼς προείρηται, προσκυνήσας αὐτοῖς ἐκέλευσε πολλὴν ποιεῖσθαι τῶν βιβλίων τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, ἵνα διαμείνῃ ταῦτα καθαρῶς, τούς τε ἑρμηνεύσαντας παρεκάλεσε συνεχῶς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκ*
115 *τῆς Ἰουδαίας παραγίγνεσθαι· τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ*

[1] *τι* om. AWE.

[a] A famous Greek historian from Chios, who flourished in the second half of the 4th century B.C., and came to Egypt in the reign of Ptolemy I. Only fragments of his works, including the *Hellenica* and *Philippica*, have survived, some of them among the papyri found by Grenfell and Hunt at Oxyrhynchus. Josephus mentions him again in *Ap.* i. 221.

[b] Andrews comments, "He is described (*Phot. Cod.* 176) as a busybody (*πολυπράγμων*), which gives point to the *περιεργασάμενος* of [Arist.] § 315."

[c] Or "profane."

[d] Arist. "And I have heard from Theodectes": it is not clear in Arist., however, whether Demetrius or Aristeas is the speaker.

[e] Theodectes of Phaselis, who was a rhetorician as well as a tragic poet, lived most of his life at Athens, where he was a pupil of Plato and Isocrates, and a friend of Aristotle (*cf. Eth.*

told how, when Theopompus [a] wished to relate something about them, he had become disturbed in mind for more than thirty days and during lucid intervals had tried to appease God, suspecting that it was from this source that his madness came; not only that, but he learned from a dream that this misfortune had befallen him because he had been too curious [b] about divine things and wished to disclose them to common [c] men, and so he gave up his plan and recovered his reason. Demetrius also informed him that it was reported [d] of Theodectes, the tragic poet,[e] that, when he wished to mention in one of his dramas the matters written in the sacred book,[f] his eyes were afflicted with cataracts, and, when he recognized the cause, he rid himself of this disease by propitiating God.

(15) The king, then, having received these books from the hands of Demetrius, did obeisance to them [g] and ordered that great care should be taken of the books in order that they might remain intact; he also invited the translators to come to him frequently from Judaea, for this would be profitable for them

Ptolemy's gifts to the Jewish elders and high priest. Aristeas § 317.

Nic. vii. 7. 6, 1150 b). He is said to have been defeated by Theopompus in a rhetorical contest arranged by Artemisia at Halicarnassus. There seems to be no evidence that he visited Egypt.

[f] A fragment of a Hellenistic drama on a biblical theme (the Exodus) survives in the excerpts from the *Exagōgē* of the Jewish poet Ezekiel in Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* ix. 28 ff., separately edited by J. Wieneke, *Ezechielis Iudaei poetae Alexandrini . . . Exagōgē*, 1931.

[g] Or, less probably, "having received these (explanations) from Demetrius, did obeisance to them (the Jews)"; the corresponding passage in Arist. apparently refers to the books (so Tramontano); moreover it is inherently more likely that the king did obeisance to the sacred books than to the Jews.

πρὸς τιμὴν τὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν δώρων ὠφελείας λυσιτελήσειν· νῦν μὲν γὰρ εἶναι δίκαιον αὐτοὺς ἐκπέμπειν ἔλεγεν, ἑκουσίως δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντας τεύξεσθαι πάντων ὧν ἥ τε αὐτῶν ἐστιν σοφία δικαία τυχεῖν καὶ ἡ ἐκείνου μεγαλο-
116 φροσύνη παρασχεῖν ἱκανή. τότε μὲν οὖν ἐξέπεμψεν αὐτούς, δοὺς ἑκάστῳ στολὰς ἀρίστας τρεῖς καὶ χρυσοῦ τάλαντα δύο καὶ κυλίκιον ταλάντου καὶ τὴν τοῦ συμποσίου στρωμνήν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐκείνοις
117 ἔχειν ἐδωρήσατο· τῷ δ' ἀρχιερεῖ Ἐλεαζάρῳ δι' αὐτῶν ἔπεμψε κλίνας ἀργυρόποδας δέκα καὶ τὴν ἀκόλουθον αὐτῶν ἐπισκευὴν καὶ κυλίκιον ταλάντων τριάκοντα, πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ στολὰς δέκα καὶ πορφύραν καὶ στέφανον διαπρεπῆ καὶ βυσσίνης ὀθόνης ἱστοὺς ἑκατόν, ἔτι γε μὴν φιάλας καὶ τρύβλια καὶ σπονδεῖα καὶ κρατῆρας χρυσοῦς πρὸς
118 ἀνάθεσιν δύο. παρεκάλεσε δ' αὐτὸν καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ὅπως, εἰ[1] τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων θελήσειάν τινες πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν, ἐπιτρέψῃ, περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμενος τὴν μετὰ τῶν ἐν παιδείᾳ τυγχανόντων συνουσίαν, καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον εἰς τοὺς τοιούτους ἡδέως ἔχων κατατίθεσθαι. καὶ τὰ μὲν εἰς δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν Ἰουδαίοις τοιαῦτα παρὰ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου συνέβη γενέσθαι.
119 (iii. 1) Ἔτυχον δὲ καὶ τῆς παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων τῆς Ἀσίας τιμῆς, ἐπειδὴ συνεστράτευσαν αὐτοῖς·

[1] εἴποτε cod. NC ap. Hudson.

[a] So our MSS. of Arist. § 318, *πολυδωρίας*; some editors, however, follow Mahaffy in reading *πολυωρίας*, "consideration."

[b] For *κυλίκιον* (also in Arist.) some editors read *κυλικεῖον*, "side-board," and one or two take "a talent" to be its weight, not its value.

both on account of the honour to be received from him and the gifts[a] they would gain. At this time, he said, it was only right to send them home, but, if they came to him of their own will, they would obtain all that their wisdom deserved to obtain and his own generosity was able to provide. For the time being, therefore, he sent them home, giving each of them three very fine garments, two talents of gold, a small wine-cup worth a talent,[b] and the covering for a banquet-table.[c] Now these gifts he gave them to keep for themselves, but to the high priest Eleazar he sent by them ten couches with feet of silver and the furnishings belonging to them and a small wine-cup[d] worth thirty talents and, in addition to these, ten garments, a purple robe, a very handsome crown and a hundred pieces of fine-linen weave, as well as shallow bowls and cups and libation-bowls[e] and two golden mixing-bowls to be dedicated to God. He also requested of him by letter that, if any of these men wished to come to him, he should permit them to do so, for he highly valued the society of those possessed of learning, and took pleasure in using his wealth for the benefit of such persons. These, then, were the things done by Ptolemy Philadelphus in appreciation and honour of the Jews.[f]

(iii. 1) They also received honour from the kings of Asia when they served with them in war.[g] For Seleucus Nicator and the Jews.

[c] Or perhaps "a banquet-table for three with its furnishings."
[d] *Cf.* note *b* above.
[e] The libation-bowls are not mentioned in our mss. of Arist.
[f] Here ends Josephus' paraphrase of Arist.
[g] On the privileges here asserted to have been granted the Jews by the early Seleucid rulers, see Appendix C.

καὶ γὰρ Σέλευκος ὁ Νικάτωρ[1] ἐν αἷς ἔκτισε πόλεσιν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ τῇ κάτω Συρίᾳ καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ μητροπόλει Ἀντιοχείᾳ πολιτείας αὐτοὺς ἠξίωσε καὶ τοῖς ἐνοικισθεῖσιν ἰσοτίμους ἀπέφηνε Μακεδόσιν καὶ Ἕλλησιν, ὡς τὴν πολιτείαν ταύτην
120 ἔτι καὶ νῦν διαμένειν· τεκμήριον δὲ τοῦτο[2] τοὺς Ἰουδαίους μὴ βουλομένους ἀλλοφύλῳ ἐλαίῳ χρῆσθαι λαμβάνειν ὡρισμένον τι παρὰ τῶν γυμνασιάρχων εἰς ἐλαίου τιμὴν ἀργύριον ἐκέλευσεν[3]· ὃ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀντιοχέων ἐν τῷ νῦν πολέμῳ λῦσαι προαιρουμένου, Μουκιανὸς ἡγεμὼν ὢν τότε τῆς
121 Συρίας ἐτήρησεν· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κρατήσαντος Οὐεσπασιανοῦ καὶ Τίτου τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης, δεηθέντες οἱ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς καὶ Ἀντιοχεῖς ἵνα τὰ δίκαια τὰ τῆς πολιτείας μηκέτι μένῃ τοῖς Ἰου-
122 δαίοις, οὐκ ἐπέτυχον. ἐξ οὗ τις ἂν κατανοήσειεν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιείκειαν καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνην, μάλιστα δὲ τὴν Οὐεσπασιανοῦ καὶ Τίτου, ὅτι καίτοι πολλὰ πονήσαντες ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἰουδαίους πολέμῳ καὶ πικρῶς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔχοντες ὅτι μὴ παρέδοσαν αὐτοῖς τὰ ὅπλα μέχρι δ' ἐσχάτου πολεμοῦντες
123 ὑπέμειναν, οὐδενὸς αὐτοὺς τῶν ὑπαρχόντων κατὰ τὴν προειρημένην πολιτείαν ἀφείλοντο· ἅμα γὰρ[4] καὶ τῆς πρότερον ὀργῆς καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων καὶ Ἀντιοχέων δήμων μεγίστων παρακλήσεως

[1] E cod. NC ap Hudson: Νικάνωρ codd. Lat.
[2] τούτου τὸ AWE: τὸ FLV.
[3] ἐκέλευσεν om. FLVE Lat.
[4] ἅμα γὰρ P Lat.: ἀλλὰ FLAVW.

example, Seleucus Nicator[a] granted them citizenship in the cities which he founded in Asia and Lower Syria and in his capital, Antioch, itself, and declared them to have equal privileges with the Macedonians and Greeks who were settled in these cities, so that this citizenship of theirs remains to this very day; and the proof of this is the fact that he gave orders that those Jews who were unwilling to use foreign oil should receive a fixed sum of money from the gymnasiarchs to pay for their own kind of oil[b]; and, when the people of Antioch proposed to revoke this privilege, Mucianus, who was then governor of Syria, maintained it; and afterwards, when Vespasian and his son Titus became masters of the habitable world, and the Alexandrians and Antiochians asked that the Jews should no longer continue to have the rights of citizenship, they did not obtain their request. From this one may get some notion of the fairness and generosity of the Romans, especially of Vespasian and Titus, for in spite of having suffered great hardships in the war with the Jews and feeling bitter toward them because they had not laid down their arms and persisted in fighting to the very last, they still did not deprive them of their existing rights of citizenship, mentioned above; indeed[c] they overcame their former anger as well as the demands of the Alexandrians and Antiochians, who were powerful

Vespasian and Titus maintain Jewish privileges. *Cf. B.J.* vii. 110 f.

[a] The founder of the Seleucid kingdom in Syria and Asia Minor; he ruled (officially) from 312 to 281/0 B.C.

[b] On the reluctance of the Jews to use gentile oil *cf. Vita* 74 and *B.J.* ii. 591; *cf.* also Rostovtzeff in *CAH* vii. 178 f., commenting on a Greek inscription (*SEG* ii. 663) of a Hellespontine city from the time of Antiochus III, "the treasury also allows a certain quantity of olive oil for the needs of the city's palaestrae and gymnasia." See also Appendix C.

[c] Variant "but."

124 ἐκράτησαν, ὥστε μηδὲν μήθ' ὑπὸ τῆς πρὸς τούτους χάριτος μήθ' ὑπὸ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμηθέντας μισοπονηρίας ἐνδοῦναι πρὸς τὸ λῦσαί τι τῶν ἀρχαίων τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις φιλανθρώπων, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀνταραμένους αὐτοῖς ὅπλα καὶ χωρήσαντας διὰ μάχης δεδωκέναι τιμωρίαν φήσαντες, τοὺς οὐδὲν ἐξαμαρτόντας οὐκ ἐδικαίουν[1] ἀποστερεῖν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων.

125 (2) Ὅμοιον δέ τι τούτῳ καὶ Μᾶρκον Ἀγρίππαν φρονήσαντα περὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων οἴδαμεν· τῶν γὰρ Ἰώνων κινηθέντων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ δεομένων τοῦ Ἀγρίππα[2] ἵνα τῆς πολιτείας ἣν αὐτοῖς ἔδωκεν Ἀντίοχος ὁ Σελεύκου υἱωνός, ὁ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν Θεὸς λεγόμενος, μόνοι μετέχωσιν,[3] ἀξιούντων δ',
126 εἰ συγγενεῖς εἰσιν αὐτοῖς Ἰουδαῖοι, σέβεσθαι τοὺς αὐτῶν[4] θεούς, καὶ δίκης περὶ τούτων συστάσης ἐνίκησαν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τοῖς αὑτῶν[5] ἔθεσι χρῆσθαι, συνηγορήσαντος αὐτοῖς Νικολάου τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ· ὁ γὰρ Ἀγρίππας ἀπεφήνατο μηδὲν αὐτῷ καινίζειν
127 ἐξεῖναι. τὸ δ' ἀκριβὲς εἴ τις βούλεται καταμαθεῖν,

[1] οὐκ ἐδικαίουν P: οὐκ εἶναι δίκαιον AW Lat.: οὐ δίκαιον FLVE.
[2] Ἀγρίππου PFVE.
[3] E: μετέλθωσιν codd.: possiderent Lat.
[4] ἰδίους αὐτῶν FLV: Ἰουδαίους αὐτῶν E.
[5] αὐτοῖς FLV.

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[a] Variant (after "penalty") "and it was not right to deprive those who had done no wrong."
[b] The famous friend and son-in-law of the emperor Augustus, who visited the East as his vice-regent during the years 16–13 B.C., *cf. Ant.* xvi. 12 ff., and the recent biography by M. Reinhold, 1933.
[c] Lit. "share," so the Epitome; the MSS. have "seek.'

communities, so that neither out of favour to these nor out of detestation of the people they had fought did they yield in any respect to the temptation of revoking any of the ancient acts of kindness to the Jews, but said that those who had taken up arms against them and engaged in battle with them had paid the penalty, and they would not allow those who had done no wrong to be deprived[a] of their existing rights.

(2) And we know that Marcus Agrippa[b] had a similar view concerning the Jews, for when the Ionians agitated against them and petitioned Agrippa that they alone might enjoy[c] the citizenship which Antiochus, the grandson of Seleucus, called *Theos*[d] by the Greeks, had given them,[e] and claimed that, if the Jews were to be their fellows,[f] they should worship the Ionians' gods, the matter was brought to trial and the Jews won the right to use their own customs, their advocate being Nicolas of Damascus[g]; for Agrippa gave his opinion that it was not lawful for him to make a new rule.[h] But if anyone wishes

Marcus Agrippa also preserves Jewish privileges in Asia Minor. *Cf. Ant.* xvi. 27 ff.

For μετέχειν = " enjoy " see *Ant.* xvi. 39, 41 and *B.J.* vii. 44; *cf.* p. 742.

[d] He ruled from 262 to 247/6 B.C.

[e] αὐτοῖς, " them," is, as Reinach remarks, ambiguous, being applicable either to the Greeks or to the Jews, or to both. It is, however, probable that the Greeks alone are meant; see the discussion in Appendix C, pp. 741-742.

[f] Lit. " those of the same family " or " class."

[g] *Cf. Ant.* i. 94 note *b*, and the Appendix to the last volume of this translation, on Josephus' sources for Hellenistic history.

[h] The reason for Agrippa's favourable decision is somewhat differently explained in *Ant.* xvi. 60. The above, §§ 125-126, is included (as a paraphrase) among the fragments of Nicolas' *History*, by F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, Pt. II A, 1926, p. 379 (fr. 81).

ἀναγνώτω τῶν Νικολάου ἱστοριῶν τὴν ἑκατοστὴν καὶ εἰκοστὴν καὶ τρίτην καὶ τετάρτην. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ὑπ' Ἀγρίππα κριθέντων οὐκ ἔστιν ἴσως θαυμάζειν· οὐ γὰρ ἐπολέμει τότε Ῥωμαίοις τὸ
128 ἡμέτερον ἔθνος· Οὐεσπασιανοῦ δ' ἄν τις καὶ Τίτου τὴν μεγαλοφροσύνην εἰκότως ἐκπλαγείη μετὰ πολέμους καὶ τηλικούτους ἀγῶνας οὓς ἔσχον πρὸς ἡμᾶς μετριοπαθησάντων. ἐπανάξω δὲ[1] τὸν λόγον ὅθεν[2] ἐπὶ ταῦτ' ἐξέβην.

129 (3) Τοὺς γὰρ Ἰουδαίους ἐπ' Ἀντιόχου τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλεύοντος τῆς Ἀσίας ἔτυχεν αὐτούς τε[3] πολλὰ ταλαιπωρῆσαι τῆς γῆς αὐτῶν κακουμένης καὶ τοὺς τὴν κοίλην Συρίαν νεμομένους.
130 πολεμοῦντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Φιλοπάτορα Πτολεμαῖον καὶ πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Πτολεμαῖον ἐπικληθέντα δὲ Ἐπιφανῆ, κακοπαθεῖν συνέβαινεν αὐτοῖς καὶ νικῶντος καὶ πταίοντος ταὐτὰ[4] πάσχειν, ὥστ' οὐδὲν ἀπέλειπον χειμαζομένης νεὼς καὶ πονουμένης[5] ἑκατέρωθεν ὑπὸ τοῦ κλύδωνος, μεταξὺ τῆς εὐπραγίας τῆς Ἀντιόχου καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ θάτερον
131 αὐτοῦ ῥοπῆς[6] τῶν πραγμάτων κείμενοι. νικήσας

[1] δὴ FL: οὖν AW.
[2] ὅθεν γοῦν FLV: ὅθεν νῦν Naber.
[3] αὐτούς τε om. FVE Lat.
[4] P: ταῦτα rell.
[5] καὶ πονουμένης] καταπονουμένης Naber fort. recte.
[6] coni. Niese: τροπῆς codd.

to learn the details, let him read the hundred and twenty-third and hundred and twenty-fourth books of Nicolas' *History*. Now concerning the decision of Agrippa there is perhaps no reason to be surprised, for at that time our nation was not at war with the Romans; but one may properly be amazed at the generosity of Vespasian and Titus who acted with moderation after the wars and great struggles which they had with us. But I shall return to the account from which I digressed into these remarks.[a]

(3) When Antiochus the Great reigned over Asia[b] it was the lot of the Jews to undergo great hardships through the devastation of their land, as did also the inhabitants of Coele-Syria. For while he was at war with Ptolemy Philopator and with his son Ptolemy, surnamed Epiphanes, they had to suffer, and whether he was victorious or defeated, to experience the same fate[c]; so that they were in no way different from a storm-tossed ship which is beset on either side by heavy seas, finding themselves crushed between the successes of Antiochus and the adverse turn of his fortunes. When, however, Antiochus had de-

Antiochus the Great takes Palestine from the Ptolemies.

[a] That is, to the account of Jewish history under the Seleucids.

[b] From 223 to 187 B.C.

[c] The armies of Antiochus the Great and of Ptolemy Philopator fought in 221 B.C. near the Lebanon, and again between 219 and 218 B.C., in the same region and in the cities of the Decapolis (Polyb. v. 45, 70 ff.). In 217 B.C. Philopator decisively defeated Antiochus at the battle of Raphia near the sea-coast of Palestine, a few miles S.W. of Gaza; as a result of this defeat Antiochus had to "evacuate the whole country up to the Lebanon" (Bevan, *Ptol.* p. 229). Philopator died in 203 B.C., and two years later his successor Ptolemy Epiphanes had to give up Palestine to Antiochus' victorious forces, *cf.* note *a*, p. 66.

μέντοι τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ὁ Ἀντίοχος τὴν Ἰουδαίαν προσάγεται. τελευτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Φιλοπάτορος ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ μεγάλην ἐξέπεμψε δύναμιν καὶ στρατηγὸν Σκόπαν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ κοίλῃ Συρίᾳ, ὃς πολλάς τε αὐτῶν πόλεις ἔλαβε καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον
132 ἔθνος· πολεμούμενον γὰρ αὐτῷ προσέθετο. μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ τὸν Σκόπαν Ἀντίοχος νικᾷ συμβαλὼν αὐτῷ πρὸς ταῖς πηγαῖς τοῦ Ἰορδάνου καὶ πολλὴν
133 αὐτοῦ τῆς στρατιᾶς διέφθειρεν. ὕστερον δ' Ἀντιόχου χειρωσαμένου τὰς ἐν τῇ κοίλῃ Συρίᾳ πόλεις ἃς ὁ Σκόπας κατεσχήκει καὶ τὴν Σαμάρειαν, ἑκουσίως αὐτῷ προσέθεντο οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ τῇ πόλει δεξάμενοι πάσῃ[1] αὐτοῦ τῇ τε στρατιᾷ καὶ τοῖς ἐλέφασιν ἀφθονίαν παρέσχον, καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ Σκόπα καταλειφθέντας ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων φρουροὺς πολιορκοῦντι προθύμως συνεμαχή-
134 σαν. ὁ οὖν Ἀντίοχος δίκαιον ἡγησάμενος τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων πρὸς αὐτὸν σπουδὴν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν ἀμείψασθαι, γράφει τοῖς τε στρατηγοῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ

[1] πᾶσαν PFV.

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[a] From the following sentence it seems that by "Ptolemy" here Josephus means Ptolemy Philopator. After Philopator's death (203 B.C.) and Ptolemy Epiphanes' accession Antiochus defeated the latter's general, the Aetolian Scopas, in two campaigns between 201 and 198 B.C., and finally ended Ptolemaic rule in Palestine. Thus Josephus is inaccurate in saying that Antiochus defeated Ptolemy if, as is generally assumed, he means Ptolemy Philopator, *cf.* Bevan, *H. Sel.* ii. 37, note 6, "Coele-Syria had thus to be conquered *twice* by Antiochus subsequently to Raphia. This is the real fact at the basis of Josephus' statement that Antiochus conquered it *before* the death of Ptolemy Philopator. Josephus makes a hasty inference from his knowledge that Scopas had *found the country in Seleucid occupation*." I venture to suggest, however, that Josephus' inaccuracy is more apparent than

feated Ptolemy, he annexed Judaea.[a] And on the death of Philopator his son sent out a great force with Scopas as general against the people of Coele-Syria, and he took many of their cities and also our nation, which went over to him after being attacked.[b] But not long afterwards Antiochus defeated Scopas in a battle near the sources of the Jordan,[c] and destroyed a great part of his army. And later, when Antiochus took possession of the cities in Coele-Syria[d] which Scopas had held, and Samaria, the Jews of their own will went over to him and admitted him to their city and made abundant provision for his entire army and his elephants; and they readily joined his forces in besieging the garrison which had been left by Scopas in the citadel of Jerusalem.[e] Accordingly Antiochus, considering it just to requite the zeal and exertions of the Jews on his behalf, wrote to his governors[f]

real. Above, in § 130, he speaks of Antiochus' victories and defeats in wars with Philopator *and* Epiphanes. In the present passage it is quite possible that by "Ptolemy" he means not Philopator but Epiphanes, and that we should render the δὲ in the following sentence by "for" and not by "and" or "but," thus making the sentence explanatory of the preceding one: *i.e.* the passage would read, "When, however, Antiochus had defeated Ptolemy (Epiphanes), he annexed Judaea. For on the death of Philopator his son (Epiphanes), etc."

[b] Presumably this information comes from Polybius, *cf.* § 136.

[c] At Paneion or Paneas, modern *Banias*, the Caesarea Philippi of the New Testament, so called after the Tetrarch Philip, *cf. Ant.* xviii. 28, *B.J.* ii. 168.

[d] Possibly "Coele-Syria" here means the Decapolis, *cf.* below, § 136 and *Ant.* xi. 25 note; it may, however, be merely a repetition of Coele-Syria in § 131, which means Palestine and Syria south of the Lebanon.

[e] *Cf.* § 252 note *e*.

[f] Or "generals," *cf.* § 138 note *b*.

τοῖς φίλοις, μαρτυρῶν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ὑπὲρ ὧν εὖ πρὸς αὐτῶν πάθοι, καὶ τὰς δωρεὰς ἃς ὑπὲρ τούτων
135 διέγνω παρασχεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐμφανίζων. παραθήσομαι δὲ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς τὰς τοῖς στρατηγοῖς περὶ αὐτῶν γραφείσας, προδιελθὼν ὡς μαρτυρεῖ τούτοις ἡμῶν τοῖς λόγοις Πολύβιος ὁ Μεγαλοπολίτης· ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἑκκαιδεκάτῃ τῶν ἱστοριῶν αὐτοῦ φησιν οὕτως· "ὁ δὲ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου στρατηγὸς Σκόπας ὁρμήσας εἰς τοὺς ἄνω τόπους κατεστρέψατο ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι τὸ
136 τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος." λέγει δ' ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ βίβλῳ ὡς τοῦ Σκόπα νικηθέντος ὑπ' Ἀντιόχου "τὴν μὲν Βαταναίαν[1] καὶ Σαμάρειαν καὶ Ἄβιλα καὶ Γάδαρα παρέλαβεν Ἀντίοχος, μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ προσεχώρησαν αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων οἱ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ προσαγορευόμενον Ἱεροσόλυμα κατοικοῦντες, ὑπὲρ οὗ καὶ πλείω λέγειν ἔχοντες καὶ μάλιστα περὶ[2] τῆς[3] γενομένης περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐπιφανείας,[4] εἰς ἕτερον
137 καιρὸν ὑπερθησόμεθα τὴν διήγησιν." καὶ Πολύβιος μὲν ταῦτα ἱστόρησεν.[5] ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπανάξομεν[6] τὸν

[1] Βατανέαν Niese: Bataniam Lat.
[2] τὸ προσαγορευόμενον . . . μάλιστα περὶ om. PW Lat.
[3] τῆς δὲ PW Lat.
[4] περὶ τῆς γενομένης . . . ἐπιφανείας] διὰ τὴν . . . ἐπιφάνειαν FLV.
[5] ἱστόρηκεν FV.
[6] ἐπανάξωμεν PLAW.

[a] "Friends" here probably has its technical meaning; in the Macedonian kingdoms there were two orders of the military aristocracy (as earlier in Persia), that of Kinsmen (of the king) and that of Friends, *cf.* Bevan, *H. Sel.* ii. 280 ff.

[b] The following excerpts from Polybius (not elsewhere preserved) hardly "attest" Josephus' statements about Antiochus' appreciation of the help given him by the Jews, as is pointed out by Reinach, who suspects Josephus of "throwing dust in his reader's eyes." On the other hand Bevan, *H. Sel.* ii. 297, holds "that Antiochus should in such

and Friends,[a] bearing witness to the Jews concerning the good treatment which he had received at their hands, and announcing the rewards which he had decided to give them on that account. I shall, therefore, cite the letters written to his governors concerning them, first explaining that Polybius of Megalopolis attests these statements of mine[b]: for in the sixteenth book of his *History* he says the following. "Scopas, the general of Ptolemy, set out for the upper country[c] and during the winter subdued the Jewish nation." And in the same book he says that, after Scopas was defeated by Antiochus, "Antiochus took Batanaia,[d] Samaria, Abila[e] and Gadara,[f] and after a short time there also came over to him those Jews who live near the temple of Jerusalem, as it is called, concerning which we have more to say, especially concerning the renown of[g] the temple, but we shall defer the account to another occasion." Now this is what Polybius relates. But we shall return to the

Polybius' account of Antiochus III's conquests.

circumstances have shown some favours to the Jews and made presents to the Temple is in itself extremely likely."

[c] Northern Palestine is meant.

[d] Roughly corresponding to bibl. Bashan, the region north and east of the Decapolis.

[e] Not Abel-beth-maacah, modern *Abil* south of the Lebanon (*cf. Ant.* xix. 275) or Abel-shittim, modern *Khirbet el-Keffrein*, a few miles east of the Jordan in the latitude of Jericho (*cf. Ant.* iv. 176 note *b*), but a third Abel or Abila is meant, about 10 miles N.E. of Gadara, a little W. of the Yarmuk river where it flows north.

[f] A city of the Decapolis, modern *Mukēs*, well known from the Gospels; it lies a few miles E. of the confluence of the Yarmuk and Jordan rivers. Josephus mentions it frequently in his account of later history (*B.J.* i., *Ant.* xiv.-xvi.).

[g] Or "concerning the divine manifestation connected with," ἐπιφάνεια having both these meanings, and the context not being decisive, but *cf.* Hecataeus *ap.* Diod. Sic. xl. 3. 3.

λόγον ἐπὶ τὴν διήγησιν, παραθέμενοι πρῶτον τὰς ἐπιστολὰς τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου.

138 "Βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος Πτολεμαίῳ χαίρειν. τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ παραυτίκα μέν, ἡνίκα τῆς χώρας ἐπέβημεν αὐτῶν, ἐπιδειξαμένων τὸ πρὸς ἡμᾶς φιλότιμον, καὶ παραγενομένους δ' εἰς τὴν πόλιν λαμπρῶς ἐκδεξαμένων καὶ μετὰ[1] τῆς γερουσίας ἀπαντησάντων, ἄφθονον δὲ τὴν χορηγίαν τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ τοῖς ἐλέφασι παρεσχημένων, συνεξελόντων δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ φρουροὺς τῶν
139 Αἰγυπτίων, ἠξιώσαμεν καὶ αὐτοὶ[2] τούτων αὐτοὺς ἀμείψασθαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν ἀναλαβεῖν κατεφθαρμένην ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τοὺς πολέμους[3] συμπεσόντων καὶ συνοικίσαι τῶν διεσπαρμένων εἰς αὐτὴν
140 πάλιν συνελθόντων. πρῶτον δ' αὐτοῖς ἐκρίναμεν διὰ τὴν εὐσέβειαν παρασχεῖν τὴν εἰς τὰς θυσίας σύνταξιν κτηνῶν τε θυσίμων καὶ οἴνου καὶ ἐλαίου

[1] + μὲν FLAVW. [2] ἡμεῖς FVL Lat. [3] ἀνθρώπους FV.

[a] The authenticity of the letters and decrees ascribed to Antiochus the Great in §§ 138-153 is discussed in Appendix D.
[b] Probably Ptolemy, son of Thraseas, who was governor

main subject of our narrative, after first citing the letters of King Antiochus.[a]

" King Antiochus to Ptolemy,[b] greeting. Inasmuch as the Jews, from the very moment when we entered their country, showed their eagerness to serve us and, when we came to their city, gave us a splendid reception and met us with their senate [c] and furnished an abundance of provisions to our soldiers and elephants, and also helped us to expel the Egyptian garrison in the citadel,[d] we have seen fit on our part to requite them for these acts and to restore their city which has been destroyed by the hazards of war,[e] and to repeople it by bringing back to it those who have been dispersed abroad. In the first place we have decided, on account of their piety, to furnish them for their sacrifices an allowance of sacrificial animals, wine, oil and frankincense to the

Letter of Antiochus III to his governor Ptolemy.

of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia under Antiochus the Great, *cf.* Michel, *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques*, 1900, No. 1229 (p. 858); Bevan, *H. Sel.* ii. 297, writes, " In objecting that Ptolemy was made governor in 218, *Juden u. Griechen*, p. 40, Willrich is thinking of the date in which he was in the Egyptian service, Polyb. v. 65. 3. That he deserted to the Seleucid in 218 with Ceraeas and Hippolochus, Polyb. v. 70. 10, is conjecture only. When he was made governor of Coele-Syria there is absolutely nothing to show." (Of this reply to his objection Willrich takes no notice in his later work, *Urkundenfälschung in der hellenistisch-jüdischen Literatur*, 1924.)

[c] The γερουσία, lit. " council of elders," would be the chief Jewish legislative and judicial body under the presidency of the high priest, corresponding to the later Sanhedrin. In the books of Maccabees the members of this council are usually called " elders (πρεσβύτεροι) of the people." (For the Jewish γερουσία in the cities of the Diaspora, see the useful work by J. B. Frey, *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum*, I, 1936, pp. lxxxv ff.) See further Appendix D.

[d] *Cf.* § 252 note *e*.

[e] Variant " men."

καὶ λιβάνου, ἀργυρίου τιμὴν μυριάδας δύο καὶ σεμιδάλεως ἀρτάβας ἱερὰς[1] κατὰ τὸν ἐπιχώριον νόμον, πυρῶν μεδίμνους χιλίους τετρακοσίους ἑξήκοντα, καὶ ἁλῶν μεδίμνους τριακοσίους ἑβδομή-
141 κοντα πέντε. τελεῖσθαι δ' αὐτοῖς ταῦτα βούλομαι καθὼς ἐπέσταλκα, καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀπαρτισθῆναι ἔργον τάς τε στοὰς καὶ εἴ τι ἕτερον οἰκοδομῆσαι δέοι. ἡ δὲ τῶν ξύλων ὕλη κατακομιζέσθω ἐξ αὐτῆς τε τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν[2] καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Λιβάνου μηδενὸς πρασσομένου τέλος. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐν οἷς ἂν ἐπιφανεστέραν
142 γίγνεσθαι τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐπισκευὴν δέῃ.[3] πολιτευέσθωσαν δὲ πάντες οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους κατὰ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους, ἀπολυέσθω δ' ἡ γερουσία καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ οἱ ἱερο-

[1] ἱερᾶς Niese: ἱερὰς ϛ' Grotius: pro σεμιδάλεως ἀρτάβας ἱερὰς ad similam hab. Lat.
[2] ἀλλοεθνῶν coni. Niese. [3] Niese: δέοι codd.

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[a] Drachmas are meant.
[b] Text uncertain; among other things we expect the number of *artabae* to be given. The *artaba* was an Egyptian (originally Persian) measure of varying capacity, normally about 40 litres, according to A. S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar, *Select Papyri* (Loeb Classical Library), i. 447. According to F. Heichelheim, *Wirtschaftliche Schwankungen der Zeit von Alexander bis Augustus*, 1930, pp. 118 ff., the cost of an *artaba* of wheat in Egypt during the 3rd century varied from 2 to 5 drachmas (in exceptional years less than 2 or more than 5).

value of twenty thousand pieces of silver,[a] and sacred *artabae* of fine flour [b] in accordance with their native law,[c] and one thousand four hundred and sixty *medimni* [d] of wheat and three hundred and seventy-five *medimni* of salt.[e] And it is my will that these things be made over to them as I have ordered, and that the work on the temple be completed, including the porticoes and any other part that it may be necessary to build. The timber, moreover, shall be brought from Judaea itself and from other nations [f] and Lebanon without the imposition of a toll-charge. The like shall be done with the other materials needed for making the restoration of the temple more splendid. And all the members of the nation shall have a form of government in accordance with the laws of their country, and the senate, the priests, the scribes of the temple [g] and the temple-singers

[c] Probably the temple measure is meant. We need not suppose that the mention of *artabae* indicates "an Egyptian redactor" of the letter, as Büchler and Reinach suppose. Ptolemaic measures continued to be used in Palestine even after the Seleucid conquest; moreover ἀρτάβη was a "Hebrew measure" (*cf.* Heb. *'ardāb*) according to Epiphanius (cited by S. Krauss, *Talmudische Archäologie* ii. 395). Krauss equates the Ptolemaic *artaba* with the Heb. *ḥōmer*.

[d] The (Attic and Sicilian) *medimnus* = *c.* 50 litres. Whether the number 1460 has any significance (= 365 × 4) and presupposes an Egyptian "solar year," as Büchler suggests, seems to me very doubtful.

[e] This royal grant of provisions for the temple reminds us of those said to have been made by Cyrus, *Ant.* xi. 16 ff. (1 Esd. vi. 29; Ezra vi. 9 ff.), who gave 20,500 *artabae* of wheat (!); by Darius, *Ant.* xi. 62, 102 (1 Esd. iv. 52 ff.); and by Xerxes (bibl. Artaxerxes), *Ant.* xi. 127 (1 Esd. viii. 19 ff.).

[f] Suggested emendation "foreigners" or "gentiles."

[g] "Scribes of the temple" are mentioned in *Ant.* xi. 128 (1 Esd. viii. 22), *cf.* Appendix D.

ψάλται ὧν ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς τελοῦσι καὶ τοῦ
143 στεφανιτικοῦ[1] φόρου καὶ τοῦ περὶ τῶν ἁλῶν.[2] ἵνα
δὲ θᾶττον ἡ πόλις κατοικισθῇ, δίδωμι τοῖς τε νῦν
κατοικοῦσιν καὶ κατελευσομένοις ἕως τοῦ Ὑπερ-
βερεταίου μηνὸς ἀτελέσιν εἶναι μέχρι τριῶν ἐτῶν.
144 ἀπολύομεν δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτοὺς τοῦ τρίτου
μέρους τῶν φόρων, ὥστε αὐτῶν ἐπανορθωθῆναι τὴν
βλάβην. καὶ ὅσοι ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἁρπαγέντες
δουλεύουσιν, αὐτούς τε τούτους καὶ τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῶν
γεννηθέντας ἐλευθέρους ἀφίεμεν, καὶ τὰς οὐσίας
αὐτοῖς ἀποδίδοσθαι κελεύομεν."
145 (4) Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐπιστολὴ ταῦτα περιεῖχεν. σεμ-
νύνων δὲ καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν πρόγραμμα κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν
βασιλείαν ἐξέθηκεν περιέχον τάδε· "μηδενὶ ἐξεῖναι[3]
ἀλλοφύλῳ εἰς τὸν περίβολον εἰσιέναι τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸν
ἀπηγορευμένον τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, εἰ μὴ οἷς[4] ἁγνισ-
146 θεῖσίν ἐστιν ἔθιμον κατὰ τὸν πάτριον νόμον. μηδ'
εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσφερέσθω ἵππεια κρέα μηδὲ ἡμιό-
νεια μηδὲ ἀγρίων ὄνων[5] καὶ ἡμέρων, παρδαλεών

[1] στεφανίτου FV: regio Lat. [2] Niese: ἄλλων codd.
[3] ἐξὸν εἶναι FLVA marg. [4] Dindorf: οἷς ἂν codd.
[5] ὄνων om. FLV Lat.

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[a] H. Willrich, *Urkundenfälschung*, p. 73, objects that the Jews did not pay a poll-tax, or other taxes, directly to the Seleucid king, but we know too little of the Seleucid system of taxation to judge. It may be, moreover, that in Seleucid times the poll-tax, like the later Roman *tributum capitis* in the provinces, included a variety of personal and business taxes, *cf.* Arnold and Bouchier, *The Roman System of Provincial Administration*, 1914, pp. 199 ff. On the poll-tax in the Seleucid kingdom see Schürer i. 229 note 14, Bikerman, *Inst. Sél.* p. 111, Rostovtzeff, *HHW*, pp. 469, 471.

[b] Emended text; MSS. "other taxes."

[c] Roughly October, corresponding to Heb. *Tishri*, the

shall be relieved from the poll-tax [a] and the crown-tax and the salt-tax [b] which they pay. And, in order that the city may the more quickly be inhabited, I grant both to the present inhabitants and to those who may return before the month of Hyperberetaios [c] exemption from taxes for three years.[d] We shall also relieve them in future from the third part of their tribute, so that their losses may be made good. And as for those who were carried off from the city and are slaves, we herewith set them free, both them and the children born to them, and order their property to be restored to them."

(4) Now these were the contents of the letter. And out of reverence for the temple he also published a proclamation throughout the entire kingdom,[e] of which the contents were as follows. "It is unlawful for any foreigner to enter the enclosure of the temple which is forbidden to the Jews, except to those of them who are accustomed to enter after purifying themselves in accordance with the law of the country.[f] Nor shall anyone bring into the city the flesh of horses or of mules or of wild or tame asses, or of leopards,

Decree of Antiochus III concerning the temple and Jerusalem.

first month of the year, according to the older Hebrew calendar.

[d] For other instances of tax-exemptions allegedly granted the Jews by foreign rulers, *cf. Ant.* xi. 61 (1 Esd. iv. 49—Darius), xii. 151 (Antiochus III), xiii. 52 (1 Macc. x. 29—Demetrius); Herod the Great also did so on at least two occasions, *cf. Ant.* xv. 303, xvii. 25. For an actual instance of such an exemption by Antiochus III to a Hellenistic city *cf.* Rostovtzeff, *CAH* vii. 179.

[e] Even those scholars who consider this decree genuine admit that this phrase, "throughout the entire kingdom," is a later addition, or at least an exaggeration on Josephus' part.

[f] On this prohibition *cf. B.J.* v. 194 note *c*, 227; for similar rabbinic restrictions *cf.* Mishnah, *Kelim* i. 8.

τε καὶ ἀλωπέκων καὶ λαγῶν καὶ καθόλου δὲ[1] πάντων τῶν ἀπηγορευμένων ζῴων τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις· μηδὲ τὰς δορὰς εἰσφέρειν ἐξεῖναι, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τρέφειν τι τούτων ἐν τῇ πόλει· μόνοις δὲ τοῖς προγονικοῖς θύμασιν, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ τῷ θεῷ δεῖ καλλιερεῖν, ἐπιτετράφθαι[2] χρῆσθαι. ὁ δέ τι τούτων παραβὰς ἀποτινύτω τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς τρισχιλίας."

147 "Ἔγραψε δὲ μαρτυρῶν ἡμῖν εὐσέβειάν τε καὶ πίστιν, ἡνίκα νεωτερίζοντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Λυδίαν ἐπύθετο καθ' ὃν ἦν καιρὸν ἐν ταῖς ἄνω σατραπείαις, κελεύων Ζεῦξιν τὸν αὐτοῦ στρατηγὸν καὶ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα φίλον πέμψαι τινὰς τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος εἰς Φρυγίαν. γράφει δὲ
148 οὕτως· "βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος Ζεύξιδι τῷ πατρὶ χαίρειν. εἰ ἔρρωσαι, εὖ ἂν ἔχοι, ὑγιαίνω δὲ καὶ
149 αὐτός. πυνθανόμενος τοὺς ἐν Λυδίᾳ καὶ Φρυγίᾳ νεωτερίζοντας, μεγάλης ἐπιστροφῆς ἡγησάμην τοῦτό μοι δεῖσθαι, καὶ βουλευσαμένῳ μοι μετὰ τῶν φίλων τί δεῖ ποιεῖν, ἔδοξεν εἰς τὰ φρούρια καὶ τοὺς ἀναγκαιοτάτους τόπους τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας καὶ Βαβυλωνίας Ἰουδαίων οἴκους δισχιλίους σὺν

[1] δὲ om. FLVAW.
[2] ἐπιτέτραπται LAW Lat. (vid.).

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[a] Jews were forbidden to eat the flesh of the animals here mentioned, but there is no evidence that they were forbidden to use them (at least the tame ones) for any purpose, or bring their skins into Jerusalem. In this curious prohibition Büchler sees another indication that Antiochus' decree originally applied to the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim; *cf.* Appendix D.

[b] There are extant a number of ancient Jewish Greek inscriptions which mention fines to be paid the Jewish community or synagogue treasury for violation of Jewish re-

foxes or hares or, in general, of any animals forbidden to the Jews. Nor is it lawful to bring in their skins or even to breed any of these animals in the city.[a] But only the sacrificial animals known to their ancestors and necessary for the propitiation of God shall they be permitted to use. And the person who violates any of these statutes shall pay to the priests a fine of three thousand drachmas of silver.[b] "

He also testified in writing to our piety and loyalty when, on the occasion of his being in the upper satrapies, he learned of revolts in Phrygia and Lydia, and ordered Zeuxis, his governor,[c] and one of his close friends, to send some of our people from Babylonia to Phrygia. He then wrote as follows. "King Antiochus to Zeuxis, his father,[d] greeting. If you are in good health, it is well. I also am in sound health. Learning that the people in Lydia and Phrygia are revolting, I have come to consider this as requiring very serious attention on my part, and, on taking counsel with my friends as to what should be done, I determined to transport two thousand Jewish families with their effects from Mesopotamia and Babylonia to the fortresses and most important

Letter of Antiochus III to Zeuxis, governor of Lydia, ordering the transportation of Babylonian Jews to Phrygia.

ligious statutes, *e.g.* from Smyrna, Tlos, Hierapolis in Phrygia (1000 denarii), and Stobi in Macedonia (250,000 denarii !!).

[c] It is generally assumed that this was the Zeuxis who was satrap (or governor, στρατηγός) of Babylonia *c.* 220 B.C. (Polyb. v. 45 ff.) and that he, in turn, was the Zeuxis who was satrap of Lydia *c.* 201 B.C. (Polyb. xvi. 1. 8). Assuming the identity of these three, we must further suppose that Zeuxis was transferred from Babylonia to Lydia sometime after 213 B.C. when Antiochus III conquered the provinces in Asia Minor held by Achaeus.

[d] Another instance of the title "father" given by a Seleucid king to his officer occurs in *Ant.* xiii. 127 (1 Macc. xi. 32—Demetrius to Lasthenes); *cf.* also *Ant.* xi. 218 (Apocr. Esther xiii. 6—Artaxerxes to Haman).

150 ἐπισκευῇ μεταγαγεῖν. πέπεισμαι γὰρ εὔνους αὐτοὺς ἔσεσθαι τῶν ἡμετέρων φύλακας διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν[1] εὐσέβειαν, καὶ μαρτυρουμένους δ' αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν προγόνων εἰς πίστιν οἶδα καὶ προθυμίαν εἰς ἃ παρακαλοῦνται· βούλομαι τοίνυν, καίπερ ἐργώδους ὄντος τούτους[2] μεταγαγεῖν, ὑποσχόμενος,[3] νόμοις αὐτοὺς χρῆσθαι[4] τοῖς ἰδίοις.
151 ὅταν δ' αὐτοὺς ἀγάγῃς εἰς τοὺς προειρημένους τόπους, εἴς τε οἰκοδομίας οἰκιῶν αὐτοῖς δώσεις τόπον ἑκάστῳ καὶ χώραν εἰς γεωργίαν καὶ φυτείαν ἀμπέλων, καὶ ἀτελεῖς τῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς καρπῶν
152 ἀνήσεις ἐπὶ ἔτη δέκα. μετρείσθωσαν δὲ καί, ἄχρις ἂν τοὺς παρὰ τῆς γῆς καρποὺς[5] λαμβάνωσι, σῖτον εἰς τὰς τῶν θεραπόντων διατροφάς· διδόσθω δὲ καὶ τοῖς εἰς τὰς χρείας ὑπηρετοῦσι τὸ αὔταρκες, ἵνα τῆς παρ' ἡμῶν τυγχάνοντες φιλανθρωπίας, προθυμο-
153 τέρους παρέχωσιν αὐτοὺς περὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα. πρόνοιαν δὲ ποιοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἔθνους κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, ὅπως ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ἐνοχλῆται." περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς Ἀντιόχου φιλίας τοῦ μεγάλου πρὸς Ἰουδαίους ταῦτα ἡμῖν ἀποχρώντως εἰρήσθω μαρτύρια.

[1] + αὐτῶν FLV fort. recte: τὸ θεῖον coni. Holleaux.
[2] ex Vossiano Havercamp: τούτου AW: τοῦ rell.
[3] ὑποσχομένους P: ὑποσχομένου LW: ὑποσχόμενον Cocceji: ut promittas Lat.
[4] χρήσεσθαι Naber.
[5] ἄρτους PAW.

[a] Variant "their God": Holleaux emends to "the Deity" as being more appropriate in the mouth of a pagan

places. For I am convinced that they will be loyal guardians of our interests because of their piety to God,[a] and I know that they have had the testimony of my forefathers to their good faith and eagerness to do as they are asked. It is my will, therefore—though it may be a troublesome matter—that they should be transported and, since I have promised it,[b] use their own laws. And when you have brought them to the places mentioned, you shall give each of them a place to build a house and land to cultivate and plant with vines, and shall exempt them from payment of taxes on the produce of the soil for ten years.[c] And also, until they get produce from the soil, let them have grain measured out to them for feeding their servants, and let there be given also to those engaged in public service [d] sufficient for their needs in order that through receiving kind treatment from us they may show themselves the more eager in our cause. And take as much thought for their nation as possible, that it may not be molested by anyone." Concerning, then, the friendship of Antiochus the Great for the Jews let the testimony here given suffice.[e]

ruler. If we accept the variant, there is, of course, no need to emend.

[b] Text doubtful; one may also render (after "transported"), "and that (you) should promise that they may."

[c] *Cf.* above § 143 note *d*.

[d] The meaning of τοῖς εἰς τὰς χρείας ὑπηρετοῦσιν is somewhat doubtful, but *cf. Ant.* xiii. 67, ταῖς σαῖς ἐξυπηρετεῖν χρείαις, which probably means "to serve your (Ptolemy Philometor's) interests."

[e] Reinach properly reminds us that Josephus himself, *Ant.* xiv. 187, admits that many people doubted the authenticity of the Judaeophile decrees attributed to the Persians and Macedonians, because they were preserved only by the Jews and "other barbarians."

154 (iv. 1) Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα φιλίαν καὶ σπονδὰς πρὸς
τὸν Πτολεμαῖον Ἀντίοχος ἐποιήσατο καὶ δίδωσιν
αὐτῷ τὴν θυγατέρα Κλεοπάτραν πρὸς γάμον,
παραχωρήσας αὐτῷ τῆς κοίλης Συρίας καὶ Σαμα-
ρείας καὶ Ἰουδαίας[1] καὶ Φοινίκης φερνῆς ὀνόματι.
155 καὶ διαιρεθέντων εἰς ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς βασιλέας τῶν
φόρων, τὰς ἰδίας ἕκαστοι τῶν ἐπισήμων ὠνοῦντο
πατρίδας φορολογεῖν, καὶ συναθροίζοντες τὸ προσ-
156 τεταγμένον κεφάλαιον τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἐτέλουν. ἐν
τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ Σαμαρεῖς εὖ πράσσοντες πολλὰ
τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐκάκωσαν, τήν τε χώραν αὐτῶν
τεμόντες καὶ σώματα διαρπάσαντες· ἐγένετο δὲ

[1] Ἰδουμαίας P.

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[a] The long section which follows, §§ 154-236, on the Tobiads, Joseph and Hyrcanus, has been the subject of much scholarly discussion because it is obviously derived from several sources, some trustworthy, others fictitious. The various problems, chronological and otherwise, are treated in the works cited in Appendix E.

[b] Ptolemy Epiphanes, who reigned from 204/3 to 181/0 B.C.

[c] The marriage took place *c.* 193 B.C.; it had been announced earlier, *c.* 196 B.C., *cf.* Bevan, *H. Sel.* ii. 57 and Holleaux, *CAH* viii. 199.

[d] Possibly "Coele-Syria" here means the Decapolis, or, more broadly, Transjordan, *cf. Ant.* xi. 25 note *a*, xii. 133 note *d*; Bevan, *H. Sel.* ii. 297, suggests Galilee (with a question-mark).

[e] One MS. Idumaea.

[f] This gift is mentioned in several ancient sources: Polyb. xxviii. 20. 9, "... the agreement which those in Alexandria asserted had recently been made between Ptolemy and his (Antiochus Epiphanes') father, to the effect that Ptolemy should receive Coele-Syria as a dowry when he married Cleopatra, the mother of the present (Egyptian) ruler"; Appian, *Syr.* 5, "Being about to make war on the Romans, he (Antiochus III) attempted to win over the neighbouring kings by alliances of marriage, and sent his daughter

(iv. 1)[a] After this Antiochus made a treaty of friendship with Ptolemy,[b] and gave him his daughter Cleopatra in marriage,[c] making over to him as her dowry Coele-Syria,[d] Samaria, Judaea[e] and Phoenicia.[f] And when the tribute was divided between the two sovereigns,[g] the prominent men purchased the right to farm the taxes in their several provinces[h] and, collecting the sum fixed, paid it to the royal pair. At this time the Samaritans,[i] who were flourishing, did much mischief to the Jews by laying waste their land and carrying off slaves[j]; and this happened in

Ptolemy Epiphanes and the high priest Onias.

Cleopatra, surnamed the Syrian, to Egypt to Ptolemy, giving him as a marriage-present Coele-Syria, which he had himself taken from Ptolemy"; so also Porphyry, *ap.* Eusebius, *Chronicon*, mentioning Syria, Samaria and Judaea, and Jerome on Daniel xi. 17, who specifies " all of Coele-Syria." In view of the fact that the Seleucids ruled all of Palestine and Syria after the victories of Antiochus the Great over the army of Ptolemy Epiphanes, 200–198 B.C. (*cf.* § 131 notes), many scholars believe that the assignment of the revenues of Coele-Syria to Ptolemy Epiphanes was never carried out, but if by "Ptolemy" in § 158 (*cf.* note *ad loc.*) Epiphanes is meant, it follows that Josephus (or his source), at any rate, believed that Ptolemy actually had complete or partial control of Palestine and Transjordan, in spite of the earlier Seleucid conquest of the country; see the article of Cuq, cited in Appendix E.

[g] That is, as Holleaux convincingly shows, *REJ* xxxix., 1899, pp. 161 ff., between Ptolemy Epiphanes and his wife Cleopatra, not between Ptolemy and Antiochus III. Only thus can we understand the point of the joke made by the Tobiad Joseph, § 178. For Momigliano's objection see his monograph cited in Appendix E.

[h] Lit. " countries "; the subdivisions of Palestine and Transjordan are meant.

[i] Gr. Samarians, *cf. Ant.* ix. 61 note *c*.

[j] Büchler, *Tob.* p. 88, suggests that Josephus' authority here is a Samaritan, who originally referred to the attack of the Ptolemaic forces in Samaria on the pro-Seleucid party in Judaea in 218 B.C.

157 ταῦτα ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Ὀνίου. τελευτήσαντος γὰρ
Ἐλεαζάρου τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ὁ θεῖος αὐτοῦ Μα-
νασσῆς παρέλαβεν, μεθ' ὃν καταστρέψαντα τὸν βίον
Ὀνίας τὴν τιμὴν ἐξεδέξατο,[1] Σίμωνος υἱὸς ὢν τοῦ
158 δικαίου κληθέντος· Σίμων δ' ἦν ἀδελφὸς Ἐλεα-
ζάρου, καθὼς προεῖπον. οὗτος ὁ Ὀνίας βραχὺς ἦν
τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ χρημάτων ἥττων καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ φόρον, ὃν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν οἱ
πατέρες αὐτοῦ ἐτέλουν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, τάλαντα
εἴκοσιν ἀργυρίου, μὴ δοὺς εἰς ὀργὴν ἐκίνησεν τὸν
159 βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον.[2] καὶ πέμψας εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα
πρεσβευτὴν ᾐτιᾶτο τὸν Ὀνίαν ὡς[3] οὐκ ἀποδιδόντα
τοὺς φόρους καὶ ἠπείλει κληρουχήσειν αὐτῶν τὴν
γῆν οὐκ ἀπολαβὼν καὶ πέμψειν τοὺς ἐνοικήσοντας
στρατιώτας. ἀκούσαντες δὲ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ βασι-
λέως οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι συνεχύθησαν, τὸν δὲ Ὀνίαν οὐδὲν
τούτων ἐδυσώπει διὰ τὴν φιλοχρηματίαν.
160 (2) Ἰώσηπος δέ τις, νέος μὲν ἔτι τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἐπὶ

[1] ἐδέξατο FLVE.

[2] + τὸν Εὐεργέτην ὃς ἦν πατὴρ τοῦ Φιλοπάτορος PLAW quae secl. Niese, Naber.

[3] ὡς om. FLVE Lat.

[a] On the high priests here mentioned see Appendix B.

[b] In § 44.

[c] *i.e.* Ptolemy Epiphanes; after "Ptolemy" the variant adds, "Euergetes, who was the father of Philopator." This point is discussed in Appendix E; here it may suffice to remark that while the variant is not necessarily an "absurd gloss," as Reinach too decidedly calls it, it is probably an addition to Josephus' text made to remove the difficulty caused by representing Coele-Syria as subject to Ptolemy Epiphanes after the definitive conquest of the country by the Seleucids in 198 B.C. Since Josephus has already got beyond the reign of Euergetes (246-221 B.C.) and has already mentioned Epiphanes and his contemporary Antiochus III

the high-priesthood of Onias. For, when Eleazar died, his uncle Manasses took over the high priesthood, and, after he departed this life, the office came to Onias, who was a son of Simon, called the Just.[a] And Simon was a brother of Eleazar, as I have said before.[b] This Onias was small-minded and passionately fond of money and since for this reason he did not render on behalf of the people the tribute of twenty talents of silver which his fathers had paid to the kings out of their own revenues, he roused the anger of King Ptolemy.[c] And the king sent an envoy to Jerusalem to denounce Onias for not rendering the tribute, and threatened that, if he did not receive it, he would parcel out their land and send his soldiers to settle on it. Accordingly, when the Jews heard the king's message, they were dismayed, but Onias was not put out of countenance by any of these threats, so great was his avarice.

(2) Now there was a certain Joseph, who was still a young man but because of his dignity and foresight Joseph, the Tobiad, and his uncle, Onias II.

(§ 131 ff.), and since Joseph the Tobiad is obviously dealing with Epiphanes (*cf.* above, note *f*, p. 80) and not Euergetes, it is reasonable to suppose that the mention of Euergetes in the variant is an interpolation. On the other hand, in § 223 Josephus (or at least one of his sources) states that Joseph died about the time of Seleucus IV's accession, which was in 187 B.C., after being tax-collector for 22 years, so that he must have begun his work in 209 B.C. at the latest, that is, several years before the accession of Ptolemy Epiphanes, which was in 204/3 B.C. Moreover, it is probable that he retired from office some years before his death in 187 B.C., probably at the time of the Seleucid conquest of Coele-Syria in 198 B.C., which would move back the beginning of his term of office to 221 B.C. at the end of the reign of Euergetes; so that the interpolation here appears to have been the work of someone who was aware of the inconsistency of the sources used by Josephus in his narrative of the Tobiads.

σεμνότητι δὲ καὶ προνοίᾳ δικαιοσύνης[1] δόξαν ἔχων παρὰ τοῖς Ἱεροσολυμίταις, Τωβίου μὲν πατρός, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ὀνίου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἀδελφῆς γεγονώς, δηλωσάσης αὐτῷ τῆς μητρὸς τὴν τοῦ πρεσβευτοῦ παρουσίαν (ἔτυχε γὰρ αὐτὸς ἀποδημῶν εἰς Φι-
161 χόλαν[2] κώμην ἐξ ἧς ὑπῆρχεν), ἐλθὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπέπλεττε τῷ Ὀνίᾳ μὴ προνοουμένῳ τῆς ἀσφαλείας τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀλλ' εἰς κινδύνους τὸ ἔθνος βουλομένῳ περιστῆσαι διὰ τὴν τῶν χρημάτων ἀποστέρησιν, δι' ἃ καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ τὴν προστασίαν λαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἔλεγε καὶ τῆς ἀρχιερατικῆς τιμῆς
162 ἐπιτυχεῖν. εἰ δ' ἐρωτικῶς οὕτως ἔχει τῶν χρημάτων ὡς δι' αὐτὰ καὶ τὴν πατρίδα κινδυνεύουσαν ἰδεῖν ὑπομεῖναι καὶ πᾶν ὁτιοῦν παθόντας αὐτοῦ τοὺς πολίτας, συνεβούλευσεν ἀπελθόντα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα δεηθῆναι αὐτοῦ ἢ πάντων αὐτῷ παραχωρῆσαι
163 τῶν χρημάτων ἢ μέρους. τοῦ δὲ Ὀνίου μήτε ἄρχειν ἐθέλειν ἀποκριναμένου, καὶ τὴν ἀρχιερω-

[1] καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ FLVE.
[2] FVA corr.: Φικόλαν rell.: Ficulam Lat.

[a] Variant (after "but") "because of his dignity (or seriousness) and care for justice had a (good) reputation."
[b] Or perhaps "a Tobiad," *i.e.* a descendant of the Tobiah who was a contemporary of Nehemiah.
[c] Variant Phicola (Gr. Phikola); the site has not been identified, but presumably was in Transjordan, since the Tobiads were originally Ammonites: *cf.* § 230 note *c*.
[d] Whether προστασίαν here is merely a synonym of τῆς ἀρχιερατικῆς τιμῆς or has a distinct, technical meaning, indicating a civil office (*cf.* Preisigke, *Fachwörter*, p. 152) is still a matter of dispute. For a discussion on this see works cited in Appendix E. Here it may be noted that the passages following and outside texts favour the former alternative, *cf.*

had a reputation for uprightness[a] among the inhabitants of Jerusalem, his father being Tobias,[b] and his mother a sister of the high priest Onias; and, when his mother informed him of the envoy's arrival—for he himself happened to be away in the village of Phichola,[c] from which he had originally come—, he went to the city (of Jerusalem) and upbraided Onias for not regarding the safety of his fellow-citizens and for being willing, instead, to place the nation in danger by withholding the money on account of which, Joseph said, he had received the chief magistracy[d] and had obtained the high-priestly office. But, if he was so passionately fond of money that for its sake he could endure to see his country endangered and his fellow-citizens suffer all sorts of things, he advised him to go to the king and request him to remit to him either the whole of the money or a part of it. As Onias, however, answered that he did not desire to hold office and said that he was ready to

Hecataeus *ap.* Diodor. Sic. xl. 4, *τοὺς . . . μάλιστα δυνησομένους τοῦ σύμπαντος ἔθνους προΐστασθαι, τούτους ἱερεῖς ἀπέδειξε*, and Sirach xlv. 24, of Phineas, the priest, *προστατεῖν ἁγίων καὶ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ*; we must remember also that in the early Hellenistic period the high priest was regarded as the chief magistrate of the Jews. Below, in § 285, Josephus says that after Mattathias' death, his son Judas succeeded to the *προστασίαν τῶν πραγμάτων*, which clearly means the assumption of chief authority or leadership of the rebels, and is therefore not a technical term of civil office (under the Seleucids). Nor does there appear to be sufficient ground for believing that Joseph later (*cf.* § 167) assumed the *προστασίαν* and thus deprived Onias of part of his official rank, as maintained by Büchler and, more recently, by Momigliano and Fruin. The same problem arises in connexion with the quarrel about the *agoranomia* between the *prostatēs* Simon and the high priest Onias, 2 Macc. iii. 4, on which see the works cited in Appendix G.

σύνην δ', εἰ δυνατόν ἐστιν, ἑτοίμως ἔχειν ἀποθέσθαι λέγοντος, μήτε ἀναβήσεσθαι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα (μέλειν γὰρ οὐδὲν αὐτῷ περὶ τούτων), εἰ πρεσβεύειν αὐτῷ συγχωρεῖ πρὸς τὸν Πτολεμαῖον[1] ὑπὲρ τοῦ
164 ἔθνους ἐπηρώτησεν. φήσαντος δὲ ἐπιτρέπειν, ἀναβὰς εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ὁ Ἰώσηπος καὶ συγκαλέσας τὸ πλῆθος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν, μηδὲν ταράττεσθαι μηδὲ φοβεῖσθαι παρῄνει διὰ τὴν Ὀνίου τοῦ θείου περὶ αὐτῶν ἀμέλειαν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀδείᾳ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς σκυθρωποτέρας ἐλπίδος τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοὺς ἔχειν ἠξίου· πρεσβεύσειν γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐπηγγέλλετο πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ πείσειν αὐτὸν ὅτι μηδὲν ἀδικοῦσιν.
165 καὶ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος τούτων ἀκοῦσαν εὐχαριστεῖ[2] τῷ Ἰωσήπῳ, καταβὰς δ' αὐτὸς ἐκ[3] τοῦ ἱεροῦ ξενίᾳ τε ὑποδέχεται τὸν παρὰ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου πεπρεσβευκότα καὶ δωρησάμενος αὐτὸν πολυτελέσι δωρεαῖς καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἑστιάσας φιλοτίμως ἡμέρας προέπεμψε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, φράσας αὐτῷ καὶ αὐτὸς
166 ἀκολουθήσειν· καὶ γὰρ ἔτι μᾶλλον γεγόνει πρόθυμος πρὸς τὴν ἄφιξιν τὴν παρὰ τὸν βασιλέα, τοῦ πρεσβευτοῦ προτρεψαμένου καὶ παρορμήσαντος εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐλθεῖν, καὶ πάντων ὧν ἂν δέηται παρὰ Πτολεμαίου τυχεῖν αὐτὸν ποιήσειν ὑποσχομένου· τὸ γὰρ ἐλευθέριον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ σεμνὸν τοῦ ἤθους λίαν ἠγάπησεν.
167 (3) Καὶ ὁ μὲν πρεσβευτὴς ἐλθὼν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀπήγγειλε τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν τοῦ Ὀνίου ἀγνωμοσύνην καὶ περὶ τῆς τοῦ Ἰωσήπου χρηστότητος ἐδήλου,

[1] Εὐεργέτην Πτολεμαῖον PAW.
[2] ηὐχαρίστει FLV.
[3] ἀπὸ FLVE: a Lat.

[a] Observe that Onias offers to give up the office of high priest, not that of *prostatēs*.

give up the high-priesthood if that were possible,[a] and would not go[b] to the king, for he was in no way concerned about these matters, Joseph asked him whether he would give him leave to go as an envoy[c] to Ptolemy[d] on behalf of the nation. And, when Onias gave his permission, Joseph went up to the temple and, calling the people together in assembly, exhorted them not to be disturbed or frightened because of his uncle Onias' neglect of them, and begged them rather to keep their minds free of fear and dark forebodings; for he promised that he himself would go as an envoy to the king and persuade him that they were not doing any wrong. And so, when the people heard this, they thanked Joseph, while he himself went down from the temple and hospitably received the envoy sent by Ptolemy; and after presenting him with valuable gifts and entertaining him lavishly for many days, he sent him on ahead to the king, telling him that he himself would follow. For he had, indeed, become even more eager to meet the king, when the envoy encouraged him and urged that he go to Egypt, and promised to see that he should obtain from Ptolemy whatever he desired; for the envoy greatly admired his liberality[e] and the dignity of his character.

Joseph prepares to visit Alexandria.

(3) And so the envoy went to Egypt and reported to the king the arrogant behaviour of Onias, and informed him of the excellence of Joseph and that

[b] Lit. "go up," *i.e.* to a higher authority. The Jewish sources almost always speak of "going down" to Egypt from Palestine.

[c] This expression seems to be another indication that our text does not imply a separation between the offices of high priest and civil ruler (under Ptolemaic suzerainty).

[d] Variant "Ptolemy Euergetes," *cf.* § 158 note *c*.

[e] Or "ingenuousness."

καὶ ὅτι μέλλοι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἥξειν παραιτησόμενος τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων τὸ πλῆθος· εἶναι γὰρ αὐτοῦ προστάτην· ἀμέλει τοσαύτῃ τῶν[1] ἐγκωμίων τῶν περὶ τοῦ νεανίσκου διετέλεσε χρώμενος περιουσίᾳ ὥστε καὶ τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ Κλεοπάτραν προδιέθηκεν οἰκείως ἔχειν πρὸς τὸν
168 Ἰώσηπον οὔπω παρόντα. ὁ δὲ Ἰώσηπος διαπέμψας πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἰς Σαμάρειαν καὶ δανεισάμενος ἀργύριον καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀποδημίαν ἑτοιμασάμενος ἐσθῆτάς τε καὶ ἐκπώματα καὶ ὑποζύγια, καὶ ταῦθ' ὡς περὶ δισμυρίας δραχμὰς παρασκευασάμενος, εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν παρεγένετο.
169 ἔτυχε δὲ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν πάντας ἀναβαίνειν τοὺς ἀπὸ[2] τῶν πόλεων τῶν τῆς Συρίας καὶ Φοινίκης πρώτους καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν τελῶν ὠνήν· κατ' ἔτος δὲ ταῦτα τοῖς δυνατοῖς τῶν
170 ἐν ἑκάστῃ πόλει ἐπίπρασκεν ὁ βασιλεύς. ὁρῶντες οὖν οὗτοι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἐχλεύαζον ἐπὶ πενίᾳ καὶ λιτότητι. ὡς δ' εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀφικόμενος ἐν Μέμφει τὸν Πτολεμαῖον[3]

[1] Niese: περὶ τῶν codd.
[2] P: ἐκ rell.
[3] βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον FLV.

[a] That is, merely their spokesman or envoy (*cf.* § 161 note *d*), as the context indicates. If he had been formally elected by the people to the highest civil office, Josephus' source would have said so; at any rate the king himself would have had to recognize him as such.

[b] Those scholars who believe (not without reason) that these events should be placed in the reign of Ptolemy Philopator, whose queen's name was Arsinoe, may assume that Josephus' authority, living in the 2nd or 1st century B.C., was more familiar with the name Cleopatra, borne by several Ptolemaic queens after Epiphanes' wife, and thus made a natural slip in calling Arsinoe Cleopatra (unless, of course,

he intended to come to him to ask that the sins of his people be excused, for he was their protector.[a] Indeed, he continued to use such extravagance of speech in praising the young man that he disposed both the king and his wife Cleopatra[b] to feel friendly toward Joseph even before his arrival. Now Joseph, after sending to his various friends in Samaria[c] and borrowing money, made ready the things needed for his journey, such as clothes, drinking-vessels, and pack-animals, which equipment he procured for about twenty thousand[d] drachmas, and came to Alexandria. But it so happened that at that time all the chief men and magistrates of the cities of Syria and Phoenicia were coming there to bid for the tax-farming rights which the king used to sell every year to the wealthy men in each city.[e] When these men, therefore, saw Joseph on the road, they made fun of his poverty and bareness. But when he arrived at Alexandria, he heard that Ptolemy was in Memphis, and so he

Cleopatra is substituted for Arsinoe by Josephus himself, *cf.* Appendix E). Livy makes a similar slip, xxvii. 4. 10.

[c] The friendship of the (Ammonite) Tobiads with the Samaritans goes back to the time of Nehemiah, *cf. Ant.* xi. 174 (Neh. iv. 3).

[d] This and similar large sums freely mentioned in the Joseph-Hyrcanus story (*cf.* §§ 180 ff.) are in keeping with the fictitious nature of the *details* of the narrative, though the general contents and background may be quite historical.

[e] *Cf.* Rostovtzeff in *CAH* vii. 129 f., "The tax-farmers were local people, but the taxes were put up to auction not locally but at Alexandria. This is proved by various documents in the Zeno letters (esp. *P. Cairo Zen.* 59037) which show that the picture of an auction of provincial taxes drawn by Josephus in his wonderful story of the farmer of tribute from Coele-Syria . . is on the whole accurate." The revenue system of Ptolemaic Egypt is admirably described by C. Préaux, *L'Économie royale des Lagides*, 1939, pp. 61-435.

ἤκουσεν ὄντα, ὑπαντησάμενος συνέβαλεν αὐτῷ.[1]
171 καθεζομένου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπὶ ὀχήματος μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ μετὰ Ἀθηνίωνος τοῦ φίλου (οὗτος δ' ἦν ὁ πρεσβεύσας εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ παρὰ Ἰωσήπῳ ξενισθείς), θεασάμενος αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀθηνίων εὐθὺς ἐποίει τῷ βασιλεῖ γνώριμον, λέγων τοῦτον εἶναι περὶ οὗ παραγενόμενος ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων ἀπήγγειλεν ὡς ἀγαθός τε εἴη καὶ φιλότιμος νεα-
172 νίσκος. ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος πρῶτός τε αὐτὸν ἠσπάσατο καὶ δὴ[2] ἀναβῆναι ἐπὶ τὸ ὄχημα παρεκάλεσε καὶ καθεσθέντος ἤρξατο περὶ τῶν Ὀνίᾳ πραττομένων ἐγκαλεῖν. ὁ δὲ "συγγίνωσκε," φησίν, "αὐτῷ διὰ τὸ γῆρας· οὐ γὰρ λανθάνει σε πάντως ὅτι καὶ τοὺς πρεσβύτας καὶ τὰ νήπια τὴν αὐτὴν διάνοιαν ἔχειν συμβέβηκεν. παρὰ δὲ ἡμῶν ἔσται σοι τῶν νέων ἅπαντα, ὥστε μηδὲν αἰτιάσασθαι[3]."
173 ἡσθεὶς δ' ἐπὶ τῇ χάριτι καὶ τῇ εὐτραπελίᾳ τοῦ νεανίσκου, μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ὡς ἤδη καὶ πεπειραμένος ἀγαπᾶν ἤρξατο, ὡς ἔν τε τοῖς βασιλείοις αὐτὸν κελεῦσαι διαιτᾶσθαι[4] καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τῆς
174 ἑστιάσεως τῆς ἰδίας ἔχειν. γενομένου δ' ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως ἰδόντες οἱ πρῶτοι τῆς Συρίας συγκαθεζόμενον αὐτῷ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἀηδῶς ἔφερον.

[1] ὑπαντησάμενος συνέβαλεν αὐτῷ PA marg.: ὑπαντησόμενος ἀνέβαινεν αὐτῷ FLV: ὑπαντησόμενος ἀναβαίνειν αὐτῷ διέγνω AW: ὑπαντησόμενος αὐτῷ ἀνῄει E.
[2] καὶ δὴ P: καὶ rell.
[3] αἰτιᾶσθαι P.
[4] ἐνδιαιτᾶσθαι V.

[a] Text slightly uncertain.
[b] Or "ambitious."
[c] That is, before he was greeted by Joseph; *cf. Ant.* xi. 331 for a similar courtesy shown by Alexander the Great to the Jewish high priest Jaddua.

met him there and presented himself to him.[a] Now the king was sitting in a chariot with his wife and with his friend Athenion—this was the man who had been an envoy to Jerusalem and had been entertained by Joseph—, and as soon as Athenion caught sight of him, he introduced him to the king, saying that this was the person whom he had described to him, when he returned from Jerusalem, as an excellent and liberal[b] young man. Ptolemy, therefore, first greeted him[c] and even invited him to come up into his chariot, and when he was seated, began to complain about the actions of Onias. Then Joseph said, "Pardon him because of his age[d]; for surely you are not unaware that old people and infants are likely to have the same level of intelligence. But from us who are young you will obtain everything so as to find no fault." Thereupon Ptolemy, being pleased with the charm and ready wit of the young man, began to be still fonder of him as though he were an old and tried friend, so much so that he told him to take up his residence in the palace and had him as a guest at his own table every day. Accordingly, when the king came to Alexandria, and the chief men of Syria saw Joseph seated at his side, they were disagreeably affected.

[d] According to §§ 44, 157, Onias was a son of Simon the Just whom Josephus makes a contemporary of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and was a child when his uncle Eleazar succeeded Simon, some time in Philadelphus' reign. Thus Onias must have been at least 70 years old at this time, which is supposedly after 193/2 B.C., the date of Ptolemy Epiphanes' marriage to Cleopatra (*cf.* § 154). Although Josephus is mistaken in placing Simon the Just so early in the 3rd century B.C. (*cf.* Appendix B), he is at least consistent in making Onias an old man at this time.

175 (4) Ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας καθ' ἣν ἔμελλε τὰ τέλη πιπράσκεσθαι τῶν πόλεων, ἠγόραζον οἱ τοῖς ἀξιώμασιν ἐν ταῖς πατρίσιν διαφέροντες. εἰς ὀκτακισχίλια δὲ τάλαντα συναθροιζομένων τῶν τῆς κοίλης Συρίας τελῶν καὶ τῶν τῆς Φοινίκης καὶ
176 Ἰουδαίας σὺν τῇ Σαμαρείᾳ, προσελθὼν Ἰώσηπος τοὺς μὲν ὠνουμένους διέβαλλεν ὡς συνθεμένους ὀλίγην αὐτῷ τιμὴν ὑφίστασθαι τῶν τελῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ διπλασίονα δώσειν ὑπισχνεῖτο καὶ τῶν ἁμαρτόντων εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ τὰς οὐσίας ἀναπέμψειν[1] αὐτῷ· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο[2] τοῖς τέλεσι συνεπιπράσκετο.[3]
177 τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ἡδέως ἀκούσαντος καὶ ὡς αὔξοντι τὴν πρόσοδον αὐτοῦ κατακυροῦν τὴν ὠνὴν τῶν τελῶν ἐκείνῳ φήσαντος, ἐρομένου δ' εἰ καὶ τοὺς ἐγγυησομένους αὐτὸν ἔχει δοῦναι,[4] σφόδρ' ἀστείως ἀπεκρίνατο· "δώσω γάρ," εἶπεν, "ἀνθρώπους ἀγαθούς τε καὶ καλούς, οἷς οὐκ ἀπιστήσετε."
178 λέγειν δὲ τούτους οἵτινες εἶεν εἰπόντος, "αὐτόν," εἶπεν, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, σέ τε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν σὴν ὑπὲρ ἑκατέρου μέρους ἐγγυησομένους δίδωμί σοι." γελάσας δ' ὁ Πτολεμαῖος συνεχώρησεν αὐτῷ δίχα
179 τῶν ὁμολογούντων ἔχειν τὰ τέλη. τοῦτο σφόδρα τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐλθόντας

[1] ἐκπέμψειν FLV.
[2] τοῦτο om. P: καὶ τοῦτο FLV: καὶ ταῦτα E.
[3] συνεπίπρασκεν PAWE.
[4] δοῦναι om. PAWE.

[a] Cf. § 155 note b.
[b] Probably Transjordan (and Galilee ?), cf. § 154 note d and § 224.
[c] This is obviously too large a sum in the light of other estimates of revenues which have come down to us (cf. Bouché-Leclercq, iii. 401): Jerome gives the revenue from

(4) Now when the day came round on which the rights to farm taxes in the cities were to be sold, bids were made by those eminent in rank in the various provinces.[a] When the sum of taxes from Coele-Syria[b] and from Phoenicia and Judaea with Samaria added up to eight thousand talents,[c] Joseph came forward and accused the bidders of having made an agreement to offer the king a low price for the taxes, whereas he for his part promised to give double that amount and send over to the king the property of those who had been remiss toward his house; for this right was sold[d] along with that of farming the taxes. Thereupon the king, who heard him gladly, said that he would confirm the sale of the tax-farming rights to him, as he was likely to increase his revenue, but asked whether he also had some persons to give surety for him; he then answered very cleverly, "Yes, I will offer persons of the very best character, whom you will not distrust." And when the king asked him to tell who they were, he replied, "I offer you, O King, you yourself and your wife as the persons who will give surety for me, each to guarantee the other's share."[e] At this Ptolemy laughed and granted him the tax-farming rights without guarantors. This act gave great pain to those who had come to Egypt from the cities, for they considered them-

Egypt itself (*de Aegypto*) in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus as 14,800 talents; Herodotus, iii. 91, gives 350 talents as the tribute taken by Darius from Phoenicia, Palestine and Cyprus: Cicero estimates the total revenue of Ptolemy Auletes as 12,500 talents. *Cf.* also 2 Macc. iv. 8 ff.

[d] Variant "he (the king) sold."

[e] The point of this witticism was first satisfactorily explained by Holleaux, *cf.* § 155 note *g*, "les deux μέρη sont les deux parts des impôts syriens . . . au roi Joseph offre pour garant sa femme, à la reine il offre son mari."

ἐλύπησεν ὡς παρευδοκιμηθέντας. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπανῆκον εἰς τὰς ἰδίας ἕκαστοι πατρίδας μετ' αἰσχύνης.

180 (5) Ὁ δὲ Ἰώσηπος λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως πεζῶν[1] στρατιώτας δισχιλίους[2] (ἠξίωσε γὰρ βοήθειάν τινα λαβεῖν, ἵνα τοὺς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καταφρονοῦντας ἔχῃ βιάζεσθαι), καὶ δανεισάμενος ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ παρὰ τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως φίλων
181 τάλαντα πεντακόσια, εἰς Συρίαν ἐξώρμησεν. γενόμενος δὲ ἐν Ἀσκάλωνι καὶ τοὺς φόρους ἀπαιτῶν τοὺς Ἀσκαλωνίτας, ἐπεὶ μηδὲν ἐβούλοντο διδόναι ἀλλὰ καὶ προσύβριζον αὐτόν, συλλαβὼν αὐτῶν τοὺς πρωτεύοντας ὡς εἴκοσιν[3] ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τὰς οὐσίας αὐτῶν εἰς χίλια τάλαντα ἀθροισθείσας ἔπεμψε τῷ
182 βασιλεῖ, δηλῶν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ γεγενημένα. θαυμάσας δ' αὐτὸν ὁ Πτολεμαῖος τοῦ φρονήματος καὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐπαινέσας, ἐφίησιν αὐτῷ ποιεῖν ὅ τι βούλεται. τοῦτ' ἀκούσαντες οἱ Σύροι κατεπλάγησαν, καὶ παράδειγμα τῆς ἀπειθείας χαλεπὸν ἔχοντες τοὺς τῶν Ἀσκαλωνιτῶν ἄνδρας ἀνῃρημένους, ἀνοίγοντες τὰς πύλας ἐδέχοντο προθύμως τὸν
183 Ἰώσηπον καὶ τοὺς φόρους ἐτέλουν. ἐπιχειρούντων δὲ καὶ Σκυθοπολιτῶν ὑβρίζειν αὐτὸν καὶ μὴ παρέχειν τοὺς φόρους αὐτῷ οὓς μηδὲν ἀμφισβητοῦντες ἐτέλουν, καὶ τούτων ἀποκτείνας τοὺς πρώτους τὰς
184 οὐσίας αὐτῶν ἀπέστειλε τῷ βασιλεῖ. συναγαγὼν δὲ πολλὰ χρήματα καὶ κέρδη μεγάλα ποιήσας ἐκ

[1] πεζῶν μὲν PAE: excidisse fort. equitum numerum coni. Niese.
[2] χιλίους FL(V).
[3] εἰκὸς ἦν PE.

selves slighted. And so they returned with discomfiture to their respective provinces.

(5) Then Joseph, after getting from the king two thousand [a] foot-soldiers—for he had asked to have some assistance, in order that he might be able to use force with any in the cities who treated him with contempt—and borrowing five hundred talents [b] in Alexandria from the friends of the king, set out for Syria. And coming to Ascalon, he demanded tribute from the people of the city, but they not only refused to give him anything, but even insulted him to boot; he therefore arrested some twenty of their principal men [c] and put them to death, and sent their property, which all together was worth a thousand talents, to the king, informing him of what had happened. Thereupon Ptolemy, who admired his spirit and commended his actions, permitted him to do whatever he wished. When the Syrians heard of this, they were struck with consternation and, having a terrible example of the consequences of disobedience in the execution of the men of Ascalon, they opened their gates and readily admitted Joseph and paid the tribute. And when the inhabitants of Scythopolis [d] also attempted to insult him and would not render him the tribute which they formerly paid without any dispute, he put to death their chief men as well and sent their property to the king. Having thus collected great sums of money and made great profits

Joseph uses force to collect taxes in Palestine.

[a] Variant 1000; possibly, as Niese suggests, the number of horsemen also was originally given but has accidentally been omitted from the text.

[b] *Cf.* § 168 note *d*.

[c] The variant (after "arrested"), "their principal men, as was natural," is corrupt.

[d] *Cf. Ant.* v. 83 note *h*.

τῆς ὠνῆς τῶν τελῶν, εἰς τὸ διαμεῖναι τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτῷ δύναμιν τοῖς οὖσι κατεχρήσατο, τὴν ἀφορμὴν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τῆς τότε εὐτυχίας τηρεῖν φρόνιμον ἡγούμενος ἐξ αὐτῶν ὧν αὐτὸς
185 ἐκέκτητο· πολλὰ γὰρ ὑπὸ χεῖρα τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ δῶρα ἔπεμπε καὶ τοῖς φίλοις αὐτῶν καὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν δυνατοῖς, ὠνούμενος διὰ τούτων τὴν εὔνοιαν τὴν παρ' αὐτῶν.

186 (6) Ἀπέλαυσε δὲ ταύτης τῆς εὐτυχίας ἐπὶ ἔτη εἴκοσι καὶ δύο, πατὴρ μὲν γενόμενος ἐκ μιᾶς γυναικὸς παίδων ἑπτά, ποιησάμενος δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Σολυμίου θυγατρὸς ἕνα Ὑρκανὸν
187 ὄνομα. γαμεῖ δὲ ταύτην ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης· τῷ ἀδελφῷ ποτε συνελθὼν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν[1] ἄγοντι καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα γάμων ὥραν ἔχουσαν, ὅπως αὐτὴν συνοικίσῃ τινὶ τῶν ἐπ' ἀξιώματος Ἰουδαίων, καὶ δειπνῶν παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὀρχηστρίδος εἰσελθούσης εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον εὐπρεποῦς ἐρασθεὶς τῷ ἀδελφῷ τοῦτο μηνύει, παρακαλῶν αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ καὶ νόμῳ κεκώλυται παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἀλλοφύλῳ πλησιάζειν γυναικί, συγκρύψαντα τὸ ἁμάρτημα καὶ διάκονον ἀγαθὸν γενόμενον παρασχεῖν αὐτῷ ὥστε
188 ἐκπλῆσαι[2] τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν. ὁ δὲ ἀδελφὸς ἀσμένως δεξάμενος τὴν διακονίαν, κοσμήσας τὴν αὑτοῦ θυγατέρα νυκτὸς ἤγαγε πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ συγκατεκοίμισεν. ὁ δ' ὑπὸ μέθης ἀγνοήσας τἀληθὲς συνέρχεται τῇ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ θυγατρί, καὶ τούτου γενομένου πολλάκις, ἠράσθη[3] σφοδρότερον. ἔφη δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὡς κινδυνεύοι τῷ ζῆν ἐρῶν

[1] τῷ ἀδελφῷ . . . Ἀλεξάνδρειαν] σὺν τἀδελφῷ ποτε εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐλθὼν FLV.

from farming the taxes, he used his wealth to make permanent the power which he now had, thinking it prudent to preserve the source and foundation of his present good fortune by means of the wealth which he had himself acquired; and so he surreptitiously sent many gifts to the king and to Cleopatra and to their friends and to all those who were powerful at court, purchasing their goodwill through these gifts.

How Joseph begot his son Hyrcanus

(6) This good fortune he enjoyed for twenty-two years,[a] becoming the father of seven sons by one wife, and also begetting a son named Hyrcanus, by the daughter of his brother Solymius, whom he married under the following circumstances. He once came to Alexandria with his brother as he was taking there his daughter, who was of marriageable age, in order that he might marry her to one of the Jews of high rank; and when Joseph was dining with the king, a beautiful dancing-girl came into the banquet-room, and Joseph, having fallen in love with her, told his brother of this and begged him, since the Jews were prevented by law from having intercourse with a foreign woman, to aid in concealing his sin and do him a good service by making it possible for him to satisfy his desire. Thereupon his brother gladly undertaking to be of service, beautified his own daughter and brought her to him by night to sleep with him. But Joseph in his drunken state did not know how matters really were, and so he had intercourse with his brother's daughter, and when this had happened several times, he fell still more violently in love with her. He then told his brother that he

[a] *Cf.* § 158 note *c*.

[2] πληρῶσαι FLV. [3] FV: ἤρα rell.

ὀρχηστρίδος, ἧς ἴσως οὐκ[1] αὐτῷ παραχωρήσειν[2]
189 τὸν βασιλέα. τοῦ δὲ ἀδελφοῦ μηδὲν ἀγωνιᾶν
παρακαλοῦντος, ἀπολαύειν δ' ἧς ἐρᾷ μετὰ ἀδείας
καὶ γυναῖκα ἔχειν αὐτὴν φήσαντος, καὶ τἀληθὲς
αὐτῷ φανερὸν ποιήσαντος, ὡς ἕλοιτο μᾶλλον τὴν
ἰδίαν ὑβρίσαι θυγατέρα ἢ περιιδεῖν ἐκεῖνον ἐν
αἰσχύνῃ γενόμενον, ἐπαινέσας αὐτὸν Ἰώσηπος τῆς
φιλαδελφίας συνῴκησεν αὐτοῦ τῇ θυγατρὶ καὶ
παῖδα ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐγέννησεν Ὑρκανόν,[3] ὡς προειρή-
190 καμεν.[4] [a] ἔτι[5] δὲ ὢν τρισκαίδεκα ἐτῶν οὗτος ὁ παῖς
νεώτερος ἐπεδείκνυτο τὴν φυσικὴν ἀνδρείαν καὶ
σύνεσιν, ὡς ζηλοτυπηθῆναι δεινῶς αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν
ἀδελφῶν ὄντα πολὺ κρείττονα καὶ φθονηθῆναι
191 δυνάμενον. [b] τοῦ δὲ Ἰωσήπου γνῶναι θελήσαντος
τίς αὐτῷ τῶν υἱῶν πρὸς ἀρετὴν εὖ πέφυκε, καὶ
καθ' ἕνα πέμψαντος πρὸς τοὺς παιδεύειν τότε
δόξαν ἔχοντας, οἱ λοιποὶ μὲν ὑπὸ ῥαθυμίας καὶ τῆς
πρὸς τὸ φιλεργεῖν μαλακίας ἀνόητοι καὶ ἀμαθεῖς
192 ἐπανῆκον αὐτῷ· μετὰ δ' ἐκείνους τὸν νεώτατον
Ὑρκανόν, δοὺς αὐτῷ τριακόσια ζεύγη βοῶν, ἐξέ-
πεμψεν ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν δύο εἰς τὴν ἐρημίαν σπεροῦντα
193 τὴν γῆν, ἀποκρύψας τοὺς ζευκτῆρας ἱμάντας. ὁ δὲ
γενόμενος ἐν τῷ τόπῳ καὶ τοὺς ἱμάντας οὐκ ἔχων,
τῆς μὲν τῶν βοηλατῶν γνώμης κατηλόγησε συμ-

[1] οὐκ edd.: οὐκ ἂν codd.
[2] ἂν . . . παραχωρῆσαι coni. Niese.
[3] + ὄνομα V.
[4] + μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν P.
[5] ἐπεὶ FV.

[a] In § 186. One ms. here "shortly before."

[b] Willrich, *JG* pp. 93 ff., sees in this portrait of the young Hyrcanus an example of the Jews' admiration for "a bold and precocious intelligence," and compares him with the young Samuel, the young David, the young Daniel and the

was risking his life for a dancer whom the king would perhaps not allow him to have. But his brother urged him not to be anxious, telling him to enjoy without fear the woman whom he loved, and to make her his wife; and he revealed the truth to him, how he had chosen to dishonour his own daughter rather than see him fall into disgrace, and so Joseph, commending him for his brotherly love, married his daughter and by her begot a son named Hyrcanus, as we said before.[a] Now this child while still a young lad of thirteen years showed such natural courage and intelligence that he became an object of violent jealousy to his brothers because of his great superiority and enviable qualities.[b] But when Joseph, wishing to learn which of his sons was naturally well disposed to virtue, sent them one after another to those who were then famed as teachers, the other sons because of their laziness and disinclination for work returned to him foolish and ignorant; and after that he sent out his youngest son Hyrcanus a two days' journey into the wilderness to sow the ground, giving him three hundred yoke of oxen, but hiding the yoke-straps. He, however, on coming to the place without having the straps, disregarded the counsel of the ox-

The remarkable character of the young Hyrcanus.

historian Josephus himself (*cf. Vita* 7 ff.); in the further details of the narrative he detects traces of older biblical motifs, such as the deception practised by Laban on Jacob, the envy of Joseph's brothers, the favour shown to Joseph by Pharaoh. At the same time he traces a parallelism between the Tobiad story and the narrative concerning the high priests Jason and Menelaus in 2 Macc., concluding (p. 102) that "Joseph of the Tobiad story is really the Menelaus of 2 Macc., while Hyrcanus is a free remodelling (*Umgestaltung*) of Jason." There is, of course, no doubt that a large part of the Tobiad story is fiction, but historical elements also are to be found.

βουλευόντων πέμπειν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα κομιοῦντάς τινας τοὺς ἱμάντας, τὸν δὲ καιρὸν ἡγησάμενος μὴ δεῖν ἀπολλύναι περιμένοντα τοὺς ἀποσταλησομένους, ἐπενόησέ τι στρατηγικὸν καὶ τῆς ἡλικίας πρεσβύ-
194 τερον. κατασφάξας γὰρ δέκα ζεύγη τὰ μὲν κρέα τοῖς ἐργάταις διένειμε, τεμὼν δὲ τὰς δορὰς αὐτῶν καὶ ποιήσας ἱμάντας ἐνέδησε τούτοις τὰ ζυγά, καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον σπείρας ἧς ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῷ προσ-
195 έταξε γῆν ὑπέστρεψε πρὸς αὐτόν. ἐλθόντα δ' ὁ πατὴρ ὑπερηγάπησε τοῦ φρονήματος, καὶ τὴν ὀξύτητα τῆς διανοίας καὶ τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῇ τολμηρὸν ἐπαινέσας ὡς μόνον ὄντα γνήσιον ἔτι μᾶλλον ἔστεργεν, ἀχθομένων ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν.

196 (7) Ὡς δ' ἀπήγγειλέ τις αὐτῷ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν υἱὸν τῷ βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίῳ γεγενῆσθαι, καὶ πάντες οἱ πρῶτοι τῆς Συρίας καὶ τῆς ὑπηκόου χώρας ἑορτάζοντες τὴν γενέσιον ἡμέραν τοῦ παιδίου μετὰ μεγάλης παρασκευῆς εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐξώρμων, αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπὸ γήρως κατείχετο, τῶν δὲ υἱῶν ἀπεπειρᾶτο εἴ τις αὐτῶν ἀπελθεῖν βούλεται
197 πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτέρων παραιτησαμένων καὶ πρὸς τὰς τοιαύτας συνουσίας ἀγροικότερον ἔχειν φησάντων, τὸν δ' ἀδελφὸν Ὑρκανὸν

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[a] Ptolemy Epiphanes' elder son, Ptolemy Philometor, was born in 187 or 186 B.C.; his younger son, Ptolemy Euergetes II (Physcon) was born sometime after 185 B.C., *cf.* Bevan, *Ptol.* pp. 282-285.

[b] Above, in § 160, Josephus has described Joseph as "still a young man" when he became tax-collector of Coele-Syria after Ptolemy's marriage with Cleopatra, which was

drivers, who advised him to send some men to his father to bring back the straps, for he thought that he ought not to lose time in waiting for those who might be sent, and instead conceived an ingenious plan worthy of an older man. Accordingly, he slaughtered ten yoke of oxen and after distributing their meat among the workmen, he cut up their hides and made straps with which he fastened the yokes; and when he had in this way sown the ground which his father had ordered him to sow, he returned to him. And when he came, his father was more than delighted with his good sense, and commending the quickness of his intelligence and the boldness combined with this, he loved him still more as if he were his only genuine son, and this vexed his brothers.

(7) About this time he was told by someone that a son had been born to King Ptolemy,[a] and all the leading men of Syria and the territory subject to him were setting out with a great array for Alexandria to celebrate the birthday of the child; he himself was kept from going by his age, but he tried his sons to see whether any of them was willing to go abroad to the king.[b] The elder sons, however, begged to be excused, saying they were too rough [c] for such company, but they advised him to send their brother

Hyrcanus sets out for Alexandria to celebrate the birth of Ptolemy's son.

c. 193 B.C. It is therefore unlikely that at the birth of Ptolemy's son (whether elder or younger), he "was kept from going by his age" or had sons old enough to go abroad. This is one of several difficulties caused by Josephus' statements that Joseph's activity began in the reign of Ptolemy Epiphanes.

[c] In this connexion we may mention the correspondence of an earlier Tobiad with Ptolemy Philadelphus preserved in the papyri (*cf.* works cited in Appendix E), which shows how "rough" an Ammonite chief could be, even when addressing a king.

πέμπειν συμβουλευσάντων, ἡδέως ἀκούσας καλεῖ τὸν Ὑρκανὸν καὶ εἰ δύναιτο πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα
198 βαδίσαι καὶ εἰ πρόθυμός ἐστιν ἀνέκρινεν. ἐπαγγειλαμένου δὲ πορεύσεσθαι[1] καὶ δεῖσθαι χρημάτων οὐ πολλῶν φήσαντος εἰς τὴν ὁδόν (ζήσεσθαι γὰρ ἐπιεικῶς ὥστε ἀρκέσειν αὐτῷ δραχμὰς μυρίας),
199 ἥσθη τοῦ παιδὸς τῇ σωφροσύνῃ. διαλιπὼν δὲ ὀλίγον ὁ παῖς συνεβούλευε τῷ πατρὶ δῶρα μὲν αὐτόθεν μὴ πέμπειν τῷ βασιλεῖ, δοῦναι δὲ ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς τὸν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ οἰκονόμον, ὅπως αὐτῷ παρέχῃ πρὸς ὠνὴν ὧν ἂν εὕρῃ καλλίστων καὶ
200 πολυτελῶν χρήματα.[2] ὁ δὲ νομίζων δέκα ταλάντων ἔσεσθαι τὴν εἰς τὰς δωρεὰς τῷ βασιλεῖ δαπάνην, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἐπαινέσας ὡς παραινοῦντα καλῶς, γράφει τῷ οἰκονόμῳ Ἀρίονι,[3] ὃς ἅπαντα τὰ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ χρήματα αὐτοῦ διῴκει, οὐκ ὄντα
201 ἐλάσσω τρισχιλίων ταλάντων· ὁ γὰρ Ἰώσηπος τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς Συρίας χρήματα ἔπεμπεν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ τῆς προθεσμίας ἐνισταμένης, καθ' ἣν ἔδει τῷ βασιλεῖ τοὺς φόρους ἀπαριθμεῖν, ἔγραφε τῷ
202 Ἀρίονι τοῦτο ποιεῖν. πρὸς οὖν τοῦτον ἀπαιτήσας τὸν πατέρα ἐπιστολήν, λαβὼν εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ὥρμησεν. ἐξελθόντος δ' αὐτοῦ γράφουσιν οἱ

Hyrcanus; gladly listening to them, therefore, he called Hyrcanus and asked him whether he was able and willing to travel to the king. And when he undertook to go, saying he would not need much money for the journey—for, he added, he would live reasonably, so that ten thousand drachmas would suffice him—Joseph was pleased with his son's moderation. But a little while afterward the son advised his father not to send the king gifts from where he was,[a] but to give him a letter to his steward in Alexandria in order that he might provide him with money to buy the most beautiful and precious things which he could find. Joseph, therefore, thinking that the cost of the presents for the king would be ten talents, commended his son for his excellent suggestion, and wrote to his steward Arion, who managed all the wealth which he had in Alexandria, amounting to not less than three thousand talents.[b] For Joseph used to send to Alexandria the money collected from Syria, and when the appointed day came on which he was required to pay over the tribute to the king, he would write to Arion to do this. And so, having asked his father for a letter to this man, and having received it, Hyrcanus set out for Alexandria. But when he had gone, his brothers wrote to all the

[a] Jerusalem, *cf.* § 222.

[b] *Cf.* § 176, where Joseph offers to pay Ptolemy double the sum of 8000 talents for the right to farm the taxes of Coele-Syria. Here the 3000 talents apparently represent his profits for several years. But these figures should not be taken too seriously, since, as we have seen, this part of the Tobiad story is largely fictitious.

[1] ed. pr.: πορεύεσθαι codd. E.

[2] χρημάτων FLMA corr.

[3] Ἀρίωνι LVE hic et infra, PA infra: Ἀρείῳ W.

ἀδελφοὶ πᾶσι τοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως φίλοις ἵν' αὐτὸν διαφθείρωσιν.

203 (8) Ὡς δὲ παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀπέδωκε τῷ Ἀρίονι τὴν ἐπιστολήν, ἐπερωτήσαντος αὐτοῦ πόσα βούλεται τάλαντα λαβεῖν (ἤλπισε[1] δ' αὐτὸν αἰτήσειν δέκα ἢ βραχεῖ τούτων πλέον), εἰπόντος χιλίων χρῄζειν, ὀργισθεὶς ἐπέπληττεν αὐτῷ ὡς ἀσώτως ζῆν διεγνωκότι, καὶ πῶς[2] ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ συναγάγοι τὴν οὐσίαν πονῶν[3] καὶ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις ἀντέχων ἐδήλου, καὶ μιμητὴν αὐτὸν ἠξίου γενέσθαι τοῦ γεγεννηκότος· δώσειν δ' οὐδὲν πλέον ἔλεγε[4] ταλάντων δέκα, καὶ ταῦτ' εἰς δωρεὰς
204 τῷ βασιλεῖ. παροξυνθεὶς δὲ ὁ παῖς εἰς δεσμὰ τὸν Ἀρίονα ἐνέβαλεν. τῆς δὲ τοῦ Ἀρίονος γυναικὸς τοῦτο δηλωσάσης τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ καὶ δεηθείσης ὅπως ἐπιπλήξῃ τῷ παιδί (σφόδρα γὰρ ἦν ὁ Ἀρίων ἐν τιμῇ παρ' αὐτῇ), φανερὸν τῷ βασιλεῖ τοῦτο
205 ἐποίησεν ἡ Κλεοπάτρα. ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος πέμψας πρὸς τὸν Ὑρκανὸν θαυμάζειν ἔλεγε πῶς ἀποσταλεὶς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς οὔτε ὀφθείη αὐτῷ καὶ προσέτι δήσειε τὸν οἰκονόμον· ἐλθόντα
206 οὖν τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτῷ μηνύειν ἐκέλευσεν. τὸν δέ φασιν ἀποκρίνασθαι τῷ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως λέγειν αὐτῷ ὅτι νόμος ἐστὶ παρ' αὐτῷ κωλύων τὸν γενεθλιάζοντα[5] γεύσασθαι θυσίας[6] πρὶν[7] εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν

[1] ἤλπιζε FMV. [2] ὡς Niese.

friends of the king that they should make an end of him.

(8) When he came to Alexandria, he delivered the letter to Arion, who asked him how many talents he wished to have—he hoped that he would ask for ten or a little more—, but when he said he needed a thousand, Arion became angry and rebuked him for having chosen a dissolute way of life, and explained to him how his father had amassed his wealth by working hard and restraining his desires, and he advised him to imitate the example of his sire. He added that he would give him no more than ten talents, and these for presents to the king. At this the youth was provoked and threw Arion into chains. But Arion's wife informed Cleopatra of this and begged her to rebuke the youth—for Arion was held by her in great esteem—, whereupon Cleopatra made the matter known to the king. So Ptolemy sent to Hyrcanus, saying he was surprised that having been sent to him by his father, he had not appeared before him and had, moreover, imprisoned the steward. He ordered him, therefore, to come and explain to him the reason for his conduct. But Hyrcanus is said to have replied to the man sent by the king that he should tell him that there was a law in his country which prevented the celebrant of a birthday from partaking of a sacrifice before he had gone into the

Hyrcanus punishes his father's steward at Alexandria.

[3] Niese: ὡς πονῶν (+ πλεῖον FV, + πλείονα M) codd.
[4] ἔλεγε om. PFMV.
[5] Herwerden: γεννηθέντα codd.
[6] θυσιῶν P: τὸν . . . θυσίας] communes epulas prius attingere Lat.
[7] πρὶν ἂν ὁ πατὴρ suppl. Herwerden.

ἔλθῃ[1] καὶ θύσῃ[2] τῷ θεῷ· κατὰ δὴ τοῦτον τὸν λογισμὸν οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν, περιμένων τὰ δῶρα κομίσαι τοῦ πατρὸς εὐεργέτῃ γεγενημένῳ.
207 τὸν δὲ δοῦλον κολάσαι παρακούσαντα ὧν προσέταξεν· διαφέρειν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἢ μικρὸν εἶναί τινα δεσπότην ἢ μέγαν. "ἂν οὖν μὴ κολάζωμεν τοὺς τοιούτους, καὶ σὺ προσδόκα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων καταφρονηθήσεσθαι." ταῦτ' ἀκούσας ὁ Πτολεμαῖος εἰς γέλωτα ἐτράπη καὶ τὴν μεγαλοφροσύνην τοῦ παιδὸς ἐθαύμασεν.
208 (9) Μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Ἀρίων ὅτι τοῦτον ὁ βασιλεὺς διετέθη τὸν τρόπον καὶ ὅτι μηδεμία βοήθειά ἐστιν αὐτῷ, δοὺς τὰ χίλια τάλαντα τῷ παιδὶ τῶν δεσμῶν ἀπελύθη. καὶ τρεῖς διαλιπὼν ἡμέρας ὁ Ὑρκανὸς
209 ἠσπάσατο τοὺς βασιλέας· οἱ δὲ ἀσμένως αὐτὸν εἶδον καὶ φιλοφρόνως εἱστίασαν διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τιμήν. λάθρα δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἐμπόρους ἀπελθὼν ὠνεῖται παρ' αὐτῶν παῖδας μὲν ἑκατὸν γράμματα ἐπισταμένους καὶ ἀκμαιοτάτους, ἑνὸς ἕκαστον ταλάντου, ἑκατὸν δὲ παρθένους τῆς αὐτῆς
210 τιμῆς ἑκάστην. κληθεὶς δ' ἐφ' ἑστίασιν πρὸς τὸν

[1] ἔλθοι PLAW: ἔλθει M: ἂν ἔλθῃ Naber.
[2] θῦσαι AW: θύσει MV.

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[a] It seems necessary to adopt Herwerden's emendation γενεθλιάζοντα, "celebrant of a birthday," for γεννηθέντα, "one begotten" or "male child"; but we can hardly accept his second suggestion, which is to read "before his (the child's) father had gone into the temple," since Hyrcanus could hardly expect Ptolemy to believe that a Jewish law obliged a Jew to wait for a pagan father to sacrifice in a pagan temple. On the other hand, if we assume that Hyrcanus' excuse was that *he* had gone to a temple to sacrifice, the question remains what Jewish temple in Egypt he could have gone to (there is

temple and sacrificed to God[a]; it was in accordance with this same principle that he himself had not come to the king, but was waiting to bring the gifts to him who had been his father's benefactor. As for the slave, he had punished him for disobeying the orders which he had been given; for it made no difference, he added, whether one were a small master or a great one. "For if we do not punish such fellows, even you may expect to be held in contempt by your subjects." When Ptolemy heard this, he fell to laughing, and admired the high spirit of the youth.

(9) But Arion, on learning that this was the way the king felt and that there was no help for him, gave the thousand talents to the youth, and was released from chains. And after letting three days go by, Hyrcanus paid his respects to the royal pair, who were glad to see him and entertained him in friendly fashion in honour of his father. Then he secretly went to the slave-dealers and bought from them a hundred boys who were well educated and in the prime of youth, at a talent apiece, and a hundred virgins at the same price. Now once when he was

Hyrcanus is mocked by his rivals.

no indication in this story that Hyrcanus had renounced Judaism); the temple of Onias was founded considerably later, *cf.* §§ 387 ff. Furthermore, according to Josephus himself, *Ap.* ii. 205, Jewish law "does not allow the birth of our children to be made an occasion for festivity"—how much less the birth of pagan children; so also in the Talmud birthday anniversaries are mentioned as a pagan custom, *cf.* S. Krauss, *Talmudische Archäologie* ii. 8. Thus there could hardly be a law "in his (Hyrcanus') country" applying to this celebration (if by θυσία such a celebration is meant—the use of this word here is a further difficulty). Perhaps, the whole problem hardly merits serious consideration in view of Hyrcanus' obvious invention of a custom, and the fictitious nature of the narrative.

βασιλέα μετὰ τῶν πρώτων τῆς χώρας, ὑποκατα-
κλίνεται πάντων, καταφρονηθεὶς ὡς παῖς ἔτι τὴν
ἡλικίαν ὑπὸ τῶν τοὺς τόπους κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν
211 διανεμόντων. τῶν δὲ συγκατακειμένων πάντων
τῶν μερῶν τὰ ὀστᾶ (ἀφήρουν[1] γὰρ αὐτοὶ τὰς σάρ-
κας) σωρευόντων ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ Ὑρκανοῦ ὡς
πληρῶσαι τὴν παρακειμένην αὐτῷ τράπεζαν,
212 Τρύφων ὃς ἦν τοῦ βασιλέως ἄθυρμα καὶ πρὸς τὰ
σκώμματα καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς πότοις γέλωτας ἀπεδέ-
δεικτο,[2] παρακαλεσάντων αὐτὸν τῶν κατακειμένων
τῇ τραπέζῃ παρεστὼς τῷ βασιλεῖ, " ὁρᾷς," εἶπεν,
" ὦ δέσποτα, τὰ παρακείμενα Ὑρκανῷ ὀστᾶ; ἐκ
τούτου στόχασαι ὅτι καὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ τὴν Συρίαν
ἅπασαν περιέδυσεν ὡς οὗτος ταῦτα τῶν σαρκῶν
213 ἐγύμνωσεν." γελάσαντος δὲ πρὸς τὸν τοῦ Τρύ-
φωνος λόγον τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἐρομένου τὸν
Ὑρκανὸν ὅτι τοσαῦτα αὐτῷ παράκειται ὀστᾶ, " εἰκό-
τως," εἶπεν, " ὦ δέσποτα· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ κύνας τὰ
ὀστᾶ σὺν τοῖς κρέασιν κατεσθίειν, ὥσπερ οὗτοι "
(πρὸς τοὺς κατακειμένους ἀποβλέψας, ὅτι μηθὲν
ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν ἔκειτο) " οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι τὸ
κρέας ἐσθίουσι, τὰ δ' ὀστᾶ ῥίπτουσιν, ὅπερ ἄν-
214 θρωπος ὢν κἀγὼ νῦν πεποίηκα." ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς
θαυμάσας[3] τὴν ἀπόκρισιν αὐτοῦ σοφὴν οὕτως
γενομένην, πάντας[4] ἐκέλευσεν ἀνακροτῆσαι, τῆς
215 εὐτραπελίας ἀποδεχόμενος[5] αὐτόν. τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ
πρὸς ἕκαστον τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως φίλων πορευόμενος
καὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν δυνατῶν τοὺς μὲν ἠσπά-
ζετο, παρὰ δὲ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἐπυνθάνετο[6] τί μέλ-

[1] ἀνήρουν PFLV.
[2] ἀνεδέδεκτο FMV: ἐπεδέδεκτο E: ἐπεδείκνυτο Suidas.
[3] θαυμάζει PAWE. [4] καὶ πάντας PAWE.

invited together with the leading men of the country to feast with the king, he was placed at the foot of the table, being slighted as still a youth by those who assigned the places according to rank. And all those who reclined at table with Hyrcanus piled up before him the bones of their portions—from which they themselves had removed the meat—, so as to cover the part of the table where he reclined, whereupon Tryphon, who was the king's jester and was appointed to make jokes and raise laughter when there was drinking, with the encouragement of those who reclined at the table, stood up before the king and said, "My lord, do you see the bones lying before Hyrcanus? From this you may guess that his father has stripped all Syria in the same way as Hyrcanus has left these bones bare of meat." The king then laughed at Tryphon's words, and asked Hyrcanus why there were so many bones lying before him, and he replied, "It is natural, my lord; for dogs eat the bones together with the meat, as these men do"—and he looked toward those who reclined there, indicating that there was nothing lying before them—, "but men eat the meat and throw the bones away, which is just what I, being a man, have now done." Thereupon the king, who admired his reply for being so clever, and to show approval of his wit, ordered all to applaud.[a] But the next day Hyrcanus, going to each of the king's friends and the men powerful at court, and paying his respects to them, inquired of their servants what gift

Hyrcanus by his wit and lavishness wins the favour of Ptolemy and Cleopatra.

[a] Variant "ordered all to applaud and show their approval of his wit." A similar story is told by Herodotus iii. 32.

[5] ἀποδεχομένους FLMV Lat. fort. recte.
[6] ἀπεπυνθάνετο PFMV.

λουσιν διδόναι τῷ βασιλεῖ δῶρον ἐν τῇ τοῦ παιδὸς
216 αὐτοῦ γενεσίῳ.[1] τῶν δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἀνὰ δέκα τάλαντα
μέλλειν διδόναι φησάντων, τοὺς δὲ ἐν ἀξίᾳ κατὰ τὸ
μέγεθος τῆς οὐσίας ἕκαστον αὐτῶν, ὑπεκρίνετο
λυπεῖσθαι διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι τοιαύτην προσενεγ-
κεῖν δωρεάν· πλέον γὰρ πέντε ταλάντων οὐκ ἔχειν.
οἱ δὲ θεράποντες ταῦτ᾿ ἀκούσαντες ἀπήγγελλον τοῖς
217 δεσπόταις. χαιρόντων δ᾿ αὐτῶν ὡς καταγνωσ-
θησομένου τοῦ Ἰωσήπου καὶ προσκρούσοντος τῷ
βασιλεῖ διὰ τὴν βραχύτητα τῆς δωρεᾶς, ἐνστάσης
τῆς ἡμέρας οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι προσέφερον τῷ βασιλεῖ
ταλάντων οἱ λίαν μεγαλοδωρεῖσθαι νομίζοντες οὐ
πλεῖον[2] εἴκοσι, ὁ δὲ Ὑρκανὸς οὓς ὠνήσατο παῖδας
ἑκατὸν καὶ παρθένους τοσαύτας ἀνὰ τάλαντον
ἑκάστῳ φέρειν δοὺς προσήγαγε, τοὺς μὲν τῷ
218 βασιλεῖ, τὰς δὲ τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ. πάντων δὲ θαυ-
μασάντων τὴν παρ᾿ ἐλπίδα τῶν δώρων πολυτέλειαν
καὶ τῶν βασιλέων αὐτῶν, καὶ τοῖς φίλοις ἔτι καὶ
τοῖς περὶ τὴν θεραπείαν τοῦ βασιλέως οὖσιν πολλῶν
ἄξια ταλάντων δῶρα ἔδωκεν, ὡς διαφυγεῖν τὸν ἐξ
αὐτῶν κίνδυνον· τούτοις γὰρ ἐγεγράφεισαν αὐτοῦ οἱ
219 ἀδελφοὶ διαχρήσασθαι τὸν Ὑρκανόν. Πτολεμαῖος
δὲ τὴν μεγαλοψυχίαν ἀγασάμενος[3] τοῦ μειρακίου,
προσέταττεν αὐτῷ δωρεὰν ἣν βούλεται λαμβάνειν.
ὁ δ᾿ οὐδὲν πλέον ἠξίωσεν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι παρ᾿ αὐτοῦ
ἢ γράψαι τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ.
220 τιμήσας οὖν αὐτὸν φιλοτιμότατα καὶ δωρεὰς δοὺς
λαμπράς, καὶ τῷ τε πατρὶ γράψας καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς
καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπιτρόποις,
221 ἐξέπεμψεν. ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ τούτων

[1] γενεθλίῳ FLMV. [2] V Lat. (vid.): πλειόνων rell.
[3] ἀσπασάμενος FMV.

their masters were going to give the king for the child's birthday. And when they said that some were going to give gifts worth ten talents, while of the others, who were of high rank, each would give in accordance with the amount of his wealth, he pretended to be grieved at not being able to bring so large a present, saying he had no more than five talents. Accordingly, when the servants heard this, they reported it to their masters. And they rejoiced at the thought that Joseph would be judged unfavourably and offend the king by the smallness of his present; and when the day came, the others brought their offerings to the king, which in the case of those who believed themselves to be unusually munificent were not worth more than twenty talents, but Hyrcanus brought the hundred boys and hundred virgins whom he had purchased, and giving each of them a talent to carry, presented them, the boys to the king, and the girls to Cleopatra. And while all were astonished at the unexpected lavishness of his gifts, including the royal pair themselves, he also gave to the king's friends and to those who were in attendance on him gifts worth many talents so as to escape any danger from them; for Hyrcanus' brothers had written to them to make an end of him. Then Ptolemy in admiration of[a] the young man's magnanimity directed him to take whatever present he wished. But he asked that the king do no more for him than to write to his father and brothers about him. And so the king, after showing him the highest honour and giving him splendid presents, wrote to his father and brothers and to all his governors and administrators, and sent him away. But when Hyrcanus'

[a] Variant "hailing" or "welcoming."

τετυχηκότα τὸν Ὑρκανὸν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ μετὰ μεγάλης ἐπανερχόμενον τιμῆς, ἐξῆλθον ὑπαντησόμενοι καὶ διαφθεροῦντες αὐτόν, καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς εἰδότος· ὀργιζόμενος γὰρ αὐτῷ ἕνεκεν τῶν εἰς τὰς δωρεὰς χρημάτων οὐκ ἐφρόντιζε τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ. τὴν ὀργὴν μέντοι τὴν πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν ὁ Ἰώσηπος ἀπεκρύπτετο, φοβούμενος τὸν βασιλέα.

222 συμβαλόντων δ' αὐτῷ τῶν ἀδελφῶν εἰς μάχην, ἄλλους τε τῶν σὺν αὐτοῖς πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινε καὶ δύο τῶν ἀδελφῶν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ διεσώθησαν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πρὸς τὸν πατέρα. παραγενόμενον δ' αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπεὶ μηδεὶς ἐδέχετο, δείσας ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν[1] πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ποταμοῦ, κἀκεῖ διέτριβε φορολογῶν τοὺς βαρβάρους.

223 (10) Ἐβασίλευσε δὲ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν τῆς Ἀσίας Σέλευκος ὁ Σωτὴρ[2] ἐπικαλούμενος, υἱὸς ὢν
224 Ἀντιόχου τοῦ μεγάλου. τελευτᾷ δὲ καὶ ὁ τοῦ Ὑρκανοῦ πατὴρ Ἰώσηπος, ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γενόμενος καὶ μεγαλόφρων καὶ τὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων λαὸν ἐκ πτωχείας καὶ πραγμάτων ἀσθενῶν εἰς λαμπροτέρας ἀφορμὰς τοῦ βίου καταστήσας, εἴκοσι ἔτη καὶ δύο[3] τὰ τέλη τῆς Συρίας καὶ τῆς Φοινίκης καὶ Σαμαρείας

[1] τὸ LAMW Zonaras.
[2] Φιλοπάτωρ cod. NC ex chronographis, rec. Usser, Dindorf.
[3] εἴκοσι . . . δύο] τριάκοντα καὶ ἓξ ἔτη cod. NC.

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[a] A. Tscherikower, *Jews and Greeks* (in Hebrew), 1930, pp. 175 f., plausibly suggests that the real reason for Joseph's later hostility toward Hyrcanus and for the envy of Hyrcanus' brothers was the young man's success in taking from his father the position and perquisites he had obtained from Ptolemy.

The struggle between Hyrcanus and his brothers.

brothers heard that he had obtained these favours from the king and was returning with great honour, they went out to meet him and do away with him, even though their father knew of it; for being angry with him because of the money which had been spent for the presents, he felt no concern for his safety; his anger at his son had, however, been concealed by Joseph, who feared the king.[a] And when Hyrcanus' brothers encountered him in battle, he killed many of the men with them and also two of the brothers themselves, while the rest escaped to their father in Jerusalem. Hyrcanus therefore went to that city, but as no one admitted him, he withdrew in fear to the country across the river Jordan, and there made his home, levying tribute on the barbarians.[b]

Death of the tax-collector Joseph.

(10)[c] At that time there had begun to reign[d] over Asia Seleucus, surnamed Soter,[e] who was the son of Antiochus the Great. And then also died Hyrcanus' father Joseph, who had been an excellent and high-minded man and had brought the Jewish people from poverty and a state of weakness to more splendid opportunities of life during the twenty-two years when he controlled the taxes of Syria, Phoenicia

[b] *Cf.* § 229.

[c] It is generally assumed, with reason, that the following section, §§ 223-236 (with the exception, of course, of the Spartan letter, §§ 225-227), comes from another and more historical source than the preceding section of the Tobiad story.

[d] ἐβασίλευσε is probably an inceptive aorist; it may, however, be the "complexive" or "concentrative" aorist, meaning simply "reigned," as in § 234 (ἦρξε).

[e] The surname of Seleucus IV (187–175 B.C.) was Philopator; Soter was the surname of his uncle Seleucus III (226–223 B.C.).

κατασχών. ἀπέθανε δὲ καὶ ὁ θεῖος αὐτοῦ Ὀνίας, τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην Σίμωνι τῷ παιδὶ καταλιπών.
225 τελευτήσαντος δὲ καὶ τούτου, ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ διάδοχος τῆς τιμῆς Ὀνίας γίνεται, πρὸς ὃν ὁ Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς Ἄρειος πρεσβείαν τε ἔπεμψε καὶ ἐπιστολάς, ὧν τὸ ἀντίγραφόν ἐστι τοιοῦτο·
226 " βασιλεὺς Λακεδαιμονίων Ἄρειος Ὀνίᾳ χαίρειν. ἐντυχόντες γραφῇ τινι εὕρομεν ὡς ἐξ ἑνὸς εἶεν γένους Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Ἄβραμον[1] οἰκειότητος. δίκαιον οὖν ἐστιν ἀδελφοὺς ὑμᾶς[2] ὄντας διαπέμπεσθαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς[3] περὶ ὧν
227 ἂν βούλησθε.[4] ποιήσομεν δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς τοῦτο,[5] καὶ τά τε ὑμέτερα ἴδια νομιοῦμεν καὶ τὰ αὑτῶν κοινὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἕξομεν. Δημοτέλης ὁ φέρων τὰ γράμματα διαπέμπει τὰς ἐπιστολάς. τὰ γεγραμμένα ἐστὶ τετράγωνα· ἡ σφραγίς ἐστιν ἀετὸς δράκοντος ἐπειλημμένος."

228 (11) Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐπιστολὴ ἡ πεμφθεῖσα ὑπὸ[6] τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέως τοῦτον περιεῖχε τὸν τρόπον. ἀποθανόντος δὲ Ἰωσήπου τὸν λαὸν

[1] Ἀβράαμον (Ἀ. F) PFL: Abraham Lat.
[2] ἡμᾶς P.
[3] ἀλλήλους P.
[4] βουλοίμεθα P.
[5] τὸ αὐτὸ FV Lat.
[6] παρὰ V.

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[a] *Cf.* § 175, "the taxes of Coele-Syria, Phoenicia and Judaea with Samaria."

[b] Simon II.

[c] Onias III, *cf.* Appendix B.

[d] For literature on this letter (found in 1 Macc. xii. 20 ff. and referred to again in *Ant.* xiii. 167), see Appendix F.

[e] More correctly Areus (as in some MSS., *Ant.* xiii. 167). There were only two Spartan kings of this name, Areus I, 309–265 B.C., and Areus II, who died as a child in 255 B.C. Josephus is therefore mistaken in placing it in the time of

and Samaria.[a] And death also came to his uncle Onias, who left the high priesthood to his son Simon.[b] When he too died, his son Onias[c] became his successor in office, and it was to him that the Lacedaemonian king Areios sent an embassy with a letter, of which the following is a copy.[d] "Areios,[e] king of the Lacedaemonians,[f] to Onias, greeting. We have come upon a certain document from which we have learned that the Jews and Lacedaemonians are of one race and are related by descent from Abraham.[g] It is right, therefore, that you as our brothers should send to us to make known whatever you may wish. We also shall do this, and shall consider what is yours as our own, and what is ours we shall also share with you.[h] Demoteles,[i] the courier,[j] is bringing this letter[k] to you. The writing is square.[l] The seal is an eagle holding fast a serpent[m]."

Letter of Areios, king of Sparta, to Onias. 1 Macc. xii. 20.

(11) Such, then, were the contents of the letter sent by the Lacedaemonian king. Now on the death

Hyrcanus withdraws to his

Onias III instead of Onias I, who was high priest *c.* 300 B.C. (*cf. Ant.* xi. 347).

[f] 1 Macc. Spartiates. (We must remember that the text of 1 Macc. here is a Greek translation of a Hebrew translation of the original Greek letter.)

[g] So 1 Macc.; *cf. Ant.* xiv. 255 where the Pergamenes mention the friendship existing between their ancestors and the Jews in the time of Abraham.

[h] The next three sentences are not found in 1 Macc.

[i] Reinach suggests that the name Demoteles is borrowed from Xenophon, *Hell.* vii. 1. 32, where it is given to a Spartan herald (who acts as a messenger).

[j] Lit. "who is carrying the letter."

[k] ἐπιστολὰς here, like Lat. *litterae*, has the force of a singular.

[l] Or perhaps "written on a square sheet" as Hudson suggests and Whiston translates.

[m] This design was common on seals of the ancient Near East.

συνέβη στασιάσαι διὰ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ. τῶν γὰρ πρεσβυτέρων πόλεμον ἐξενεγκαμένων πρὸς Ὑρκανόν, ὃς ἦν νεώτατος τῶν Ἰωσήπου τέκνων,
229 διέστη τὸ πλῆθος. καὶ οἱ μὲν πλείους τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις συνεμάχουν καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Σίμων διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν· ὁ δὲ Ὑρκανὸς ἐπανελθεῖν μὲν οὐκέτι διέγνω[1] εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, προσκαθίσας δὲ τοῖς πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου συνεχῶς ἐπολέμει τοὺς Ἄραβας, ὡς πολλοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι καὶ λα-
230 βεῖν αἰχμαλώτους. ᾠκοδόμησε δὲ βᾶριν ἰσχυράν, ἐκ λίθου λευκοῦ κατασκευάσας πᾶσαν μέχρι καὶ τῆς στέγης,[2] ἐγγλύψας ζῷα παμμεγεθέστατα,
231 περιήγαγε δ' αὐτῇ εὔριπον μέγαν καὶ βαθύν. ἐκ δὲ τῆς καταντικρὺ τοῦ ὄρους πέτρας, διατεμὼν αὐτῆς τὸ προέχον,[3] σπήλαια πολλῶν σταδίων τὸ μῆκος κατεσκεύασεν· ἔπειτα οἴκους ἐν αὐτῇ τοὺς μὲν εἰς συμπόσια τοὺς δ' εἰς ὕπνον καὶ δίαιταν ἐποίησεν,

[1] FV: ἔγνω rell. E. [2] γῆς PAMW Lat.
[3] προσέχον P: sinistram extensionem Lat.

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[a] On the factional strife arising in Jerusalem from division of sympathies between the pro-Ptolemaic and pro-Seleucid parties see the works cited in Appendices E and G.

[b] At least two problems are here involved, (1) the identity of the "high priest Simon," whether Simon II whose death has been mentioned above, § 225, or Simon the προστάτης τοῦ ἱεροῦ, whose quarrel with the high priest Onias is described in 2 Macc. iii. 4 ff.; (2) if, as is probable, the Simon here meant is Simon II, of the Oniad family, why does Josephus say that he favoured Hyrcanus' brothers "because of kinship with them"? *All* the sons of Joseph were related to the high priest Onias II through their father, *cf.* § 160; the statement of the "Tobiad romance," §§ 187 ff., that Hyrcanus was the son of Joseph by a different mother would only make his relation to the high priestly family closer, since his mother was also related to the high priest. It is just possible, how-

of Joseph there arose factional strife among the people on account of his sons.[a] For the elder brothers made war on Hyrcanus, who was the youngest of Joseph's children, and the population was divided into two camps. And the majority fought on the side of the elder brothers, as did the high priest Simon because of kinship with them.[b] Hyrcanus, therefore, gave up his intention of returning to Jerusalem, and settled in the country across the Jordan, where he continually warred on the Arabs until he killed many of them and took many captive. And he built a strong fortress,[c] which was constructed entirely of white marble up to the very roof,[d] and had beasts of gigantic size carved on it,[e] and he enclosed it with a wide and deep moat. He also cut through the projecting rock opposite the mountain, and made caves many stades in length; then he made chambers in it, some for banqueting and others for sleeping and living, and

Hyrcanus' fortress in Transjordan.

ever, that by συγγένειαν Josephus means something like "common interests."

[c] The ruins of what was probably Hyrcanus' fortress have been discovered at *'Arāk el-'Emīr* in Transjordan, *c.* 10 miles N.W. of Heshbon and *c.* 12 miles E. of the Jordan; they are fully described in *Publications of the Princeton Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1904/5.* Momigliano points out, *I Tobiadi*, pp. 170 ff., that Josephus is mistaken in saying that Hyrcanus built the fortress, since, as the Zenon papyri show, there was a fortress (Gr. *βâρις*, Aram. *birtā*) there as early as the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus. The name *Ṭōbīyāh* (Tobiah) inscribed on the rock in one of the caves nearby probably refers to an early Tobiad, perhaps to the Tobiah who was a contemporary of Nehemiah.

[d] Variant "down to the very ground." The context (see next note) seems to favour the reading adopted above.

[e] The archaeological finds reveal a frieze of lions running across the wall just below the roof, *cf.* C. Watzinger, *Denkmäler Palästinas* ii., 1935, Tafel 22 (reconstruction after Butler).

ὑδάτων δὲ διαθεόντων πλῆθος, ἃ καὶ τέρψις ἦν καὶ
232 κόσμος τῆς αὐλῆς, εἰσήγαγεν. τὰ μέντοι στόμια
τῶν σπηλαίων, ὥστε ἕνα δι' αὐτῶν εἰσδῦναι[1] καὶ
μὴ πλείους, βραχύτερα ἤνοιξεν· καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπίτηδες
ἀσφαλείας ἕνεκα τοῦ μὴ πολιορκηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν
ἀδελφῶν καὶ[2] κινδυνεῦσαι ληφθεὶς κατεσκεύασεν.
233 προσῳκοδόμησε δὲ καὶ αὐλὰς τῷ μεγέθει δια-
φερούσας, ἃς καὶ[3] παραδείσοις ἐκόσμησε παμμήκεσι.
καὶ τοιοῦτον ἀπεργασάμενος τὸν τόπον Τύρον
ὠνόμασεν. οὗτος ὁ τόπος ἐστὶ μεταξὺ τῆς τε
Ἀραβίας καὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας, πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου,
234 οὐ πόρρω τῆς Ἐσσεβωνίτιδος. ἦρξε δ' ἐκείνων
τῶν μερῶν ἐπὶ ἔτη ἑπτά, πάντα τὸν χρόνον ὃν
Σέλευκος τῆς Συρίας ἐβασίλευσεν. ἀποθανόντος δὲ
τούτου, μετ' αὐτὸν ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἀντίοχος ὁ κληθεὶς
235 Ἐπιφανὴς τὴν βασιλείαν κατέσχεν. τελευτᾷ δὲ καὶ
Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλεύς, καὶ αὐτὸς
ἐπικαλούμενος Ἐπιφανής, καταλιπὼν δύο παῖδας
ἔτι βραχεῖς τὴν ἡλικίαν, ὧν ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτερος
Φιλομήτωρ ἐκαλεῖτο, Φύσκων δὲ ὁ νεώτερος.
236 Ὑρκανὸς δὲ ὁρῶν μεγάλην δύναμιν ἔχοντα τὸν
Ἀντίοχον, καὶ δείσας μὴ συλληφθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
κολασθῇ διὰ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς Ἄραβας αὐτῷ πεπραγ-

[1] *εἰσιέναι* FLV. [2] *καὶ* om. FVM.
[3] *ἃς καὶ* FLV : *καὶ* rell.

[a] This is undoubtedly the meaning of *αὐλή* here (though below, in § 233, it seems to have its more common meaning of "court" or "enclosure"); *cf.* W. F. Albright, *BASOR* 49, Feb. 1933, p. 29, "The residence of the Tobiad family may perhaps have been a fortified villa."

[b] Tyre (*Tyros*) is the Gr. form of Aram. *ṭûrā*, "mountain" (*cf.* Heb. *ṣûr*, "rock" or "rock-fortress").

he let into it an abundance of running water, which was both a delight and an ornament to his country-estate.[a] The entrances of the caves, however, he made narrower, so that only one person and no more could enter at one time; and this arrangement he made deliberately for the sake of safety, in order to avoid the danger of being besieged and taken by his brothers. In addition he also built enclosures remarkable for their size, and adorned them with vast parks. And when he had completed the place in this manner, he named it Tyre.[b] This place is between Arabia and Judaea, across the Jordan, not far from Essebonitis.[c] And he ruled over those parts for seven years, during all the time that Seleucus reigned over Asia.[d] Now when this king died, his brother Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes, occupied the throne after him. And Ptolemy, the king of Egypt, who was also surnamed Epiphanes, died,[e] leaving two sons who were still quite young, the elder being called Philometor,[f] and the younger Physcon.[g] As for Hyrcanus, seeing how great was the power which Antiochus had, and fearing that he might be captured by him and punished for what he had done to the

Accession of Antiochus IV Epiphanes.

[c] Bibl. Heshbon, *cf.* § 229 note *c*.

[d] Josephus' language is careless here; Seleucus IV ruled from 187 to 175 B.C. = 13 years. Possibly, as Otto suggests, *PW* ix. 530, he means that the 7 years of Hyrcanus' rule over Transjordan all came within the limits of Seleucus' reign.

[e] Here too Josephus is somewhat careless, since Ptolemy Epiphanes died in 181 B.C., a few years before the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes to the Seleucid throne.

[f] He reigned from 181 to 145 B.C. (during part of which time his brother Physcon contested his right to the throne).

[g] He reigned from 145 to 116 B.C., his official surname being Energetes (II).

μένα, τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον αὐτόχειρ αὑτοῦ γενόμενος. τὴν δ' οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν Ἀντίοχος λαμβάνει.
237 (v. 1) Ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ἀποθανόντος καὶ Ὀνίου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ[1] τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην Ἀντίοχος δίδωσιν· ὁ γὰρ παῖς ὃν Ὀνίας καταλελοίπει νήπιος ἦν ἔτι. δηλώσομεν δὲ τὰ περὶ τοῦ παιδὸς τούτου κατὰ χώραν ἕκαστα.
238 Ἰησοῦς δὲ (οὗτος γὰρ ἦν ὁ τοῦ Ὀνίου ἀδελφός) τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀφῃρέθη προσοργισθέντος αὐτῷ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ δόντος αὐτὴν τῷ νεωτάτῳ αὐτοῦ ἀδελφῷ Ὀνίᾳ τοὔνομα· Σίμωνι γὰρ οὗτοι τρεῖς ἐγένοντο παῖδες, καὶ εἰς τοὺς τρεῖς ἧκεν ἡ ἀρχ-
239 ιερωσύνη, καθὼς δεδηλώκαμεν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἰησοῦς Ἰάσονα αὑτὸν μετωνόμασεν, ὁ δὲ Ὀνίας ἐκλήθη Μενέλαος. στασιάσαντος οὖν τοῦ προτέρου ἀρχιερέως Ἰησοῦ πρὸς τὸν μετὰ ταῦτα κατασταθέντα Μενέλαον, καὶ τοῦ πλήθους διανεμηθέντος εἰς ἑκατέρους, ἐκ τῆς Μενελάου μοίρας οἱ Τωβίου
240 παῖδες ἐγένοντο, τὸ δὲ πλέον τοῦ λαοῦ τῷ Ἰάσονι

[1] + Ἰησοῦ PAMW.

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[a] *Cf.* 2 Macc. iii. 11 ff. where we are told that the fortune of "Hyrcanus the Tobiad" (Ὑρκανοῦ τοῦ Τωβίου, *cf.* E. Meyer, *Ursprung* ii. 132 note 2, "nicht 'Sohn des Tobias,' sondern 'aus dem Geschlecht Tobias'") was seized from the treasury of the temple in Jerusalem by Heliodorus, the minister of Seleucus IV. [b] Onias III, *cf.* § 224.

[c] Variant "his brother Jesus," see directly below.

[d] Onias IV. [e] In §§ 387 ff. and *Ant.* xiii. 62 ff.

[f] The three sons being Onias III, Jesus-Jason, and Onias (!)-Menelaus.

[g] According to 2 Macc. iv. 23 Menelaus was a brother, not of Onias III, but of Simon, the προστάτης τοῦ ἱεροῦ; Simon, in turn, was, according to 2 Macc. iii. 4, ἐκ τῆς Βενιαμὶν φυλῆς—either of the tribe of Benjamin or of the priestly family

Arabs, he ended his life by his own hand. And all his property was seized by Antiochus.[a]

(v. 1) About this same time the high priest Onias[b] also died, and Antiochus gave the high priesthood to his brother[c]; for the son whom Onias had left was still an infant. But we shall relate all the facts concerning this son[d] in the proper place.[e] Jesus, however,—this was the brother of Onias—was deprived of the high-priesthood when the king became angry with him and gave it to his youngest brother, named Onias; for Simon had three sons, and the high-priesthood came to all three of them, as we have shown.[f] Now Jesus changed his name to Jason, while Onias was called Menelaus.[g] And when the former high priest Jesus rose against Menelaus, who was appointed after him, the populace was divided between the two, the Tobiads being on the side of Menelaus, while the majority of the people supported Jason[h]; and being

Contention among the high priests under Antiochus Epiphanes.

of Benjamin (= Miniamin? *cf.* 2 Chron. xxxi. 15). Moreover, in contrast to what Josephus writes below about Jason expelling the Tobiads from Jerusalem, he says in *B.J.* i. 31 that it was Onias "one of the chief priests" who did so. Another difficulty is that Josephus's language in the following sentence, "and when the former high priest Jesus rose against Menelaus, who was appointed after him," seems to indicate that Menelaus was *not* a brother of Jason. On the relation of this confused passage (which several scholars, including E. Meyer, think worthless) to other passages in Josephus and 2 Macc. see the works cited in Appendix G.

[h] Observe that above, in § 229, the majority of the people (in Jerusalem) sides with the (presumably) pro-Seleucid Tobiads against the pro-Ptolemaic Hyrcanus, while here the majority sides with Jason against the pro-Seleucid Tobiads and Menelaus (Jason, of course, after his deposition by Antiochus must have become at least passively pro-Ptolemaic). Thus, according to Josephus here, the sympathy of the majority in Jerusalem changed from the Seleucids to the Ptolemies sometime after the accession of Antiochus.

συνελάμβανεν, ὑφ' οὗ καὶ πονούμενοι ὅ τε Μενέλαος καὶ οἱ παῖδες οἱ τοῦ Τωβίου πρὸς Ἀντίοχον ἀνεχώρησαν, δηλοῦντες αὐτῷ ὅτι βούλονται τοὺς πατρίους νόμους καταλιπόντες καὶ τὴν κατ' αὐτοὺς πολιτείαν ἕπεσθαι τοῖς βασιλικοῖς καὶ τὴν Ἑλ-
241 ληνικὴν πολιτείαν ἔχειν. παρεκάλεσαν οὖν αὐτὸν ἐπιτρέψαι αὐτοῖς οἰκοδομῆσαι γυμνάσιον ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις. συγχωρήσαντος δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν αἰδοίων περιτομὴν ἐπεκάλυψαν, ὡς ἂν εἶεν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀπόδυσιν Ἕλληνες, τά τε ἄλλα πάνθ' ὅσα ἦν αὐτοῖς πάτρια παρέντες ἐμιμοῦντο τὰ τῶν ἀλλοεθνῶν[1] ἔργα.

242 (2) Ἀντίοχος δὲ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῷ χωρούσης κατὰ τρόπον, ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον διέγνω στρατεύσασθαι, πόθον αὐτῆς λαβὼν καὶ διὰ τὸ τῶν Πτολεμαίου παίδων καταφρονεῖν ἀσθενῶν ἔτι τυγχανόντων καὶ μηδέπω πράγματα τηλικαῦτα διέπειν
243 δυναμένων. γενόμενος οὖν μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως κατὰ τὸ Πηλούσιον καὶ δόλῳ τὸν Φιλομήτορα Πτολεμαῖον ἐκπεριελθὼν καταλαμβάνει τὴν Αἴγυπτον, καὶ γενόμενος ἐν τοῖς περὶ Μέμφιν τόποις καὶ

[1] FLV: ἄλλων ἐθνῶν rell.

[a] At this point begins Josephus's paraphrase of 1 Maccabees (i. 14–xiii. 42), which continues to *Ant.* xiii. 214 (*cf.* note *ad loc.* on his omission of the last three chapters of 1 Macc.). The English reader will find a convenient translation with commentary by W. Oesterley in *CAP* i. 1-66; the older commentary by C. Grimm in O. Fritzsche, *Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zu den Apokryphen*, 1853, is still valuable; also useful is a recent German translation with commentary by H. Bévenot, *Die beiden Makkabäerbücher* (in Feldmann und Herkenne, *Die heilige Schrift*), 1931; the topography of the Maccabean campaigns is discussed by Père F. Abel in *RB* xxii-xxv, 1923–1926. For works on the

hard pressed by him, Menelaus and the Tobiads withdrew, and going to Antiochus informed him that they wished to abandon their country's laws and the way of life prescribed by these, and to follow the king's laws and adopt the Greek way of life.[a] Accordingly, they petitioned him to permit them to build a gymnasium in Jerusalem. And when he had granted this, they also concealed the circumcision of their private parts in order to be Greeks even when unclothed, and giving up whatever other national customs they had, they imitated the practices of foreign nations.[b] The hellenizers appeal to Antiochus Epiphanes. 1 Macc. i. 11.

(2) [c] But Antiochus, in whose own kingdom things were going well, determined to march against Egypt because he coveted it and also because he held in contempt the sons of Ptolemy, who were still weak and not yet able to govern so great a state. And so he arrived at Pelusium with a great force,[d] and circumventing Ptolemy Philometor by cunning, occupied Egypt; and after he had arrived in the neighbour- The Romans frustrate Antiochus' attempt on Egypt. 1 Macc. i. 16.

chronology and the date of the beginning of the Seleucid era used in 1 Macc. see Appendix J. I follow Bickermann in taking Oct. 312 B.C. as the beginning of the era for events of Seleucid history, and Nisan (roughly April) 311 B.C. for events of internal Jewish history.

[b] 1 Macc. i. 11 ff. places these attempts at hellenization in "those days," *i.e.* after the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes, while 2 Macc. iv. 10 ff. ascribes them to the high priest Jason, earlier, in the reign of Seleucus IV. Tscherikower, p. 205, makes the interesting suggestion that Jason and the hellenizers really wanted to establish a Greek *polis* in Jerusalem in order to secure the economic privileges enjoyed by Hellenistic cities.

[c] In the following section, §§ 242-245, Josephus supplements from Greek sources the brief account of Antiochus' expeditions to Egypt given in 1 Macc. i. 17-19.

[d] In the summer of 169 B.C.

κατασχὼν ταύτην ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, ὡς πολιορκίᾳ παραστησόμενος αὐτὴν καὶ τὸν
244 ἐκεῖ βασιλεύοντα χειρωσόμενος Πτολεμαῖον. ἀπεκρούσθη δ' οὐ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ὅλης Αἰγύπτου, Ῥωμαίων αὐτῷ παραγγειλάντων ἀπέχεσθαι τῆς χώρας, καθὼς ἤδη που καὶ
245 πρότερον ἐν ἄλλοις δεδηλώκαμεν. διηγήσομαι δὲ κατὰ μέρος τὰ περὶ τοῦτον τὸν βασιλέα, ὥς τήν τε Ἰουδαίαν ἐχειρώσατο καὶ τὸν ναόν· ἐν γὰρ τῇ πρώτῃ μου πραγματείᾳ κεφαλαιωδῶς αὐτῶν ἐπιμνησθεὶς ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην νῦν εἰς τὴν ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς αὐτῶν ἐπανελθεῖν ὑφήγησιν.

246 (3) Ὑποστρέψας γὰρ[1] ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου διὰ τὸ παρὰ Ῥωμαίων δέος ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν ἐξεστράτευσε, καὶ γενόμενος ἐν αὐτῇ ἔτει ἑκατοστῷ καὶ τεσσαρακοστῷ καὶ τρίτῳ μετὰ τοὺς ἀπὸ Σελεύκου βασιλεῖς ἀμαχητὶ λαμβάνει τὴν πόλιν, ἀνοιξάντων αὐτῷ τὰς πύλας ὅσοι τῆς ἐκείνου προαιρέσεως ἦσαν.
247 ἐγκρατὴς δ' οὕτως τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων γενόμενος πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινε τῶν τἀναντία φρονούντων, καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ συλήσας ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν.

[1] *τοίνυν* E: om. PLAM¹W.

[a] Ptolemy Physcon.

[b] On the ultimatum delivered to Antiochus by Gaius Popilius Laenas, the head of the Roman embassy, see Polyb. xxix. 27. This, however, was in 168 B.C., *cf.* note *d* below.

[c] Josephus is apparently referring to the very brief statement in *B.J.* i. 31 that "when Antiochus Epiphanes was disputing with Ptolemy VI the suzerainty of Syria, dissension arose among the Jewish nobles," although nothing is said there about the intervention of the Romans. Some scholars, therefore, consider this one of the non-verifiable cross-

hood of Memphis and taken possession of this city, he set out for Alexandria with the intention of reducing it by siege and getting into his power the Ptolemy[a] who was reigning there. He was, however, repelled not only from Alexandria, but also from the whole of Egypt, for the Romans instructed him to keep away from the country,[b] as we have already related somewhere in an earlier passage.[c] But I shall give a detailed account of this king, how he became master of Judaea and the temple; for since in my first work I mentioned these things only in summary fashion, I have thought it necessary now to go back and give a more exact account of them.

(3) King Antiochus, then, returning from Egypt through fear of the Romans, marched against the city of Jerusalem, and entering it in the hundred and forty-third year of the Seleucid reign,[d] took the city without a battle, for the gates were opened to him by those who were of his party. And having become master of Jerusalem in this way, he killed many of those who were in opposition,[e] and taking large sums of money as spoil,[f] he returned to Antioch.

Antiochus Epiphanes punishes the Jewish opposition in Jerusalem.

references (on which see the Appendix in the last volume of this translation). Even if Josephus is referring to a passage which is either non-existent or non-extant, it may be that in doing so he was under the impression that he had written about the Romans and Antiochus in *B.J.*, but did not take the trouble to look up the earlier passage. I hardly think that Reinach, following Destinon, is justified in labelling the present cross-reference an "étourderie," and holding that the formula "as we have already related, etc." is mechanically copied from his source, since he is here apparently paraphrasing the source, not copying it verbatim.

[d] In the autumn of 169 B.C. after his first campaign in Egypt but before the Romans intervened.

[e] *Cf. B.J.* i. 32, "slew a large number of Ptolemy's followers."

[f] *Cf.* note *e*, p. 126.

248 (4) Συνέβη δὲ μετὰ ἔτη δύο, τῷ ἑκατοστῷ καὶ τεσσαρακοστῷ καὶ πέμπτῳ ἔτει μηνὸς πέμπτῃ καὶ εἰκάδι, ὃς καλεῖται κατὰ μὲν ἡμᾶς Χασλεῦ,[1] κατὰ δὲ Μακεδόνας Ἀπελλαῖος, ὀλυμπιάδι ἑκατοστῇ καὶ πεντηκοστῇ καὶ τρίτῃ, μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως ἀναβῆναι τὸν βασιλέα εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ προσποιησάμενον εἰρήνην ἀπάτῃ περιγενέσθαι τῆς
249 πόλεως. ἐφείσατο δὴ τότε οὐδὲ τῶν εἰσδεξαμένων αὐτὸν διὰ τὸν ἐν τῷ ναῷ πλοῦτον, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ πλεονεξίας (χρυσὸν γὰρ ἑώρα πολὺν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ τὸν ἄλλον τῶν ἀναθημάτων κόσμον πολυτελέστατον), ἵνα συλήσῃ τοῦτον, ὑπέμεινε τὰς πρὸς ἐκείνους
250 αὐτῷ σπονδὰς παραβῆναι. περιδύσας οὖν τὸν ναόν, ὡς καὶ τὰ σκεύη τοῦ θεοῦ βαστάσαι λυχνίας χρυσᾶς καὶ βωμὸν χρύσεον καὶ τράπεζαν καὶ τὰ θυσιαστήρια, καὶ μηδὲ τῶν καταπετασμάτων ἀποσχόμενος, ἅπερ ἦν ἐκ βύσσου καὶ κόκκου πεποιημένα, κενώσας δὲ καὶ τοὺς θησαυροὺς τοὺς

[1] ex Lat. Naber: Κασελεὺς AM: Χασελέφ, φ ex υ corr. m 1 W: Ἐξελέους P: Ζαλαιοῦς F: Ζαλεοῦς V.

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[a] 168 B.C. The 145th yr. Sel. extended from Oct. 168 to Oct. 167 B.C.; the second invasion, therefore, was only a little more than a year after the first, according to our reckoning, not "two years later," as the first invasion fell in the second half of the 143rd yr. Sel. and the second invasion in the first half of the 145th yr. Sel., but the interval was counted as 2 yrs. See further Bickermann, *GM*, pp. 160-168.

[b] The MSS. of 1 Macc. i. 54 have "15th day," but this is an error for "25th day," as is shown by other passages in 1 Macc. and by Jewish tradition.

[c] Heb. Kislew, roughly December.

[d] On the equation Chasleu-Apellaios, *cf. Ant.* xi. 148 note *e*.

[e] The 153rd Olympiad (not mentioned in 1 Macc.) extended

Desecration and spoiling of the temple by Antiochus Epiphanes. 1 Macc. i. 29, 54.

(4) Two years later, as it happened, in the hundred and forty-fifth year,[a] on the twenty-fifth [b] day of the month which by us is called Chasleu,[c] and by the Macedonians Apellaios,[d] in the hundred and fifty-third Olympiad,[e] the king went up to Jerusalem, and by pretending to offer peace, overcame the city by treachery. But on this occasion he did not spare even those who admitted him, because of the wealth of the temple,[f] but through greed—for he saw much gold in the temple and an array of very costly dedicatory-offerings of other kinds—, and for the sake of taking this as spoil, he went so far as to violate the treaty which he had made with them. And so he stripped the temple, carrying off the vessels of God, the golden lampstands and the golden altar and table and the other altars, and not even forbearing to take the curtains, which were made of fine linen and scarlet,[g] and he also emptied the temple of its hidden treasures,

from July 168 to July 164 B.C. The events of the 25th of Kislew, however, were concerned with the desecration of the temple according to 1 Macc., not with Antiochus' plundering of the temple treasury and carrying off the temple vessels, which occurred in his first invasion of Jerusalem in 169 B.C. Moreover the desecration and massacre in 168 B.C. were not directed by Antiochus personally, but by his "chief tribute-collector" (ἄρχοντα φορολογίας) according to 1 Macc. i. 29. This official is to be identified with Apollonius the Mysarch (commander of the Mysian guard, *cf.* Polyb. xxx. 25. 3) mentioned in 2 Macc. v. 24 (the reading ἄρχοντα φορολογίας in 1 Macc. was plausibly explained many years ago by Hitzig as arising from Heb. *śar ham-missîm*, "chief of taxes," for *śar ham-mûsîm*, "chief of the Mysians").

[f] *i.e.* on the first occasion Antiochus had spared some of the inhabitants because he hoped through them to get the wealth of the temple. The Gr. may, however, mean that on this occasion his greed caused him to kill even his Jewish partisans.

[g] The material of the curtains is not mentioned in 1 Macc.

ἀποκρύφους καὶ μηδὲν ὅλως ὑπολιπών, εἰς μέγα
251 τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐπὶ τούτοις πένθος ἐνέβαλεν. καὶ
γὰρ τὰς καθημερινὰς θυσίας, ἃς προσέφερον τῷ
θεῷ κατὰ τὸν νόμον, ἐκώλυσεν αὐτοὺς προσφέρειν,
καὶ διαρπάσας πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν τοὺς μὲν ἀπ-
έκτεινε τοὺς δὲ αἰχμαλώτους γυναιξὶν ἅμα καὶ
τέκνοις ἔλαβεν, ὡς τῶν ζωγρηθέντων περὶ μυρίους
252 γενέσθαι τὸ πλῆθος. ἐνέπρησε δ' αὐτῆς τὰ κάλ-
λιστα καὶ καταβαλὼν τὰ τείχη τὴν ἐν τῇ κάτω
πόλει ᾠκοδόμησεν ἄκραν· ἦν γὰρ ὑψηλὴ καὶ
ὑπερκειμένη τὸ ἱερόν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὴν ὀχυρώσας
τείχεσιν ὑψηλοῖς καὶ πύργοις φρουρὰν Μακεδο-
νικὴν ἐγκατέστησεν. ἔμενον δ' οὐδὲν ἧττον ἐν τῇ
ἄκρᾳ καὶ τοῦ πλήθους οἱ ἀσεβεῖς καὶ πονηροὶ τὸν
τρόπον, ὑφ' ὧν πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ τοὺς πολίτας
253 συνέβη παθεῖν. ἐποικοδομήσας δὲ καὶ τῷ θυσια-
στηρίῳ βωμὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς σύας ἐπ' αὐτοῦ

[a] All this plunder was taken in the *first* invasion, according to 1 Macc. i. 20 ff., *cf.* above, § 248 note *e*.

[b] The number of those killed is not specified in 1 Macc.

[c] 1 Macc. i. 31 has merely "burned it" (the city).

[d] Schürer, i. 198 note 37, is probably right in assuming that this Seleucid citadel was built on the southern spur of the eastern hill, south of the temple (*cf. Ant.* vii. 62 notes), and

and left nothing at all behind,[a] thereby throwing the Jews into deep mourning. Moreover he forbade them to offer the daily sacrifices which they used to offer to God in accordance with their law, and after plundering the entire city, he killed some of the people, and some he took captive together with their wives and children, so that the number of those taken alive came to some ten thousand.[b] And he burnt the finest parts[c] of the city, and pulling down the walls, built the *Akra* (citadel) in the Lower City[d]; for it was high enough to overlook the temple, and it was for this reason that he fortified it with high walls and towers, and stationed a Macedonian garrison therein. Nonetheless there remained in the *Akra* those of the people who were impious and of bad character, and at their hands the citizens were destined to suffer many terrible things.[e] The king also built a pagan altar upon the temple-altar, and

distinguishing it from the earlier, Persian and pre-Hasmonaean citadel north of the temple (*cf.* Neh. ii. 8 ff., Aristeas §§ 100 ff., *Ant.* xii. 133 ff., 2 Macc. iv. 12 ff.) which was rebuilt by the later Hasmonaeans (*cf. Ant.* xv. 403) and again by Herod, who named it Antonia (*cf. Ant.* xviii. 91, *B.J.* v. 238 ff.; its site and structure have recently been discussed by Père H. Vincent in *RB* xlii., 1933, pp. 83-113). The Seleucid citadel is located on the southern spur of the eastern hill also by E. Meyer, *Ursprung* ii. 158, Dalman, *Sacred Sites*, p. 273; *cf.* also Tramontano, pp. 86 ff., who agrees substantially with Schürer.

[e] 1 Macc. i. 34 says that the citadel was occupied by an *ἔθνος ἁμαρτωλόν, ἄνδρας παρανόμους* "a sinful nation, lawless men," probably intending the latter phrase to be in apposition with the "sinful nation" and meaning the Syrians. Josephus, however, assumes that two different groups are meant, the Syrian soldiers and the renegade Jews; the latter are mentioned separately in vs. 52 as the cause of much evil to the land. See further Bickermann, *GM*, pp. 71-73.

κατέσφαξε, θυσίαν οὐ νόμιμον οὐδὲ πάτριον τῇ Ἰουδαίων θρησκείᾳ ταύτην ἐπιτελῶν. ἠνάγκασε δ' αὐτοὺς ἀφεμένους τὴν περὶ τὸν αὐτῶν θεὸν θρησκείαν τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ νομιζομένους σέβεσθαι, οἰκοδομήσαντας δὲ ἐν ἑκάστῃ πόλει καὶ κώμῃ τεμένη αὐτῶν καὶ βωμοὺς καθιδρύσαντας θύειν
254 ἐπ' αὐτοῖς σῦς καθ' ἡμέραν προσέταξεν.[1] ἐκέλευσε δὲ καὶ μὴ περιτέμνειν αὐτοὺς τὰ τέκνα, κολάσειν[2] ἀπειλήσας εἴ τις παρὰ ταῦτα ποιῶν εὑρεθείη. κατέστησε δὲ καὶ ἐπισκόπους, οἳ προσαναγκάσου-
255 σιν αὐτοὺς τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα ποιεῖν. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν Ἰουδαίων οἱ μὲν ἑκοντὶ οἱ δὲ καὶ δι' εὐλάβειαν τῆς ἐπηγγελμένης τιμωρίας κατηκολούθουν οἷς ὁ βασιλεὺς διετέτακτο, οἱ δὲ δοκιμώτατοι καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς εὐγενεῖς οὐκ ἐφρόντισαν αὐτοῦ, τῶν δὲ πατρίων ἐθῶν πλείονα λόγον ἔσχον ἢ τῆς τιμωρίας ἣν οὐ πειθομένοις ἠπείλησεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κατὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν αἰκιζόμενοι καὶ
256 πικρὰς βασάνους ὑπομένοντες[3] ἀπέθνησκον. καὶ γὰρ μαστιγούμενοι καὶ τὰ σώματα λυμαινόμενοι[4] ζῶντες ἔτι καὶ ἐμπνέοντες ἀνεσταυροῦντο, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτῶν, οὓς περιέτεμνον παρὰ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως προαίρεσιν, ἀπῆγχον, ἐκ

[1] προσέταξεν om. PFV.
[2] κόλασιν PFLV Lat. (vid.).
[3] ὑποφέροντες FLV.
[4] + καὶ πάντα δεινὰ καρτερήσαντες P.

[a] 1 Macc. does not mention the sacrifice of swine on the temple-altar (although i. 44 ff. might be taken to imply this, since the sacrifice of swine in "the cities of Judah" is mentioned in connexion with the profanation of the temple); vs. 54 speaks of the erection on the temple-altar of a *βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως*, which is the Gr. equivalent of the *šiqqûṣ meʿšômēm* A.V. "abomination that maketh desolate") in Dan. xi. 31, xii. 11; this term, according to Nestle (*ap.* Montgomery,

slaughtered swine thereon,[a] thereby practising a form of sacrifice neither lawful nor native to the religion of the Jews. And he compelled them to give up the worship of their own God, and to do reverence to the gods in whom he believed; he then commanded them to build sacred places in every city and village, and to set up altars on which to sacrifice swine daily. He also ordered them not to circumcise their children, threatening to punish anyone who might be found acting contrary to these orders. He also appointed overseers who should assist in compelling them to carry out his instructions. And so, many of the Jews, some willingly, others through fear of the punishment which had been prescribed, followed the practices ordained by the king, but the worthiest people and those of noble soul disregarded him, and held their country's customs of greater account than the punishment with which he threatened them if they disobeyed; and being on that account maltreated daily, and enduring bitter torments, they met their death. Indeed, they were whipped, their bodies were mutilated,[b] and while still alive and breathing, they were crucified,[c] while their wives and the sons whom they had circumcised in despite of the king's wishes were strangled, the children being made to

The Syrians persecute pious Jews. 1 Macc. i. 44.

Dan., p. 388), is "a contemptuous surrogate for the name of the highest pagan deity"—in this case, Zeus Olympios, *cf.* 2 Macc. vi. 2. The swine is also mentioned by Posidonius, fr. 109 *FGH* 2A, and in the rabbinic work on the Maccabaean revolt, called *M^egillath Beth Ḥašmônai* or *M^egillath 'Antî'ôkôs* (ed. Kahana, *Siphrûth ha-histōriā hay-yisrā'ēlîth*, 1922, i. 17).

[b] One ms. adds, "and bravely suffering all manner of terrible things."

[c] The scourging and crucifixion are not mentioned in 1 Macc.

τῶν τραχήλων αὐτοὺς τῶν ἀνεσταυρωμένων γονέων ἀπαρτῶντες. ἠφανίζετο δ' εἴ που βίβλος εὑρεθείη ἱερὰ καὶ νόμος, καὶ παρ' οἷς εὑρέθη καὶ οὗτοι κακοὶ κακῶς ἀπώλλυντο.

257 (5) Ταῦτα δὲ βλέποντες οἱ Σαμαρεῖται πάσχοντας τοὺς Ἰουδαίους οὐκέθ' ὡμολόγουν αὐτοὺς εἶναι συγγενεῖς αὐτῶν, οὐδὲ τὸν ἐν Γαριζεὶν ναὸν τοῦ μεγίστου θεοῦ, τῇ φύσει ποιοῦντες ἀκόλουθα ἣν δεδηλώκαμεν, καὶ λέγοντες αὐτοὺς Μήδων ἀποίκους καὶ Περσῶν· καὶ γάρ εἰσιν τούτων ἄποικοι.
258 πέμψαντες οὖν πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίοχον πρέσβεις καὶ ἐπιστολὴν ἐδήλουν τὰ ὑπογεγραμμένα· "βασιλεῖ Ἀντιόχῳ θεῷ ἐπιφανεῖ ὑπόμνημα παρὰ τῶν ἐν
259 Σικίμοις Σιδωνίων. οἱ ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι διά τινας αὐχμοὺς τῆς χώρας[1] παρακολουθήσαντες ἀρχαίᾳ τινὶ δεισιδαιμονίᾳ, ἔθος ἐποίησαν σέβειν τὴν παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις λεγομένην τῶν σαββάτων ἡμέραν, ἱδρυσάμενοι δὲ ἀνώνυμον ἐν τῷ Γαριζεὶν λεγομένῳ ὄρει ἱερὸν ἔθυον ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τὰς καθηκού-
260 σας θυσίας. σοῦ δὲ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τῆς πονηρίας αὐτῶν ἀξίως χρησαμένου, οἱ τὰ βασιλικὰ διοικοῦντες, οἰόμενοι κατὰ συγγένειαν ἡμᾶς ταὐτὰ ποιεῖν ἐκείνοις, ταῖς ὁμοίαις αἰτίαις περιάπτουσιν,[2] ὄντων ἡμῶν τὸ ἀνέκαθεν Σιδωνίων· καὶ τοῦτο φανερόν ἐστιν ἐκ τῶν πολιτικῶν ἀναγραφῶν.

[1] αὐχμοὺς τῆς χώρας] συχνοὺς τῆς χώρας (τ. χώρας συχνοὺς tr. F) λοιμοὺς FLV Lat.: αὐχμοὺς E.
[2] προσάπτουσιν PAMWE.

[a] For literature on the following section, §§ 257-264, not found in 1 Macc. (but *cf.* the brief allusion to Antiochus'

hang from the necks of their crucified parents. And wherever a sacred book or copy of the Law was found, it was destroyed; as for those in whose possession it was found, they too, poor wretches, wretchedly perished.

(5)[a] But when the Samaritans saw the Jews suffering these misfortunes, they would no longer admit that they were their kin or that the temple on Garizein was that of the Most Great God, thereby acting in accordance with their nature, as we have shown[b]; they also said they were colonists from the Medes and Persians, and they are, in fact, colonists from these peoples. Accordingly, they sent envoys to Antiochus with a letter in which they made the following statements. "To King Antiochus Theos Epiphanes,[c] a memorial from the Sidonians in Shechem.[d] Our forefathers because of certain droughts[e] in their country, and following a certain ancient superstition,[f] made it a custom to observe the day which is called the Sabbath by the Jews, and they erected a temple without a name on the mountain called Garizein, and there offered the appropriate sacrifices. Now you have dealt with the Jews as their wickedness deserves, but the king's officers, in the belief that we follow the same practices as they through kinship with them, are involving us in similar charges, whereas we are Sidonians by origin, as is evident from our state documents. We therefore

The Samaritans appeal to Antiochus Epiphanes.

consecration of the Samaritan temple to Zeus Xenios in 2 Macc. vi. 2, on which see § 261 note *c*) and taken by Joseph from another source (Jason of Cyrene?), see Appendix G.

[b] *Cf. Ant.* ix. 291 note.

[c] "God Manifest."

[d] On this designation *cf. Ant.* xi. 344 note *c*.

[e] Variant "because of frequent pestilences."

[f] Or "religious scruple," *cf.* § 5 note *a*.

261 ἀξιοῦμεν οὖν σε τὸν εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτῆρα προστάξαι Ἀπολλωνίῳ τῷ μεριδάρχῃ καὶ Νικάνορι τῷ τὰ βασιλικὰ πράττοντι μηδὲν ἡμῖν ἐνοχλεῖν προσάπτουσι τὰς τῶν Ἰουδαίων αἰτίας, ἡμῶν καὶ τῷ γένει καὶ τοῖς ἔθεσιν ἀλλοτρίων ὑπαρχόντων, προσαγορευθῆναι δὲ τὸ ἀνώνυμον ἱερὸν Διὸς Ἑλληνίου· γενομένου γὰρ τούτου παυσόμεθα μὲν ἐνοχλούμενοι, τοῖς δ' ἔργοις μετὰ ἀδείας προσανέχοντες μείζονάς σοι ποιήσομεν τὰς προσόδους."
262 ταῦτα τῶν Σαμαρέων[1] δεηθέντων ἀντέγραψεν αὐτοῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς τάδε· "βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος Νικάνορι. οἱ ἐν Σικίμοις Σιδώνιοι ἐπέδωκαν τὸ
263 κατακεχωρισμένον ὑπόμνημα. ἐπεὶ οὖν συμβουλευομένοις ἡμῖν μετὰ τῶν φίλων παρέστησαν οἱ πεμφθέντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὅτι μηδὲν τοῖς τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐγκλήμασι προσήκουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς

[1] Σαμαρειτῶν FLV.

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[a] Probably to be identified with Apollonius the Mysarch sent to Jerusalem by Antiochus in 168 B.C., *cf.* § 248 note *e*. Willrich, *Urkundenfälschung*, p. 15, believes that Josephus here designates Apollonius governor (*meridarch*) of Samaria on the basis of 1 Macc. iii. 10, which says that Apollonius set out from Samaria with an army to attack Judaea.

[b] Grimm identifies Nicanor with the Nicanor, son of Patroclus, mentioned in 2 Macc. viii. 9 ff. (*cf.* § 298 note *b*) as one of the king's ministers who hoped to raise money for the payment of the Seleucid indemnity to Rome by selling Jewish captives as slaves.

[c] Zeus Xenios (" protector of strangers ") according to 2 Macc. vi. 2. The latter reading is preferred by Cook, *Rel.*, p. 188, who writes, " the hospitable Zeus would reflect oriental ideas illustrated both in the old 'covenant god ' of Shechem and in Allah as the protector of guest-clients " ; so, earlier,

petition you as our benefactor and saviour to command Apollonius, the governor of the district,[a] and Nicanor, the royal agent,[b] not to molest us in any way by attaching to us the charges of which the Jews are guilty, since we are distinct from them both in race and in customs, and we ask that the temple without a name be known as that of Zeus Hellenios.[c] For if this be done, we shall cease to be molested, and by applying ourselves to our work in security, we shall make your revenues greater." To this petition of the Samarians the king wrote the following reply. "King Antiochus to Nicanor. The Sidonians in Shechem have submitted a memorial which has been filed.[d] Now since the men sent by them have represented to us sitting in council with our friends that they are in no way concerned in the complaints brought against the Jews, but choose to live in

Freudenthal, *Hell. Stud.*, p. 77 note, on the ground that the Samaritans would have worshipped the Phoenician Baal-Moloch (*cf. Ant.* viii. 145 note *d*) in the form of Zeus Xenios. Montgomery, *Sam.*, p. 77 note, makes the interesting conjecture that the epithet Xenios "may have been suggested by the first syllable of Gerizim, *ger*, *i.e.* 'stranger'" (in this connexion we may note that a Samaritan writer, "Pseudo-Eupolemus," *ap.* Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* ix. 17, interprets the name Mount Gerizim—'Αργαριζίν as ὄρος ὑψίστου "Mount of the Most High"; this, of course, does not decide the question which epithet is correct). The epithet Hellenios would be the probable choice only if the Samaritans were stressing their Greek sympathies (*cf.* § 263 and *Ant.* xi. 344) while Xenios would be suitable whether they thought primarily of their Greek sympathies or their Phoenician (or Shechemite) origin. On the whole, Xenios is more likely to have been correct.

[d] Or perhaps "the memorial (memorandum) herewith noted (or "enclosed")"; on the meaning of καταχωρίζω *cf.* Preisigke, *Fachwörter*, p. 107, and Welles, *Royal Corr.*, pp. 101 f., 181.

ἔθεσιν αἱροῦνται χρώμενοι ζῆν, ἀπολυόμέν τε αὐτοὺς τῶν αἰτιῶν, καὶ τὸ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἱερόν, καθάπερ ἠξιώκασι, προσαγορευθήτω Διὸς Ἑλ-
264 ληνίου." ταῦτα δὲ καὶ Ἀπολλωνίῳ τῷ μεριδάρχῃ ἐπέστειλεν ἕκτῳ ἔτει καὶ τεσσαρακοστῷ καὶ ἑκατοστῷ[1] μηνὸς Ἑκατομβαιῶνος Ὑρκανίου[2] ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῃ.

265 (vi. 1) Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ἦν τις οἰκῶν ἐν Μωδαῒ[3] κώμῃ τῆς Ἰουδαίας, ὄνομα Ματταθίας, υἱὸς Ἰωάννου τοῦ Συμεῶνος τοῦ Ἀσαμωναίου, ἱερεὺς ἐξ ἐφημερίδος Ἰώαριβος,[4] Ἱεροσολυμίτης.
266 ἦσαν δ' αὐτῷ υἱοὶ πέντε, Ἰωάννης ὁ καλούμενος Γάδδης[5] καὶ Σίμων ὁ κληθεὶς Θάτις[6] καὶ Ἰούδας

[1] καὶ ἑκατοστῷ add. Vaillant: om. codd. Lat.
[2] Hyrcani Lat.: om. ed. pr.
[3] Μωδεεὶμ FV Suidas: Μωδαιεῖ L[1]AMW: Μωδεεῖ L[2]: Μωδεῇ E: Modin Lat.: Μωδεῖ Exc.
[4] FLV: Ἰώαβος rell.: Ioab aut Iobab Lat.
[5] Γαδδὶς FAM: Γαδδεις Exc.
[6] Θαθὶς LAM: Μαθθὶς F: Μαθθῆς V: Θαθῆς W: Θαδῆς E: Mathias Lat.: Θάθεις Exc.: Θάσος Syncellus.

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[a] The "hundred" has been inadvertently omitted from the MSS.

[b] The 146th yr. Sel. extended from Oct. 167 to Oct. 166 B.C.

[c] The Attic (and Delian) month Hekatombaion corresponded to July-August (*cf. Ant.* iv. 84). What "Hyrkanios" means is an unsolved puzzle. Another instance of an unknown name given to a Greek (Macedonian) month occurs in 2 Macc. xi. 21, namely Διοσκορινθίου (*v.l.* Διοσκορίδου) but this has been plausibly emended to Διὸς Κρονίδου on the basis of Plutarch, *Thes.* 12, Κρονίου μηνὸς ὃν νῦν Ἑκατομβαιῶνα καλοῦσιν (*cf.* Büchler, *Tob.* p. 154 note). Is there any connexion between these two passages, and is

accordance with Greek customs, we acquit them of these charges, and permit their temple to be known as that of Zeus Hellenios, as they have petitioned." In this fashion he also wrote to Apollonius, the district-governor, in the hundred [a] and forty-sixth year,[b] on the eighteenth of the month Hekatombaion Hyrkanios.[c]

(vi. 1) At this same time there was a man living in the village [d] of Modai [e] in Judaea, named Mattathias, the son of Joannes, the son of Symeon, the son of Asamonaios,[f] a priest of the course [g] of Joarib [h] and a native of Jerusalem. He had five sons, Joannes called Gaddes,[i] Simon called Thatis,[j] Judas called

Mattathias and his five sons. 1 Macc. ii. 1

"Hyrkanios" a corruption of "Kronios"? It seems strange, to be sure, that an Attic rather than a Macedonian month should be named in either passage, but Niese, *Kritik*, p. 107, argues that Antiochus "who introduced the Attic documentary style into Antioch" might well have adopted Attic month-names as well.

[d] Called a "city" (πόλιν) in 1 Macc. ii. 15 ff.

[e] Variants Modeeim, Modaiei, Modin, etc. (most mss. in *B.J.* i. 36 have Modeein); 1 Macc. Modein; in rabbinic literature *Môdî'în* or *Môdî'îth*. Its site is the mod. *Ras Medieh* or *el-Medieh*, *c.* 7 miles S.E. of Lydda and *c.* 17 miles N.W. of Jerusalem.

[f] *Ḥašmônai* in rabbinic literature; he is not mentioned in 1 Macc. Josephus himself claims descent from the Hasmonaeans, *Vita* 2.

[g] 1 Macc. "of the sons." On the priestly courses *cf. Ant.* vii. 365 note *c* and *Vita* 2 note *a*.

[h] So 1 Macc. (=Heb. *Yôyārîb*); variants Joab, Jobab.

[i] Variant Gaddis (so most mss. of 1 Macc.). This surname is connected by some scholars with Gad, the Semitic god of fortune.

[j] Variants Thathis, Matthis, etc.; 1 Macc. Thassi. Winer (*ap.* Grimm) long ago suggested a derivation from Aram. *t'sas* "boil, ferment," hence "the zealot," and so, more recently, Bévenot, but this etymology seems to me very far-fetched.

ὁ καλούμενος Μακκαβαῖος[1] καὶ Ἐλεάζαρος ὁ κληθεὶς Αὐρὰν καὶ Ἰωνάθης ὁ κληθεὶς Ἀφφοῦς.[2]
267 οὗτος οὖν ὁ Ματταθίας ἀπωδύρετο τοῖς τέκνοις τήν κατάστασιν τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τήν τε τῆς πόλεως διαρπαγὴν καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ τὴν σύλησιν καὶ τοῦ πλήθους τὰς συμφοράς, ἔλεγέ τε κρεῖττον αὐτοῖς εἶναι ὑπὲρ τῶν πατρίων νόμων ἀποθανεῖν ἢ ζῆν οὕτως ἀδόξως.[3]
268 (2) Ἐλθόντων δὲ εἰς τὴν Μωδαῒν κώμην τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως καθεσταμένων ἐπὶ τῷ ποιεῖν ἀναγκάζειν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἃ διετέτακτο, καὶ θύειν τοὺς ἐκεῖ κελευόντων, ὡς ὁ βασιλεὺς κελεύσειε, διὰ δὲ τὴν δόξαν τήν τε διὰ τὰ ἄλλα καὶ διὰ τὴν εὐπαιδίαν ἀξιούντων τὸν Ματταθίαν προκατ-
269 άρχειν τῶν θυσιῶν (κατακολουθήσειν γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς πολίτας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τιμηθήσεσθαι πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως), ὁ Ματταθίας οὐκ ἔφασκεν ποιήσειν, οὐδ' εἰ τἆλλα πάντα ἔθνη τοῖς Ἀντιόχου προστάγμασιν ἢ διὰ φόβον ἢ δι' εὐαρέστησιν[4] ὑπακούει, πεισθήσεσθαί ποτ' αὐτὸς μετὰ τῶν τέκνων τὴν
270 πάτριον θρησκείαν ἐγκαταλιπεῖν. ὡς δὲ σιωπήσαντος αὐτοῦ προσελθών τις τῶν Ἰουδαίων εἰς μέσον ἔθυσε καθ' ἃ προσέταξεν Ἀντίοχος, θυμωθεὶς ὁ Ματταθίας ὥρμησεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν μετὰ

[1] Μακαβαῖος P: Machabeus Lat.
[2] Ἀπφοῦς LAMW: Sappus Lat.: Σαπφοῦς Syncellus.
[3] FV Lat.: ἀφόβως P: ἀσεβῶς rell.
[4] εὐεργέτησιν FLV.

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[a] Gr. Makkabaios. Many different etymologies have been proposed for this name, the most widely accepted being from *maqqābāh*, "hammer," hence "the Hammerer," but in view of our uncertainty whether the Heb. (or Aram.) form

Maccabaeus,[a] Eleazar called Auran,[b] and Jonathan[c] called Apphus.[d] Now this Mattathias lamented to his sons over the state of things, the plundering of the city and the spoiling of the temple, and the misfortunes of the people, and said it was better for them to die for their country's laws than to live so ingloriously.[e]

(2) But there came to the village[f] of Modai the officers appointed by the king to compel the Jews to carry out his ordinances, and they ordered the inhabitants to sacrifice as the king had ordered; and as Mattathias was held in esteem because of various things and especially because of his goodly sons, they invited him to be the first to sacrifice—for, they said his fellow-citizens would follow him, and for that reason he would be honoured by the king—, but Mattathias refused to do so, saying that even if all the other nations obeyed the commands of Antiochus whether through fear or through desire to please[g] he himself and his sons would never be persuaded to abandon their native form of worship. But when he had ceased speaking, one of the Jews came forward and in their midst sacrificed as Antiochus had commanded, whereupon Mattathias in rage rushed upon

Mattathias defies the officers of Antiochus Epiphanes 1 Macc. ii. 15.

had the consonants *m q b y* or *m k b y*, it seems unwise to accept any of those proposed.

[b] 1 Macc. Auaran. Grimm suggests a derivation from Heb. *ḥur*, "to penetrate," hence "the Borer."

[c] Gr. Jōnathēs.

[d] Michaelis (*ap.* Grimm) connects this with the Heb. and Syr. root *ḥps*, and interprets the name as "the cunning one" ("der Schlaue"), but this root means "to dig, search," and it is difficult to understand the basis of his interpretation.

[e] Variants "impiously" and (one MS.) "without fear."

[f] *Cf.* § 265 note *d*.

[g] Variant "or through beneficence."

τῶν παίδων ἐχόντων κοπίδας, καὶ αὐτόν τε ἐκεῖνον διέφθειρε καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀπελλῆν, ὃς ἐπηνάγκαζε, διεχρήσατο μετ' ὀλίγων στρατιωτῶν, καὶ τὸν βωμὸν καθελὼν ἀνέκραγεν,
271 " εἴ τις ζηλωτής ἐστιν τῶν πατρίων ἐθῶν καὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ θρησκείας, ἑπέσθω," φησίν, " ἐμοί." καὶ ταῦτ' εἰπὼν μετὰ τῶν τέκνων εἰς τὴν ἔρημον ἐξώρμησε καταλιπὼν ἅπασαν τὴν αὐτοῦ κτῆσιν
272 ἐν τῇ κώμῃ. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ[1] ποιήσαντες μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν ἔφυγον εἰς τὴν ἔρημον καὶ ἐν τοῖς σπηλαίοις διῆγον. ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως στρατηγοί, καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ὅσην εἶναι συνέβαινεν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἀναλαβόντες, ἐδίωξαν εἰς τὴν ἔρημον
273 τοὺς Ἰουδαίους. καὶ καταλαβόντες τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αὐτοὺς ἐπεχείρουν πείθειν μετανοήσαντας αἱρεῖσθαι τὰ συμφέροντα καὶ μὴ προσάγειν αὐτοῖς ἀνάγκην
274 ὥστ' αὐτοῖς χρήσασθαι πολέμου νόμῳ[2]· μὴ προσδεχομένων δὲ τοὺς λόγους ἀλλὰ τἀναντία φρονούντων συμβάλλουσιν αὐτοῖς εἰς μάχην σαββάτων ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ ὡς εἶχον οὕτως ἐν τοῖς σπηλαίοις αὐτοὺς κατέφλεξαν[3] οὐδὲ[4] ἀμυνομένους ἀλλ' οὐδὲ

[1] ἄλλοι πολλοὶ coni. Niese (ἄλλοι in ed.): ἄλλοι FLV: πολλοὶ rell. Lat.: πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι Zonaras.
[2] πολεμουμένοις PLAM: πολεμουμένους W: tamquam hostibus Lat.
[3] κατέσφαξαν FLV.
[4] οὐδὲν FLV Exc.

[a] 1 Macc. does not mention here either the sons or the knives: the same amplification is found in *B.J.* i. 36.
[b] His name is not given in 1 Macc., which calls him simply "the king's man"; in *B.J.* i. 36 Josephus calls him Bacchides.
[c] The killing of the soldiers is not mentioned in 1 Macc.

him with his sons, who had broad knives,[a] and cut down the man himself, and also made an end of Apelles,[b] the king's officer, who was compelling them to sacrifice, together with a few of his soldiers[c]; and after pulling down the pagan altar, he cried out, "Whoever is zealous for our country's laws and the worship of God, let him come with me!" So saying, he set out with his sons into the wilderness,[d] leaving behind all his property in the village. And many others[e] also did the same, and fled with their children and wives to the wilderness, where they lived in caves. But when the king's officers heard of this, they took as many soldiers as were then in the citadel of Jerusalem,[f] and pursued the Jews into the wilderness; and when they had overtaken them, they tried at first to persuade them to repent and choose a course which was for their own good, and not to bring upon the king's men the necessity of treating them in accordance with the laws of war[g]; the Jews, however, did not accept their terms, but showed a hostile spirit, whereupon they attacked them on the Sabbath-day and burned[h] them in their caves, just as they were, for not only did the Jews not resist, but they

The Jews are attacked on the Sabbath.
1 Macc. ii. 31.

[d] 1 Macc. ii. 28, "into the hills," but the wilderness is mentioned in the next verse.

[e] Text emended after Zonaras: MSS. "others" or "many."

[f] 1 Macc. "the forces who were in Jerusalem, the city of David." Josephus must be right in assuming that the *Akra* is there meant.

[g] Variant "treating them as enemies in war."

[h] Variant "slaughtered"; 1 Macc. "killed." It is noteworthy that 2 Macc. vi. 11 speaks of refugee Jews being burned in the caves, to which they had fled to observe the Sabbath secretly, by the Phrygian general Philip, this being before the Maccabaean revolt.

τὰς εἰσόδους ἐμφράξαντας. τοῦ δὲ ἀμύνασθαι διὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἀπέσχοντο, μηδ' ἐν κακοῖς παραβῆναι τὴν τοῦ σαββάτου τιμὴν θελήσαντες· ἀργεῖν γὰρ
275 *ἡμῖν ἐν αὐτῇ νόμιμόν ἐστιν. ἀπέθανον μὲν οὖν σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις ἐμπνιγέντες τοῖς σπηλαίοις ὡσεὶ χίλιοι, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ διασωθέντες τῷ Ματ-*
276 *ταθίᾳ προσέθεντο κἀκεῖνον ἄρχοντα ἀπέδειξαν. ὁ δὲ καὶ σαββάτοις αὐτοὺς ἐδίδασκε μάχεσθαι, λέγων ὡς εἰ μὴ ποιήσουσι τοῦτο, φυλαττόμενοι τὸ νόμιμον, αὐτοῖς ἔσονται πολέμιοι, τῶν μὲν ἐχθρῶν κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτοῖς προσβαλλόντων, αὐτῶν δ' οὐκ ἀμυνομένων, κωλύσειν τε μηδὲν*
277 *οὕτως ἀμαχητὶ πάντας ἀπολέσθαι. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἔπεισεν αὐτούς, καὶ ἄχρι δεῦρο μένει παρ' ἡμῖν τὸ*
278 *καὶ σαββάτοις, εἴ ποτε δεήσειε, μάχεσθαι. ποιήσας οὖν δύναμιν πολλὴν περὶ αὐτὸν Ματταθίας τούς τε βωμοὺς καθεῖλε καὶ τοὺς ἐξαμαρτόντας ἀπέκτεινεν, ὅσους λαβεῖν ὑποχειρίους ἠδυνήθη (πολλοὶ γὰρ δι' εὐλάβειαν διεσπάρησαν εἰς τὰ πέριξ ἔθνη)· τῶν τε παίδων τοὺς οὐ περιτετμημένους ἐκέλευσε περιτέμνεσθαι, τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ κωλύειν καθεσταμένους ἐκβαλών.*

279 (3) *Ἄρξας δ' ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ καταπεσὼν εἰς νόσον*

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[a] This rule was followed in the rabbinic period, although making war on the Sabbath is expressly forbidden in the book of Jubilees, l. 12 (*cf.* L. Finkelstein, *Some Examples of the Maccabaean Halakah*, *JBL* xlix. 1930, pp. 20-42) and the Jews refrained from attacking the Romans on the Sabbath when Pompey besieged Jerusalem (*Ant.* xiv. 63); in the great war with Rome, however, the Jews were compelled to violate the Sabbath by fighting (*B.J.* ii. 517). Reinach in his note on the text above observes that Josephus dwells on this episode and amplifies the text of 1 Macc., where, he says, the

did not even stop up the entrances to the caves. And they forbore to resist because of the day, being unwilling to violate the dignity of the Sabbath even when in difficulties, for the law requires us to rest on that day. And so about a thousand with their wives and children died by suffocation in the caves; but many escaped and joined Mattathias, whom they appointed their leader. And he instructed them to fight even on the Sabbath, saying that if for the sake of observing the law they failed to do so, they would be their own enemies, for their foes would attack them on that day, and unless they resisted, nothing would prevent them from all perishing without striking a blow. These words persuaded them, and to this day we continue the practice of fighting even on the Sabbath whenever it becomes necessary.[a] So Mattathias gathered a large force round him,[b] and pulled down the pagan altars, and killed as many of those who had sinned as he could lay his hands on—for many of them in fear of him had scattered among the neighbouring nations; and as for the boys who had not been circumcised, he ordered them to be circumcised, and drove out the officers who had been appointed to prevent this.

Mattathias resolves to fight on the Sabbath when necessary. 1 Macc. ii. 40.

(3) But after being in command for a year, he fell

initiative in this action is not attributed to Mattathias, and suggests that Josephus has here the intention of justifying his co-religionists for having fought on the Sabbath in the war with Rome. But 1 Macc. *does* attribute the initiative to Mattathias and his friends, and just about as much stress is laid on this episode in 1 Macc. as in Josephus' text. I doubt, therefore, whether Reinach's point is well taken.

[b] Josephus omits any reference (*cf.* 1 Macc. ii. 42) to the συναγωγὴ Ἀσιδαίων, "company of pious men (Heb. *hasîdîm*)," who joined Mattathias at this time; *cf.* also § 396 note *d*.

προσκαλεῖται τοὺς παῖδας, καὶ περιστησάμενος αὐτοὺς " ἐγὼ μέν," εἶπεν, " ὦ παῖδες, ἄπειμι τὴν εἱμαρμένην πορείαν, παρατίθεμαι δὲ ὑμῖν τοὐμὸν φρόνημα[1] καὶ παρακαλῶ μὴ γενέσθαι κακοὺς αὐτοῦ
280 φύλακας, ἀλλὰ μεμνημένους τῆς τοῦ φύσαντος ὑμᾶς καὶ θρεψαμένου προαιρέσεως ἔθη τε σώζειν τὰ πάτρια καὶ κινδυνεύουσαν οἴχεσθαι τὴν ἀρχαίαν πολιτείαν ἀνακτᾶσθαι, μὴ συμφερομένους τοῖς ἢ διὰ
281 βούλησιν ἢ δι' ἀνάγκην προδιδοῦσιν αὐτήν, ἀλλ' ἀξιῶ[2] παῖδας ὄντας ἐμοὺς ἐμμεῖναι[3] καὶ βίας ἁπάσης καὶ ἀνάγκης ἐπάνω γενέσθαι, τὰς ψυχὰς οὕτω παρεσκευασμένους,[4] ὥστε ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων, ἂν δέῃ, λογιζομένους τοῦθ' ὅτι τὸ θεῖον τοιούτους ὑμᾶς ὁρῶν οὐχ ὑπερόψεται, τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς ἀγασάμενον ἀποδώσει πάλιν ὑμῖν αὐτούς,[5] καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐν ᾗ ζήσεσθε μετ' ἀδείας τῶν ἰδίων
282 ἀπολαύοντες ἐθῶν ἀποκαταστήσει. θνητὰ μὲν γὰρ τὰ σώματα ἡμῶν καὶ ἐπίκηρα, τῇ δὲ τῶν ἔργων μνήμῃ τάξιν ἀθανασίας λαμβάνομεν,[6] ἧς ἐρασθέντας ὑμᾶς βούλομαι διώκειν τὴν εὔκλειαν, καὶ τὰ μέγιστα ὑφισταμένους μὴ ὀκνεῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν
283 ἀπολιπεῖν τὸν βίον. μάλιστα δ' ὑμῖν ὁμονοεῖν παραινῶ, καὶ πρὸς ὅ τις ὑμῶν πέφυκεν ἀμείνων θατέρου πρὸς τοῦτ' εἴκοντας ἀλλήλοις οἰκείαις

[1] τοὐμὸν φρόνημα] patrias leges Lat.
[2] ἀξίους FV Lat.: ἀξιῶσαι W.
[3] ἐμοὺς ἐμμεῖναι] ἐμοῦ V.
[4] FLV: παρασκευασαμένους rell.
[5] αὐτοῖς P: αὐτῷ F: αὐτὸ LVW: om. Lat.
[6] λαμβάνει LV Lat. (vid.).

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[a] Variant "but being worthy sons of mine, to remain so."
[b] *i.e.* the laws; the variants give no clear grammatical object of "will give back."

ill, and calling his sons, made them stand round him, and said, "I myself, my sons, am about to go the destined way, but my spirit I leave in your keeping, and I beg you not to be unworthy guardians of it, but to be mindful of the purpose of him who begot you and brought you up, and to preserve our country's customs and to restore our ancient form of government, which is in danger of passing away, and not to make common cause with those who are betraying it whether of their own will or through compulsion; but since you are my sons, I wish you to remain constant as such [a] and to be superior to all force and compulsion, being so prepared in spirit as to die for the laws, if need be, and bearing this in mind, that when the Deity sees you so disposed, He will not forget you, but in admiration of your heroism will give them [b] back to you again, and will restore to you your liberty, in which you shall live securely and in the enjoyment of your own customs.[c] For though our bodies are mortal and subject to death, we [d] can, through the memory of our deeds, attain the heights of immortality [e]; it is this which I wish you to be in love with, and for its sake to pursue glory and undertake the greatest tasks and not shrink from giving up your lives for them. But most of all I urge you to be of one mind, and in whatever respect one of you is superior to the others, in that to yield to one another, and so make the best use of your several

Mattathias' dying charge to his sons. *Cf.* 1 Macc. ii. 49.

[c] In the preceding Josephus converts into philosophical language what is in 1 Macc. a simple appeal by Mattathias to his sons to remember the heroism of the great national figures from Abraham to Daniel.

[d] Variant "they" (*i.e.* bodies).

[e] In 1 Macc. Mattathias refers not to brief mortality in general, but to the short-lived glory of wicked men.

χρῆσθαι ταῖς ἀρεταῖς. καὶ Σίμωνα μὲν τὸν ἀδελφὸν
συνέσει προύχοντα πατέρα ἡγεῖσθε καὶ οἷς ἂν οὗτος
284 συμβουλεύσῃ πείθεσθε, Μακκαβαῖον δὲ τῆς στρα-
τιᾶς δι' ἀνδρείαν καὶ ἰσχὺν στρατηγὸν ἕξετε· τὸ
γὰρ ἔθνος οὗτος ἐκδικήσει· καὶ ἀμυνεῖται τοὺς
πολεμίους. προσίεσθε δὲ καὶ τοὺς δικαίους καὶ
θεοσεβεῖς, καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν[1] αὔξετε."

285 (4) Ταῦτα διαλεχθεὶς τοῖς παισὶν καὶ τὸν θεὸν εὐ-
ξάμενος σύμμαχον αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι καὶ τῷ λαῷ τὴν
ἰδίαν ἀνασῶσαι πάλιν τοῦ βίου συνήθειαν, μετ' οὐ
πολὺ τελευτᾷ, καὶ θάπτεται μὲν ἐν Μωδαΐ, πένθος
ἐπ' αὐτῷ μέγα τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς ποιησαμένου.
διεδέξατο δὲ τὴν προστασίαν τῶν πραγμάτων ὁ παῖς
αὐτοῦ Ἰούδας ὁ καὶ Μακκαβαῖος ἑκατοστῷ ἔτει καὶ
286 τεσσαρακοστῷ καὶ ἕκτῳ. συναραμένων δ' αὐτῷ
προθύμως τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τούς τε
πολεμίους ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας, καὶ τοὺς παρα-
νομήσαντας εἰς τὰ πάτρια τῶν ὁμοφύλων διεχρή-
σατο, καὶ ἐκαθάρισεν ἀπὸ παντὸς μιάσματος
τὴν γῆν.

287 (vii. 1) Ταῦτ' ἀκούσας Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ τῆς Σα-
μαρείας στρατηγός, ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν ὥρμησεν
ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰούδαν. ὁ δὲ ἀπήντησεν αὐτῷ καὶ συμ-
βαλὼν κρατεῖ τῇ μάχῃ καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν
ἀπέκτεινεν, ἐν οἷς καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν Ἀπολλώνιον,
οὗ καὶ τὴν μάχαιραν, ᾗ χρῆσθαι συνέβαινεν ἐκεῖνον,

[1] αὐτῶν mss.: αὑτῶν Capps.

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[a] 1 Macc. "you."

abilities. And since your brother Simon excels in understanding, look upon him as your father, and follow whatever counsel he gives you; but Maccabaeus you shall take as commander of the army because of his courage and strength, for he [a] will avenge our nation and will punish our enemies. And also admit to your ranks the righteous and pious, and so increase their [b] power."

Judas Maccabaeus succeeds his father as leader. 1 Macc. ii. 69.

(4) Having addressed his sons in these words, he prayed to God to be their ally and to recover for the people its own way of life once more [c]; and not long afterwards he died and was buried in Modai, the entire people making great lamentation for him. And he was succeeded as first in authority by his son Judas, also known as Maccabaeus, in the hundred and forty-sixth year.[d] Then Judas with the ready assistance of his brothers and others drove the enemy out of the country, and made an end of those of his countrymen who had violated their fathers' laws, and purified the land of all pollution.[e]

Victories of Judas over Apollonius and Seron. 1 Macc. iii. 10.

(vii. 1) Hearing of this, Apollonius, the governor of Samaria,[f] took his force of men and set out against Judas. But Judas on meeting him and engaging him in battle defeated him, and killed many of the enemy, among them their general Apollonius himself, and taking as spoil the sword which Apollonius was then

[b] For αὐτῶν "their" Prof. Capps suggests αὑτῶν "your own."

[c] 1 Macc. says merely, "he blessed them."

[d] The official 146th year Sel. extended from Oct. 167 to Oct. 166 B.C., by Jewish reckoning (*cf.* § 240 note *a*), from April 166 to April 165 B.C.

[e] This last sentence is a brief summary of 1 Macc. iii. 1-9 which poetically describes Judas' prowess.

[f] Probably the same as Apollonius the Mysarch of 2 Macc., *cf.* § 248 note *e* and § 261 note *a*.

σκυλεύσας αὐτὸς εἶχε, πλείους δὲ τραυματίας
ἐποίησε, καὶ πολλὴν λείαν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου
288 λαβὼν τῶν πολεμίων ἀνεχώρησεν. Σήρων δ' ὁ τῆς
κοίλης Συρίας στρατηγός, ἀκούσας ὅτι πολλοὶ
προσκεχωρήκασιν τῷ Ἰούδᾳ καὶ δύναμιν ἤδη περι-
βέβληται πρὸς ἀγῶνας καὶ πολέμους ἀξιόλογον, ἐπ'
αὐτὸν ἔγνω στρατεύσασθαι, προσήκειν ὑπολαμ-
βάνων τοὺς εἰς τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως προστάγματα
289 παρανομοῦντας πειρᾶσθαι κολάζειν.[1] συναγαγὼν
οὖν δύναμιν ὅση παρῆν αὐτῷ, προσκαταλέξας δὲ
καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τοὺς φυγάδας καὶ ἀσεβεῖς, ἐπὶ
τὸν Ἰούδαν παρεγίγνετο· προελθὼν[2] δὲ ἄχρι
Βαιθώρων κώμης τῆς Ἰουδαίας αὐτόθι στρατοπε-
290 δεύεται. ὁ δὲ Ἰούδας ἀπαντήσας αὐτῷ καὶ συμ-
βαλεῖν προαιρούμενος, ἐπεὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἑώρα
πρὸς τὴν μάχην διά τε τὴν ὀλιγότητα καὶ δι' ἀσι-
τίαν (νενηστεύκεσαν γάρ) ὀκνοῦντας, παρεθάρσυνε,
λέγων οὐκ ἐν τῷ πλήθει τὸ νικᾶν εἶναι καὶ κρατεῖν

[1] *προσήκειν . . . κολάζειν* om. E Lat.
[2] Niese: *προσελθὼν* codd.: perveniens Lat.

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[a] 1 Macc. "and Judas took the sword of Apollonius and was fighting therewith all his days."

[b] 1 Macc. "commander of the army of Syria" (*cf.* next note and § 295 note *a*).

[c] Conjectured; mss. "approached." The text of 1 Macc. iii. 15 reads, *καὶ προσέθετο τοῦ ἀναβῆναι καὶ ἀνέβη μετ' αὐτοῦ παρεμβολή*, which is corrected by M. Schwabe and E. Melamed, *MGWJ* lxxii., 1928, pp. 202-204, to *καὶ ἀνήγαγε τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰούδαν καὶ ἀνέβη μετ' αὐτοῦ παρεμβολή* on the theory that the original Heb. had *wayye'esōph* "he gathered together," but the Gr. translator read *wayyōsēph* "he continued." That Josephus has *συναγαγών* is not in itself clear evidence that he used a Heb. text of 1 Macc. (on which *cf.* F. Perles in *REJ* lxxxi., 1921, p. 179), since he may easily have guessed the Heb. lying behind the

using, kept it for himself [a]; he also left more of them wounded, and after taking much booty from the camp of the enemy, he withdrew. But when Seron, who was governor of Coele-Syria,[b] heard that many had joined themselves to Judas, and that he had already surrounded himself with a force to be reckoned with in a contest of war, he decided to march against him, considering it his duty to try to punish those who had violated the king's commands. He therefore gathered together whatever force he had, and having also enrolled the fugitives and irreligious men among the Jews, he came against Judas; and having advanced [c] as far as the village of Baithoron [d] in Judaea, he encamped there. But Judas, meeting him there and intending to engage him, saw that his soldiers were shrinking from the battle because of their small number and lack of food—for they had fasted,[e]—and so he began to encourage them, saying that victory and mastery

Gr. reading, or have supplied the inevitable συναγαγών. In this connexion, however, it may be worth while to mention Michaelis' suggestion (*ap.* Grimm) that Josephus' Σήρων δ' ὁ τῆς κοίλης Συρίας στρατηγός above is based on Heb. *śar ḥêl 'Arām* "commander of the army of Syria," which Josephus, taking *ḥêl* to mean "valley," translated "governor of Coele-Syria"; unfortunately, as Grimm remarks, *ḥêl* (construct of *ḥayl*) does not mean "valley" in Hebrew (though we have *ḥaylâ* "valley" in Aramaic); this too may be an instance of Josephus' guessing at the Heb. (or Aram.) original underlying his Gr. text of 1 Macc. There can be no question of his use of a Gr. text; whether he also had a Semitic text is doubtful.

[d] 1 Macc. "to the ascent of Baithoron," *i.e.* between Beth-horon the Upper, mod. *Beit-'Ûr el-fôqâ*, and Beth-horon the Lower, mod. *Beit-'Ûr et-taḥtâ*, *c.* 12 miles N.W. of Jerusalem, on the road which passes through Lydda and Jaffa.

[e] 1 Macc. "we have not eaten to-day."

τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβεῖν.
291 καὶ τούτου σαφέστατον ἔχειν παράδειγμα τοὺς προγόνους, οἳ διὰ δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν ἰδίων νόμων καὶ τέκνων ἀγωνίζεσθαι πολλὰς πολλάκις ἥττησαν μυριάδας· τὸ γὰρ μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν ἰσχυρὰ
292 δύναμις. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν πείθει τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ καταφρονήσαντας τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἐναντίων ὁμόσε χωρῆσαι τῷ Σήρωνι, καὶ συμβαλὼν τρέπει τοὺς Σύρους· πεσόντος γὰρ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ πάντες φεύγειν ὥρμησαν, ὡς ἐν τούτῳ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῖς ἀποκειμένης. ἐπιδιώκων δ' ἄχρι τοῦ πεδίου κτείνει τῶν πολεμίων ὡσεὶ ὀκτακοσίους[1]· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ διεσώθησαν εἰς τὴν παραλίαν.
293 (2) Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος μεγάλως ὠργίσθη τοῖς γεγενημένοις, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκείαν δύναμιν ἀθροίσας καὶ πολλοὺς ἐκ τῶν νήσων μισθοφόρους παραλαβὼν ἡτοιμάζετο περὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ ἔαρος εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐμβαλεῖν.
294 ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν διανείμας ἑώρα τοὺς θησαυροὺς ἐπιλείποντας καὶ χρημάτων ἔνδειαν οὖσαν (οὔτε γὰρ οἱ φόροι πάντες ἐτελοῦντο διὰ τὰς τῶν ἐθνῶν στάσεις, μεγαλόψυχός τε ὢν καὶ φιλόδωρος οὐκ ἤρκεῖτο τοῖς οὖσιν), ἔγνω πρῶτον εἰς τὴν

[1] ὀκτακισχιλίους M²E Lat.

[a] In 1 Macc. Judas does not allude to their forefathers; Josephus may here be thinking of Mattathias' dying speech, 1 Macc. ii. 50 ff., *cf.* §§ 279 ff.

[b] 1 Macc. does not say explicitly that Seron fell, but that "Seron and his army were crushed."

[c] 1 Macc. "to the land of the Philistines."

[d] Nothing is said at this point in 1 Macc. about "mercenaries from the islands," but they are mentioned later (vi. 29)

over the enemy lay not in numbers, but in being pious toward the Deity. And of this they had the clearest example in their forefathers, who because of their righteousness and their struggles on behalf of their own laws and children had many times defeated many tens of thousands [a]; for, he said, in doing no wrong there is a mighty force. By saying this he persuaded his men to hold in contempt the great numbers of their adversaries and to encounter Seron, and so, after engaging the Syrians, he routed them, for when their commander fell,[b] they all made haste to flee, thinking that their safety lay in that. But Judas pursued them as far as the plain, and killed about eight hundred of the enemy; the rest, however, escaped to the sea-coast.[c]

(2) Hearing of this, King Antiochus was greatly incensed by what had happened, and having collected all of his own forces and taking with him many mercenaries from the islands,[d] he made preparations to invade Judaea about the beginning of the spring.[e] But when he had distributed the soldiers' pay, he saw that his treasuries were failing and that there was a lack of money—for not all the tribute had been paid because of uprisings among the (subject) nations,[f] and also, being munificent and liberal with gifts, he had not limited himself to his actual resources,[g]—

Antiochus Epiphanes sets out for Persia, leaving Lysias in command. 1 Macc. iii. 27.

in connexion with Antiochus Eupator. In bibl. language "the islands" usually include the Greek-speaking lands of the Mediterranean coasts.

[e] 165 B.C., *cf.* below, § 297 note *f*.

[f] 1 Macc. "and the tribute of the country was small because of the dissension and harm which he had brought upon the land."

[g] The extravagance of Antiochus Epiphanes is vividly described in Polyb. xxvi. 1.

Περσίδα πορευθεὶς τοὺς φόρους τῆς χώρας συν-
295 αγαγεῖν. καταλιπὼν οὖν ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων Λυσίαν τινὰ δόξαν ἔχοντα παρ' αὐτῷ[1] καὶ τὰ μέχρι τῶν Αἰγύπτου ὅρων καὶ τῆς κάτωθεν Ἀσίας ἀπ' Εὐφράτου διέποντα[2] ποταμοῦ καὶ μέρος τι τῆς
296 δυνάμεως καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων, τρέφειν μὲν Ἀντίοχον τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ μετὰ πάσης φροντίδος ἐνετείλατο ἕως ἂν[3] παραγένηται, καταστρεψάμενον δὲ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καὶ τοὺς οἰκοῦντας αὐτὴν ἐξανδραποδισάμενον ἀφανίσαι τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ τὸ γένος
297 αὐτῶν ἀπολέσαι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐπιστείλας τῷ Λυσίᾳ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος ἐξήλασεν εἰς τὴν Περσίδα τῷ ἑκατοστῷ καὶ τεσσαρακοστῷ καὶ ἑβδόμῳ ἔτει, καὶ περαιωσάμενος τὸν Εὐφράτην ἀνέβαινε πρὸς τὰς ἄνω σατραπείας.[4]

298 (3) Ὁ δὲ Λυσίας ἐπιλεξάμενος Πτολεμαῖον τὸν

[1] Post αὐτῷ excidisse verba παραδοὺς αὐτῷ ex Lat. coni. Niese.
[2] ex Lat. Hudson: διήκοντα codd.
[3] ἕως ἂν οὗ P.
[4] τὰς ἄνω σατραπείας L² Lat.: τοὺς ἄνω σατράπας rell.

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[a] According to 1 Macc. iii. 32 Lysias was "of the family of the kingdom," ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους τῆς βασιλείας: *cf.* 2 Macc. xi. 1, συγγενής "kinsman (of the king)"; this is not to be taken literally, but in the sense of a noble of high rank, *cf.* Bevan, *H. Sel.* ii. 281. He had lately been governor of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia, according to 2 Macc. x. 11, and if that is true, Josephus is mistaken in calling Seron governor of Coele-Syria at this time, *cf.* § 288 notes *b* and *c*.

[b] Niese conjectures from the Lat. that after "held in honour by him" the words "and gave him" have fallen out. But if we accept Hudson's emendation (see next note), the text may be allowed to stand.

and so he decided first to go to Persia and collect the tribute of that country. He therefore left in charge of the government a certain Lysias,[a] who was held in honour by him[b] and ruled over the country from[c] the Euphrates river as far as the borders of Egypt and Lower Asia,[d] and he also left behind a part of his force and his elephants; and he charged Lysias to bring up his son Antiochus[e] with the greatest care until he returned, and when he had subdued Judaea and reduced its inhabitants to slavery, to make an end of Jerusalem and destroy the Jewish race. Having given these instructions to Lysias, King Antiochus marched away to Persia in the hundred and forty-seventh year,[f] and after he had crossed the Euphrates, went on into the Upper Satrapies.[g]

(3) Thereupon Lysias chose Ptolemy, the son of

[c] If for διέποντα "ruled over," conjectured by Hudson from the Lat., we retain the MSS. reading διήκοντα "extending," we shall have to accept Niese's further conjecture that the Gr. has lost two words after "held in honour by him," and read "and gave him the country extending from," etc.

[d] "Lower Asia" is not mentioned in 1 Macc.; what Josephus means by the term is not clear.

[e] Antiochus V Eupator, who was only 9 years old, according to Appian, *Syr.* 45.

[f] The 147th year Sel. extended from Oct. 166 to Oct. 165 B.C. Although 1 Macc. speaks of Persia, it probably refers to Antiochus' first eastern campaign, against Artaxias, king of Armenia, *cf.* Appian, *Syr.* 45, Diod. Sic. xxxi. 17. The passage in Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 8 probably refers to Antiochus Sidetes' expedition against the Parthians (*cf. Ant.* xiii. 253), not to Antiochus Epiphanes, *cf.* W. Otto, *Zur Geschichte der Zeit des 6. Ptolemäers* (*Abhandlungen der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-hist. Abteilung*, N.F. Heft 11), München, 1934, p. 85 note 3.

[g] 1 Macc. "the upper country" (τὰς ἐπάνω χώρας)—a term used by Polybius and Arrian for Armenia, Media, Persia, etc.

Δορυμένους καὶ Νικάνορα καὶ Γοργίαν, ἄνδρας δυνατοὺς τῶν φίλων τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ παραδοὺς αὐτοῖς πεζῆς μὲν δυνάμεως μυριάδας τέσσαρας, ἱππεῖς δὲ ἑπτακισχιλίους, ἐξέπεμψεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν. οἱ δὲ ἄχρις Ἐμμαοῦς πόλεως ἐλθόντες
299 ἐπὶ[1] τῇ πεδινῇ καταστρατοπεδεύονται. προσγίγνονται δ' αὐτοῖς σύμμαχοι ἀπό τε τῆς Συρίας καὶ τῆς πέριξ χώρας καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν πεφευγότων Ἰουδαίων, ἔτι γε μὴν καὶ τῶν ἐμπόρων τινὲς ὡς ὠνησόμενοι τοὺς αἰχμαλωτισθησομένους, πέδας μὲν κομίζοντες αἷς δήσουσιν τοὺς ληφθησομένους, ἄργυρον δὲ καὶ χρυσὸν τιμὴν αὐτῶν καταθησόμενοι.
300 τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐναντίων ὁ Ἰούδας κατανοήσας ἔπειθε τοὺς οἰκείους στρατιώτας θαρρεῖν, καὶ παρεκελεύετο τὰς ἐλπίδας τῆς νίκης ἔχοντας ἐν τῷ θεῷ τοῦτον ἱκετεύειν τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ σάκκους περιθεμένους, καὶ τὸ σύνηθες αὐτῷ σχῆμα τῆς ἱκεσίας παρὰ τοὺς μεγάλους κινδύνους ἐπιδείξαντας, τούτῳ δυσωπῆσαι παρα-
301 σχεῖν αὐτοῖς τὸ κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν κράτος. δια-

[1] ἐν FV : in Lat.

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[a] He bears the surname of Macron in 2 Macc. x. 12; he had been Egyptian governor of Cyprus under Ptolemy Philometor (Polyb. xxvii. 13), but deserted to Antiochus Epiphanes (2 Macc. x. 13). Apparently he succeeded Lysias (or Seron?, *cf.* above, p. 152 note *a*).

[b] The son of Patroclus, according to 2 Macc. viii. 9. If he is the same person as the Nicanor sent against Judas by Demetrius, who is said to have escaped from Rome with Demetrius in 162 B.C. (1 Macc. vii. 26 = §§ 402 ff., *cf.* Polyb. xxxi. 14), we must suppose that he went to Rome some time after Lysias assumed the regency.

Dorymenes,[a] and Nicanor [b] and Gorgias,[c] persons of power among the Friends [d] of the king, and giving over to them a force of forty thousand foot-soldiers and seven thousand horsemen, sent them out against Judaea. And when they had gone as far as the city of Emmaus,[e] they encamped in the plain. Then there came to them allies from Syria and the surrounding territory, and many of the Jewish refugees,[f] and also certain slave-dealers, who with the intention of buying the expected captives brought chains with which to bind those who might be taken, and a store of gold and silver to pay for them. But when Judas caught sight of the camp and the great numbers of his adversaries, he tried to persuade his own soldiers to have courage, and exhorted them to place their hopes of victory in God and to make supplication to Him dressed in sackcloth according to their ancestral custom, and by exhibiting to Him this form of supplication, usual in time of great danger, to constrain Him to grant them victory over their foes.[g] Then he

Lysias sends Ptolemy, Nicanor, and Gorgias against Judas. 1 Macc. iii. 38.

[c] From what follows it appears that Gorgias most actively exercised the military command.

[d] "Friends" has here its technical meaning, *cf.* § 134 note *a*.

[e] The Christian Nicopolis; its site is the modern *'Amwas* *c.* 15 miles N.W. of Jerusalem and *c.* 8 miles S.W. of Beth-horon the Lower. If this Emmaus is the same as that mentioned in Luke xxiv. 13, we must assume that Luke's reckoning of 60 stades (*c.* 7 miles) for its distance from Jerusalem is an error (but a *v.l.* gives 160 stades = 18 miles); *cf.* Dalman, *Sacred Sites*, pp. 226 ff., and Dr. Thackeray's note on *B.J.* vii. 217, which mentions another Emmaus, 30 stades (*c.* 3 miles) from Jerusalem.

[f] The Jewish allies of the Syrians are not mentioned in 1 Macc., but *cf.* § 305 note *a*.

[g] In 1 Macc. (iii. 47-53) there is a more detailed description of the ceremonies performed at Mizpeh.

τάξας δὲ τὸν ἀρχαῖον αὐτοὺς τρόπον καὶ πάτριον κατὰ χιλιάρχους καὶ ταξιάρχους,[1] καὶ τοὺς νεογάμους ἀπολύσας καὶ τοὺς τὰς κτήσεις νεωστὶ πεποιημένους, ὅπως μὴ διὰ τὴν τούτων ἀπόλαυσιν φιλοζωοῦντες ἀτολμότερον μάχωνται, καταστὰς
302 τοιούτοις παρορμᾷ[2] λόγοις πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα τοὺς αὑτοῦ στρατιώτας· "καιρὸς μὲν[3] ὑμῖν οὐκ ἄλλος ἀναγκαιότερος τοῦ παρόντος, ὦ ἑταῖροι, εἰς εὐψυχίαν καὶ κινδύνων καταφρόνησιν καταλείπεται.[4] νῦν γὰρ ἔστιν ἀνδρείως ἀγωνισαμένοις τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀπολαβεῖν, ἣν καὶ δι' αὐτὴν ἅπασιν ἀγα-
303 πητὴν οὖσαν, ὑμῖν[5] ὑπὲρ ἐξουσίας τοῦ θρησκεύειν τὸ θεῖον ἔτι ποθεινοτέραν εἶναι συμβέβηκεν. ὡς οὖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι κειμένων ὑμῖν ταύτην τε ἀπολαβεῖν καὶ τὸν εὐδαίμονα καὶ μακάριον βίον ἀνακτήσασθαι (οὗτος δὲ ἦν ὁ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὴν πάτριον συνήθειαν) ἢ τὰ αἴσχιστα[6] παθεῖν καὶ μηδὲ
304 σπέρμα τοῦ γένους ὑμῶν ὑπολειφθῆναι κακῶν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ γενομένων, οὕτως ἀγωνίζεσθε, τὸ μὲν[7] ἀποθανεῖν καὶ μὴ πολεμοῦσιν ὑπάρξειν[8] ἡγούμενοι, τὸ δ' ὑπὲρ τηλικούτων ἐπάθλων, ἐλευθερίας πατρίδος νόμων εὐσεβείας, αἰώνιον τὴν εὔκλειαν κατασκευάσειν[9] πεπιστευκότες. ἑτοιμάζεσθε τοιγαροῦν οὕτως τὰς ψυχὰς ηὐτρεπισμένοι[10] ὡς αὔριον ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ συμβαλοῦντες τοῖς πολεμίοις."

[1] καὶ ταξιάρχους om. PE Lat. [2] παρώρμα PE.
[3] μὲν οὖν PAM. [4] καταλέλειπται (F)V. [5] ἡμῖν VW
[6] ἔσχατα Cobet. [7] μὲν οὖν FLVW.
[8] ὑπάρξον PW: ὑμῖν ὑπάρξειν Naber.
[9] Niese: κατασκευάσαι PAMW: κατασκευάζειν FLV.
[10] ηὐτρεπισμένοι om. PFLV.

[a] "And lower officers" (καὶ ταξιάρχους; on the meaning of this term *cf. Ant.* vii. 26 note *d*) is omitted in the variant;

drew them up, according to the ancient custom of their fathers, under commanders of thousands and lower officers,[a] and having dismissed the newly married men, and sent back those who had recently acquired property, in order that they might not, for the sake of enjoying these things, be too eager to live and so fight with too little spirit,[b] he urged his soldiers on to the contest with these words.[c] "No time will ever be given you, my comrades, when there will be more need for courage and contempt of danger than at the present moment. For if you now fight bravely, you may recover that liberty which is loved for its own sake by all men, but to you most of all happens to be desirable because it gives you the right to worship the Deity. Since, therefore, at the present moment it lies in your power either to recover this liberty and regain a happy and blessed life"—by this he meant a life in accordance with the laws and customs of their fathers—"or to suffer the most shameful fate and to leave your race without any seed by being cowardly in battle, exert yourselves accordingly, bearing in mind that death is the portion even of those who do not fight, and holding firmly to the belief that if you die for such precious causes as liberty, country, laws and religion, you will gain eternal glory. Make ready, therefore, and be prepared in spirit[d] so that at daybreak to-morrow you may meet the enemy."

Judas encourages his troops
1 Macc. iii. 58.

[a] 1 Macc. has "commanders of thousands and commanders of hundreds and commanders of fifties and commanders of tens" (*v.l.* omits the last).

[b] On these exemptions see Deut. xx. 5 ff. (*Ant.* iv. 298).

[c] In the following, §§ 302-304 Josephus greatly amplifies Judas' speech as given in 1 Macc. iii. 58-60.

[d] Variant "make ready your spirits."

305 (4) Καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἰούδας ταῦτα παραθαρσύνων τὴν στρατιὰν ἔλεξεν. τῶν δὲ πολεμίων πεμψάντων Γοργίαν μετὰ πεντακισχιλίων πεζῶν καὶ χιλίων ἱππέων, ὅπως διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπιπέσῃ τῷ Ἰούδᾳ, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο ὁδηγοὺς ἔχοντος αὐτοῦ τινας τῶν πεφευγότων Ἰουδαίων, αἰσθόμενος ὁ τοῦ Ματταθίου παῖς ἔγνω καὶ αὐτὸς τοῖς ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιπεσεῖν, καὶ ταῦτα διῃρημένης
306 αὐτῶν τῆς δυνάμεως. καθ' ὥραν οὖν δειπνοποιησάμενος καὶ πολλὰ πυρὰ καταλιπὼν ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου δι' ὅλης ὥδευε τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἐμμαοῦς τῶν πολεμίων. οὐχ εὑρὼν δ' ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὁ Γοργίας, ἀλλ' ὑπονοήσας ἀναχωρήσαντας αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι κεκρύ-
307 φθαι, πορευθεὶς ἔγνω ζητεῖν ὅπου ποτ' εἶεν. περὶ δὲ τὸν ὄρθρον ἐπιφαίνεται τοῖς ἐν Ἐμμαοῦς πολεμίοις ὁ Ἰούδας μετὰ τρισχιλίων φαύλως ὡπλισμένων διὰ πενίαν, καὶ θεασάμενος τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἄριστα πεφραγμένους[1] καὶ μετ' ἐμπειρίας πολλῆς ἐστρατοπεδευμένους, προτρεψάμενος τοὺς ἰδίους[2] ὡς καὶ γυμνοῖς τοῖς σώμασιν μάχεσθαι δεῖ καὶ τὸ θεῖον ἤδη που καὶ τοῖς οὕτως ἔχουσι τὸ κατὰ τῶν πλειόνων καὶ ὡπλισμένων κράτος ἔδωκεν, ἀγασάμενον αὐτοὺς τῆς εὐψυχίας, ἐκέλευσε σημῆναι τοὺς
308 σαλπικτάς. ἔπειτ' ἐμπεσὼν[3] ἀπροσδοκήτως τοῖς

[1] περιπεφραγμένους FL.
[2] E: Ἰουδαίους codd. Lat.
[3] ἔπειτ' ἐμπεσὼν] ἐπιπεσὼν δὲ FV: quatenus invaderent Lat.

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[a] 1 Macc. "the men from the *Akra* (οἱ υἱοὶ τῆς ἄκρας) were his guides"; here, as in § 252 (*cf.* note *ad loc.*),

Judas defeats the Syrians at Emmaus. 1 Macc. iv. 1.

(4) These were the words which Judas spoke to encourage his army. But the enemy sent Gorgias with five thousand foot-soldiers and a thousand horsemen to fall upon Judas by night, for which purpose he took some of the Jewish refugees as guides [a]; and when the son of Mattathias became aware of this, he decided to fall upon the enemy's camp himself, and to do this when their force was divided. Having, therefore, supped in good time and left many fires in his camp,[b] he marched all night toward those of the enemy who were in Emmaus. And when Gorgias found that his foes were not in their camp, he suspected that they had withdrawn and hidden themselves in the mountains, and so he decided to go in search of them wherever they might be. But near dawn Judas appeared before the enemy at Emmaus with three thousand men poorly armed because of their poverty, and when he saw that his foes were excellently protected and had shown great skill in taking up their position, he urged his own men [c] on, saying that they must fight even if with unarmed bodies, and that the Deity had on other occasions in the past given the victory over more numerous and well-armed enemies to men in their condition because He admired their courage,[d] and he ordered the trumpeters to sound the signal. Then falling upon the unsuspecting enemy and strik-

Josephus assumes that the *Akra* was occupied by renegade Jews.

[b] These are details inferred from the statement in 1 Macc. iv. 6 that Judas surprised the enemy by his appearance early the next day.

[c] So the Epitome: MSS. "the Jews."

[d] Because of His mercy and the covenant with the fathers, according to 1 Macc.

πολεμίοις καὶ ἐκπλήξας αὐτῶν τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ ταράξας, πολλοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν ἀνθισταμένους, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς διώκων ἦλθεν ἄχρι Γαζάρων[1] καὶ τῶν πεδίων τῆς Ἰδουμαίας[2] καὶ Ἀζώτου καὶ Ἰαμνείας· ἔπεσον δὲ αὐτῶν ὡς περὶ τρισχιλίους.
309 Ἰούδας δὲ τῶν μὲν σκύλων παρεκελεύετο μὴ ἐπιθυμεῖν τοὺς αὐτοῦ στρατιώτας· ἔτι γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀγῶνά τινα καὶ μάχην εἶναι πρὸς Γοργίαν καὶ τὴν σὺν αὐτῷ δύναμιν· κρατήσαντας δὲ καὶ τούτων τότε σκυλεύσειν ἐπ' ἀδείας ἔλεγε, τοῦτο μόνον
310 ἔχοντας καὶ μηδὲν ἕτερον ἐκδεχομένους. ἔτι δὲ αὐτοῦ διαλεγομένου ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας, ὑπερκύψαντες οἱ τοῦ Γοργίου τὴν μὲν στρατιὰν ἣν ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ κατέλιπον ὁρῶσι τετραμμένην, τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον ἐμπεπρησμένον· ὁ γὰρ καπνὸς αὐτοῖς πόρρωθεν οὖσι τοῦ συμβεβηκότος δήλωσιν
311 ἔφερεν. ὡς οὖν ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχοντα ἔμαθον οἱ σὺν Γοργίᾳ καὶ τοὺς μετὰ Ἰούδου πρὸς παράταξιν ἑτοίμους κατενόησαν, καὶ αὐτοὶ δείσαντες εἰς φυγὴν
312 ἐτράπησαν. ὁ δὲ Ἰούδας ὡς ἀμαχητὶ τῶν μετὰ Γοργίου στρατιωτῶν ἡττημένων ὑποστρέψας ἀνῃρεῖτο τὰ σκῦλα, πολὺν δὲ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ πορφύραν καὶ ὑάκινθον λαβὼν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν

[1] Γαδάρων FLA[1]MV. [2] Ἰουδαίας LM.

[a] Variant (corrupt) Gadara. Gazara (so 1 Macc.) is the bibl. Gezer, modern *Tell Jezar*, on the Philistine-Judaean border (*cf. Ant.* v. 83 note), and *c.* 5 miles N.W. of Emmaus.

[b] So most MSS. of Josephus and 1 Macc.; variant Judaea. Since Idumaea lay rather to the S.E. of this region, the reading seems strange, unless as Abel and Bévenot assume, "Idumaea" is here used as a vague term for the non-Jewish territory S. of Judaea.

ing terror into their hearts and throwing them into confusion, he killed many of those who opposed him, while the rest he pursued as far as Gazara [a] and the plains of Idumaea [b] and Azotus [c] and Jamneia,[d] and of these there fell some three thousand. Judas, however, exhorted his soldiers not to be too hungry for spoil, for there still awaited them a contest and battle against Gorgias and the force with him; but, he said, when they had conquered these also, then they might take spoil in security, having only this task and nothing else to undertake.[e] But while he was still addressing his soldiers in these words, the men with Gorgias looked down from the heights and saw that the army which they had left in the camp had been routed, and that the camp had been burned; for the smoke brought to them from a distance evidence of what had happened. Accordingly, when the men with Gorgias discovered that this was how things were, and perceived that Judas' men were ready for battle, they too became frightened and turned to flee.[f] Thereupon Judas, with the knowledge that the soldiers with Gorgias had been defeated without fighting, returned and carried off the spoil, and taking much gold and silver and stuffs of

Gorgias' force flees before Judas.
1 Macc. iv. 17.

[c] Bibl. Ashdod, probably modern *Esdûd*, in the Philistine plain near the coast.

[d] Bibl. Jabniel, modern *Yabneh* (*cf. Ant.* v. 87) also in the Philistine plain, *c.* 10 miles N.E. of Azotus.

[e] The last phrase ("having only this task, etc.") is an addition to 1 Macc.

[f] 1 Macc. adds εἰς γῆν ἀλλοφύλων, presumably to the Philistine plain, ἀλλόφυλοι "foreigners" being a standing bibl. designation for the Philistines; it is possible, however, that some other region is meant, *cf.* the use of ἀλλόφυλοι in 1 Macc. iv. 26 (=Syrians).

ὑπέστρεψε,[1] χαίρων καὶ ὑμνῶν τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς κατωρθωμένοις· οὐ μικρὰ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἡ νίκη πρὸς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν συνεβάλλετο.

313 (5) Λυσίας δὲ συγχυθεὶς ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἐκπεμφθέντων ἥττῃ, τῷ ἐχομένῳ ἔτει μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν ἐπιλέκτων συναθροίσας ἕξ, καὶ πεντακισχιλίους λαβὼν ἱππεῖς, ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν,[2] καὶ ἀναβὰς εἰς τὴν ὀρεινὴν ἐν Βεθσούροις κώμῃ τῆς
314 Ἰουδαίας ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο. ἀπήντησε δὲ μετὰ μυρίων Ἰούδας, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἰδὼν τῶν πολεμίων σύμμαχον ἐπ' αὐτὸ[3] γενέσθαι[4] τὸν θεὸν εὐξάμενος, συμβαλὼν τοῖς προδρόμοις τῶν πολεμίων νικᾷ τούτους, καὶ φονεύσας αὐτῶν ὡς πεντακισχιλίους τοῖς
315 λοιποῖς ἦν ἐπίφοβος. ἀμέλει κατανοήσας ὁ Λυσίας τὸ φρόνημα τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὡς ἕτοιμοι τελευτᾶν εἰσιν, εἰ μὴ ζήσουσιν ἐλεύθεροι, καὶ δείσας αὐτῶν τὴν ἀπόγνωσιν ὡς ἰσχύν,[5] ἀναλαβὼν τὴν λοιπὴν δύναμιν ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ διέτριβεν ἐκεῖ ξενολογῶν καὶ παρασκευαζόμενος μετὰ μείζονος στρατιᾶς εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐμβαλεῖν.

316 (6) Τοσαυτάκις οὖν ἡττημένων ἤδη τῶν Ἀν-

1 + χώραν LAMW.
2 Ἰδουμαίαν AMW.
3 Naber: αὐτὸν PAMW: αὐτῷ rell.
4 ἔσεσθαι PAMW: fieri Lat.
5 ἰσχυρὰν LAMW Lat.: εἶχεν Naber.

a This would be the 148th yr. Sel. (*cf.* § 297), which extended from Oct. 165 to Oct. 164 B.C., more exactly in the autumn of 165 B.C., *cf.* § 321.

b Variant Idumaea, and so most MSS. of 1 Macc.; either reading may be correct, since Bethsur was on the border between Judaea and Idumaea.

c "Into the hill country" is a detail added by Josephus.

d The modern *Khirbet eṭ-Ṭubeiqah*, a few miles N.W. of

purple and hyacinth, returned home, rejoicing and praising God in song for his successes; for this victory contributed not a little to the regaining of their liberty.

(5) But Lysias, who was dismayed at the defeat of the men sent out by him, in the following year[a] collected sixty thousand picked men and five thousand horsemen, and with these invaded Judaea,[b] and going up into the hill country,[c] encamped at Bethsura,[d] a village in Judaea. There Judas met him with ten thousand men, and seeing the great number of the enemy, he prayed to God to be his ally against them,[e] and on engaging the enemy's skirmishers,[f] defeated them and slew about five thousand of them, thereby becoming an object of fear to the rest. Indeed,[g] when Lysias saw the spirit of the Jews and that they were prepared to die if they could not live as free men, he feared this desperate resolution of theirs as strength,[h] and taking the remainder of his force, he returned to Antioch, where he remained to enlist mercenaries and make preparations to invade Judaea with a greater army.

Lysias and Judas fight at Bethsur. 1 Macc. iv. 26.

(6) And now that the generals of King Antiochus

Hebron (*cf. Ant.* viii. 246 note *e*). It was an important citadel as early as the Persian period. For the archaeological finds of the Persian and Hellenistic periods see O. Sellers, *The Citadel of Beth-Zur*, 1933.

[e] The prayer is given at greater length in 1 Macc. iv. 30 ff.

[f] For "skirmishers" 1 Macc. has simply "army"; possibly this reference is based on iv. 34, ἔπεσον ἐξ ἐναντίας αὐτῶν.

[g] Gr. ἀμέλει calls attention to something unusual, and, if such colloquialisms were permitted in this translation, might well be rendered "believe it or not."

[h] Text slightly uncertain; 1 Macc. does not give this particular motive.

τιόχου τοῦ βασιλέως στρατηγῶν ὁ Ἰούδας ἐκκλησιάσας ἔλεγε μετὰ πολλὰς νίκας, ἃς ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῖς ἔδωκεν, ἀναβῆναι δεῖν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ τὸν ναὸν καθαρίσαι καὶ τὰς νενομισμένας θυσίας προσφέρειν.
317 ὡς δὲ παραγενόμενος μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ πλήθους εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τὸν ναὸν ἔρημον εὗρε καὶ καταπεπρησμένας τὰς πύλας καὶ φυτὰ διὰ τὴν ἐρημίαν αὐτόματα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἀναβεβλαστηκότα, θρηνεῖν ἤρξατο μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων, ἐπὶ τῇ ὄψει τοῦ ναοῦ
318 συγχυθείς. ἐπιλεξάμενος δέ τινας τῶν αὐτοῦ στρατιωτῶν προσέταξε τούτοις ἐκπολεμῆσαι τοὺς τὴν ἄκραν φυλάττοντας ἄχρι τὸν ναὸν αὐτὸς ἁγνίσειε. καθάρας δ' ἐπιμελῶς αὐτὸν εἰσεκόμισε καινὰ σκεύη, λυχνίαν τράπεζαν βωμόν, ἐκ χρυσοῦ πεποιημένα, ἀπήρτησε δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκπετάσματα[1] τῶν θυρῶν, καὶ τὰς θύρας αὐτὰς ἐπέθηκεν, καθελὼν δὲ καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον καινὸν ἐκ λίθων συμμίκτων
319 ᾠκοδόμησεν[2] οὐ λελαξευμένων[3] ὑπὸ σιδήρου. πέμπτῃ δὲ καὶ εἰκάδι τοῦ Χασλεῦ[4] μηνός, ὃν οἱ

[1] ἐμπετάσματα PFV: vela Lat.: περιπετάσματα ed. pr.: παραπετάσματα Naber.
[2] κατεσκεύασεν AMW.
[3] λελατομημένων FLV.
[4] ex Lat. Naber: Ἐξελέου P: Ξανθικοῦ F: om. L: Ζελλαίου VF marg.: Χασλαίου AM: Τεβέθου W.

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[a] 1 Macc. describes their distress in greater detail.
[b] *Cf.* the statement in *B.J.* i. 39, "he expelled the troops from the upper city and confined them to the lower portion of the town, known as *Akra*," which is not based on 1 Macc.
[c] The altar of incense.
[d] This last detail is an addition to 1 Macc.
[e] The altar of burnt-offerings. Josephus omits the detail (1 Macc. iv. 46) that the stones of the desecrated altar were

had been defeated so many times, Judas assembled the people and said that after the many victories which God had given them, they ought to go up to Jerusalem and purify the temple and offer the customary sacrifices. But when he came to Jerusalem with the entire multitude and found the temple desolate, the gates burned down and plants growing up by themselves in the sanctuary because of the desolation, he began to lament with his men in dismay at the appearance of the temple.[a] Then he selected some of his soldiers and commanded them to keep fighting the men who guarded the *Akra*[b] until he himself should have sanctified the temple. And when he had carefully purified it, he brought in new vessels, such as a lampstand, table and altar,[c] which were made of gold,[d] and hung curtains from the doors, and replaced the doors themselves; he also pulled down the altar,[e] and built a new one of various stones which had not been hewn with iron.[f] And on the twenty-fifth of the month Chasleu,[g] which the Mace-

Purification of the temple. 1 Macc. iv. 36.

Rededication of the temple. 1 Macc. iv. 52.

put away "on the temple-hill in a fitting place until a prophet should come and give a decision about them," perhaps because in Josephus' time it was the general belief that true prophetic inspiration had ceased with Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi, but *cf. Ant.* xiii. 300 note *a*.

[f] This last detail is an expansion of 1 Macc. iv. 47, "and they took whole stones (*λίθους ὁλοκλήρους*), according to the Law, and built a new altar after the fashion of the former one"; here *λίθους ὁλοκλήρους* represents Heb. *'abanim šᵉlēmôth* as in LXX Deut. xxvii. 6 *et al.*; elsewhere (*e.g.* Ex. xx. 25) LXX has *λίθους οὐ τμητούς* "stones not cut (by iron)."

[g] Variants Exeleos, Zellaios, Chaslaios, etc., = Heb. Kislew, roughly December (165 B.C.); the same date is given in *Megillath Ta'anith* (ed. Lichtenstein, *HUCA* viii.-ix., 1931/2, p. 341), "On the twenty-fifth (of Kislew) is the festival of Hanukkah, lasting eight days, on which it is forbidden to fast" (*cf.* below, § 325 notes).

Μακεδόνες Ἀπελλαῖον καλοῦσιν, ἧψάν τε φῶτα ἐπὶ τῆς λυχνίας καὶ ἐθυμίασαν ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ, καὶ ἄρτους ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν ἐπέθεσαν καὶ ὡλοκαύτω-
320 σαν ἐπὶ τοῦ καινοῦ θυσιαστηρίου. ἔτυχε δὲ ταῦτα κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην γενέσθαι καθ' ἣν καὶ μετέπεσεν αὐτῶν ἡ ἅγιος θρησκεία εἰς βέβηλον καὶ κοινὴν συνήθειαν, μετὰ ἔτη τρία. τὸν γὰρ ναὸν ἐρημωθέντα ὑπ' Ἀντιόχου διαμεῖναι τοιοῦτον ἔτεσι
321 συνέβη τρισίν· ἔτει γὰρ πέμπτῳ καὶ τεσσαρακοστῷ καὶ ἑκατοστῷ ταῦτα περὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐγένετο, πέμπτῃ καὶ εἰκάδι τοῦ Ἀπελλαίου μηνός, ὀλυμπιάδι ἑκατοστῇ καὶ πεντηκοστῇ καὶ τρίτῃ. ἀνενεώθη δὲ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν πέμπτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τοῦ Ἀπελλαίου μηνός, ὀγδόῳ καὶ τεσσαρακοστῷ καὶ ἑκατοστῷ ἔτει, ὀλυμπιάδι ἑκατοστῇ καὶ πεντη-
322 κοστῇ καὶ τετάρτῃ. τὴν δ' ἐρήμωσιν τοῦ ναοῦ συνέβη γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν Δανιήλου προφητείαν πρὸ τετρακοσίων καὶ ὀκτὼ γενομένην ἐτῶν· ἐδήλωσεν γὰρ ὅτι Μακεδόνες καταλύσουσιν αὐτόν.

323 (7) Ἑώρταζε δὲ ὁ Ἰούδας μετὰ τῶν πολιτῶν τὴν ἀνάκτησιν τῆς περὶ τὸν ναὸν θυσίας ἐφ' ἡμέρας ὀκτώ, μηδὲν ἀπολιπὼν ἡδονῆς εἶδος, ἀλλὰ πολυτελέσι μὲν καὶ λαμπραῖς ταῖς θυσίαις κατευωχῶν αὐτούς, ὕμνοις δὲ καὶ ψαλμοῖς τὸν μὲν θεὸν τιμῶν[1]

[1] ἐτίμων PLAMW Lat.: ἐτίμα E.

[a] The Macedonian month-name is not given in 1 Macc.; on the equation Kislew-Apellaios *cf. Ant.* xi. 148 note *e*.

[b] 2 Macc. x. 3 wrongly gives 2 years as the interval, on which *cf.* Otto, *Ptol.* p. 40 note 2, and Meyer, *Ursprung* ii. 459.

[c] *Cf.* above, § 248 notes.

[d] December, 165 B.C. Although the 154th Olympiad (not mentioned in 1 Macc.) is generally reckoned as extending

donians call Apellaios,[a] they kindled the lights on the lampstand and burned incense on the altar and set out the loaves on the table and offered whole burnt-offerings upon the new altar. These things, as it chanced, took place on the same day on which, three years before, their holy service had been transformed into an impure and profane form of worship. For the temple, after being made desolate by Antiochus, had remained so for three years [b]; it was in the hundred and forty-fifth year that these things befell the temple, on the twenty-fifth of the month Apellaios, in the hundred and fifty-third Olympiad.[c] And the temple was renovated on the same day, the twenty-fifth of the month Apellaios, in the hundred and forty-eighth year, in the hundred and fifty-fourth Olympiad.[d] Now the desolation of the temple came about in accordance with the prophecy of Daniel, which had been made four hundred and eight years before [e]; for he had revealed that the Macedonians would destroy it.

(7) And so Judas together with his fellow-citizens celebrated the restoration of sacrifices in the temple for eight days, omitting no form of pleasure, but feasting them on costly and splendid sacrifices, and while honouring God with songs of praise and the

The Jews celebrate the festival of lights (Hanukkah). 1 Macc. iv. 56.

from July 164 to July 160 B.C., and thus cannot correspond to the 148th yr. Sel. which began in Oct. 165 B.C. (the official reckoning) or the spring of 164 B.C. (the Jewish reckoning), it is likely that, as Bickermann suggests, *PW* xiv. 784, Josephus' source was using the so-called Macedonian Olympiad-era, which preceded the Attic by a year; possibly, however, as Bickermann remarks, Josephus' Olympiad reckoning is erroneous here as elsewhere.

[e] This would be in 576 B.C., or, if "before" means "before the rededication," in 573 B.C.; for the prophecy see Dan. xi. 31 and vii. 25 (*Ant.* x. 275).

324 αὐτοὺς δὲ τέρπων.[1] τοσαύτῃ δ' ἐχρήσαντο τῇ περὶ τὴν ἀνανέωσιν τῶν ἐθῶν ἡδονῇ, μετὰ χρόνον πολὺν ἀπροσδοκήτως ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ γενόμενοι τῆς θρησκείας, ὡς νόμον θεῖναι τοῖς μετ' αὐτοὺς ἑορτάζειν τὴν ἀνάκτησιν τῶν περὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐφ' ἡμέρας ὀκτώ.
325 καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο τὴν ἑορτὴν ἄγομεν, καλοῦντες αὐτὴν φῶτα, ἐκ τοῦ παρ' ἐλπίδας, οἶμαι, ταύτην ἡμῖν φανῆναι τὴν ἐξουσίαν, τὴν προσηγο-
326 ρίαν θέμενοι τῇ ἑορτῇ. τειχίσας δ' ἐν κύκλῳ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐπιδρομὰς τῶν πολεμίων πύργους οἰκοδομησάμενος ὑψηλούς, φύλακας ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐγκατέστησε, καὶ τὴν Βεθσούραν δὲ πόλιν ὠχύρωσεν, ὅπως ἀντὶ φρουρίου αὐτῇ πρὸς τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀνάγκας ἔχῃ χρῆσθαι.

327 (viii. 1) Τούτων οὕτως γενομένων τὰ πέριξ ἔθνη πρὸς τὴν ἀναζωπύρησιν καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν τῶν Ἰουδαίων χαλεπῶς διακείμενα πολλοὺς ἐπισυνιστάμενα διέφθειρεν, ἐνέδραις καὶ ἐπιβουλαῖς αὐτῶν ἐγκρατῆ[2]

[1] δ' ἔτερπον PLAMW Lat. : ἔτερπε E.
[2] κρατήσειν LAME : ἐγκρατείσειν W.

[a] Variant (after "sacrifices"), "and they honoured God with songs of praise and the playing of harps, and rejoiced."

[b] Josephus explains the name "festival of Lights" as referring to the sudden deliverance which was like a light appearing in the darkness of despair (a somewhat similar explanation is given in the scholion to *Megillath Ta'anith*, "because they went out from oppression to deliverance" they made Hanukkah a permanent festival); it is puzzling, however, that he does not directly connect the name with the kindling of lights in the temple lampstand (*cf.* above, § 319). In connexion with the 8 days of the celebration, the scholion to *Megillath Ta'anith* briefly relates the finding of the single jar of oil which would have sufficed for only one day's illumination had not a miracle caused it to last 8 days; for other rabbinic passages *cf.* Schürer i. 209 note 61, or the more

playing of harps, at the same time delighted them.[a] So much pleasure did they find in the renewal of their customs and in unexpectedly obtaining the right to have their own service after so long a time, that they made a law that their descendants should celebrate the restoration of the temple service for eight days. And from that time to the present we observe this festival, which we call the festival of Lights, giving this name to it, I think, from the fact that the right to worship appeared to us at a time when we hardly dared hope for it.[b] Then Judas erected walls round the city,[c] and having built high towers against the incursions of the enemy, he placed guards in them; and he also fortified the city of Bethsura in order that he might use it as a fortress in any emergency caused by the enemy.[d]

(viii. 1) When these things had been done in this fashion, the surrounding nations, who resented the reviving of the strength of the Jews, banded together against them and destroyed many of them, whom they had got into their power[e] through ambushes

Judas' victories over the surrounding nations. 1 Macc. v. 1.

recent work of O. Rankin, *The Origin of the Festival of Hanukkah*, 1930. In 2 Macc. the festival is called "Tabernacles (σκηνοπηγία) of the month of Kislew"; the usual rabbinic name is *Ḥanukkah* "dedication," *cf.* ἐγκαίνια in John x. 22, and the texts cited by Strack-Billerbeck, *ad loc.*, ii. 539. Derenbourg, p. 62 note 2, suggests that the name "Lights," which is not found elsewhere, may go back to an abbreviation of Heb. *yᵉmê nêrôth šel Ḥanukkah* "days of (the festival of) the lights of dedication." The practice of lighting candles on each of the eight days of the festival (one on the first day, two on the second, etc.) is still observed by the majority of Jews.

[c] 1 Macc. "Mount Sion," *i.e.* the temple-hill.

[d] 1 Macc. "that the people might have a fortress over against Idumaea," *cf.* § 313 note *b*.

[e] Variant "whom they thought to get into their power."

γιγνόμενα.[1] πρὸς τούτους πολέμους συνεχεῖς ἐκ-
φέρων ὁ Ἰούδας ἐπέχειν αὐτοὺς τῆς καταδρομῆς
καὶ ὧν ἐποίουν κακῶν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐπειρᾶτο.
328 καὶ τοῖς Ἠσαύου υἱοῖς[2] Ἰδουμαίοις ἐπιπεσὼν κατὰ
τὴν Ἀκραβατηνὴν[3] πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινε καὶ
ἐσκύλευσεν. συγκλείσας δὲ καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς τοῦ
Βαάνου[4] λοχῶντας τοὺς Ἰουδαίους περικαθίσας
ἐπολιόρκει, καὶ τούς τε πύργους αὐτῶν ἐνεπίμπρα
329 καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας διέφθειρεν. ἔπειτ᾿ ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ
τοὺς Ἀμμανίτας ἐξώρμησε δύναμιν μεγάλην καὶ
πολυάνθρωπον ἔχοντας, ἧς[5] ἡγεῖτο Τιμόθεος.
χειρωσάμενος δὲ καὶ τούτους τὴν Ἰαζωρῶν[6] ἐξαιρεῖ
πόλιν, καὶ τάς τε γυναῖκας αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ τέκνα
λαβὼν αἰχμαλώτους καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐμπρήσας εἰς
330 τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ὑπέστρεψεν. μαθόντα δ᾿ αὐτὸν τὰ

[1] γενόμενα ed. pr.: οἰόμενα LAMWE.
[2] + τοῖς καὶ Niese.
[3] Ἀκραβατινὴν PL: Ἀκραβεττηνὴν F: Κραβεττινὴν V: summitates Lat.: Ἀκραβεντήνη Syncellus.
[4] Σαβαάνου LAMW.
[5] ὧν P Lat.
[6] Ἰάζωρον LW: Ἰαζωρὸν AMV: Azororum Lat.

[a] The phrase "ambushes and plots" is an amplification of 1 Macc. v. 2, "and they planned (ἐβουλεύσαντο) to destroy the race of Jacob."

[b] 1 Macc. "against the descendants (lit. "sons") of Esau in Idumea (*v.l.* Judaea)," *cf.* note following.

[c] Variants Akrabatine, Akrabettene, etc.: 1 Macc. (most mss.) Akrabattine; this may have been the Akrabatene near Shechem (*cf. B.J.* ii. 235, iii. 55 *et al.*), but more probably the bibl. Akrabbim (Num. xxxiv. 4, Jos. xv. 3), modern *Naqb eṣ-Ṣafa*, S.E. of the S. end of the Dead Sea; Bévenot, however, following Hölscher, favours the former because of the reference to the Baanites (see note following) in the next sentence.

[d] Lit. "sons of Baanes": 1 Macc. "sons of Baian." Père Abel connects this name with the Beon (Ethiopic *Bêwôn*)

and plots.[a] Against these enemies Judas waged continuous war in an attempt to check their inroads and the mischief which they were doing the Jews. And falling upon the Idumaeans, the descendants of Esau,[b] at Akrabatene,[c] he killed many of them and took their spoil. He also hemmed in the Baanites,[d] who were ambushing the Jews, and after besieging them closely, burned their towers and destroyed their men. Then he set out from there against the Ammanites, who had a great and numerous force, which was led by Timotheus. And when he had subdued them also, he took the city of Jazora,[e] and after taking captive their wives and children,[f] and burning the city,[g] he returned to Judaea. Thereupon the

in Jubilees xxix. 10 and Beon (Heb. *Be'ôn*, LXX Βαιάν) in Num. xxxii. 3—the latter being explained by many scholars as haplology for Baal Meon, modern *Ma'în*, c. 5 miles S.W. of Medeba in Moab.

[e] 1 Macc. Jazer, identified by Père Abel with modern *Khirbet Ṣâr*, c. 10 miles W. of *'Ammân* and c. 7 miles N.E. of *'Arâq el-'Emîr*. Perhaps this identification finds support in the mention (1 Macc. v. 13) of the Jews in the territory of Tubias (ἐν τοῖς Τουβίου) if this means the Tobiad stronghold at *'Arâq el-'Emîr* (*cf.* § 230 note *c*), and not the bibl. Tob, S.E. of the Sea of Galilee.

[f] The reference here to wives and children, not mentioned in 1 Macc. in connexion with Jazer, may, as Reinach assumes, be due to Josephus' misunderstanding of the phrase τὴν Ἰαζὴρ καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας "Jazer and its daughters (*i.e.* daughter-cities)": it seems rather strange, however, that Josephus should have misunderstood so common a bibl. idiom, and the phrase may have been added to conform with the verse below (1 Macc. v. 13 = § 330) which mentions the wives and children of the Jews taken captive by Timotheus—these not being referred to by Josephus.

[g] The burning of Jazer is not mentioned in 1 Macc.; perhaps Josephus has repeated this detail from the preceding passage (1 Macc. v. 5 = § 328) about the Baanites.

γειτονεύοντα τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀναστραφέντα[1] συναθροίζεται εἰς τὴν Γαλααδῖτιν[2] ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὅροις αὐτῶν Ἰουδαίους. οἱ δὲ καταφυγόντες εἰς Διάθεμα[3] τὸ φρούριον, πέμψαντες πρὸς Ἰούδαν ἐδήλουν αὐτῷ ὅτι λαβεῖν ἐσπούδακε Τιμόθεος τὸ χωρίον εἰς
331 ὃ συνεπεφεύγεσαν. ἀναγινωσκομένων δὲ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν τούτων, κἀκ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἄγγελοι παραγίνονται σημαίνοντες ἐπισυνῆχθαι τοὺς ἐκ Πτολεμαΐδος καὶ Τύρου καὶ Σιδῶνος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν[4] τῆς Γαλιλαίας.

332 (2) Πρὸς οὖν ἀμφοτέρας τὰς τῶν ἠγγελμένων χρείας σκεψάμενος ὁ Ἰούδας ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν, Σίμωνα μὲν τὸν ἀδελφὸν προσέταξεν ὡς τρισχιλίους τῶν ἐπιλέκτων λαβόντα τοῖς ἐν Γαλιλαίᾳ βοηθὸν
333 ἐξελθεῖν Ἰουδαίοις· αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ Ἰωνάθης ὁ ἕτερος ἀδελφὸς μετὰ ὀκτακισχιλίων στρατιωτῶν ὥρμησαν εἰς τὴν Γαλααδῖτιν· κατέλιπε δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπολοίπων τῆς δυνάμεως Ἰώσηπόν τε τὸν Ζαχαρίου καὶ Ἀζαρίαν, προστάξας αὐτοῖς φυλάττειν ἐπιμελῶς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καὶ συνάπτειν πόλεμον πρὸς μηδένα, ἕως
334 ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπανέλθῃ. ὁ μὲν οὖν Σίμων παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν καὶ συμβαλὼν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς εἰς φυγὴν αὐτοὺς ἔτρεψε, καὶ μέχρι τῶν πυλῶν τῆς Πτολεμαΐδος διώξας ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτῶν ὡς περὶ τρισχιλίους, καὶ τά τε σκῦλα λαβὼν τῶν ἀνηρη-

[1] ἀνεστροφότα P: ἀναστρέφοντα LAMW.
[2] Γαλα(α)δινὴν PW.
[3] Διάθημα P.
[4] ἀλλογενῶν FV: aliis civitatibus Lat.

[a] Bibl. Gilead, the territory lying between the Jarmuk and Jabbok rivers in Transjordan; perhaps it is used here in 1 Macc. in a wider sense to include the territory farther east (so Schürer and Père Abel).

neighbouring nations, on learning that he had returned, gathered together in Galaaditis[a] against the Jews who were in their borders. But these fled to the fortress of Diathema[b] and sent to Judas, informing him that Timotheus was making an effort to seize the place in which they had taken refuge. And while these letters were being read, there came messengers from Galilee also, announcing that a force had been raised against him by those in Ptolemais,[c] Tyre and Sidon and the other nations[d] of Galilee.

(2) Judas, therefore, considering what had to be done in both these cases of need which had been reported, commanded his brother Simon to take some three thousand of the picked men and go out to the help of the Jews in Galilee, while he himself and his other brother Jonathan with eight thousand soldiers set out for Galaaditis; and over the remainder of the force he left Joseph, the son of Zacharias, and Azarias, whom he commanded to guard Judaea carefully and not to join battle with anyone until he himself returned. And so Simon went to Galilee, and engaging the foe, put them to flight, and after pursuing them as far as the gates of Ptolemais, killed about three thousand of them; then taking the spoil of the slain,

Simon invades Galilee. 1 Macc. v. 16.

[b] 1 Macc. Dathema; identified by Père van Kasteren (*ap.* Abel) with modern *el-Ḥosn* *c.* 20 miles E. of the Jordan in the latitude of Beth-shean (Scythopolis), and *c.* 35 miles W. of the supposed site of Bozrah, *Bosrâ eski-Šâm*: Bévenot, following Hölscher, identifies Dathema with *er-Ramtheh* *c.* 10 miles N.E. of *el-Ḥosn*.

[c] Bibl. Accho, modern *'Akkâ*, a famous city in Hellenistic times, at the N. end of the bay of *Haifa*, opposite Mount Carmel; it is described by Josephus in *B.J.* ii. 188 ff.

[d] Variant "and the gentiles (ἀλλογενῶν)," *cf.* 1 Macc., "Galilee of the gentiles (ἀλλοφύλων)."

μένων καὶ τοὺς ᾐχμαλωτισμένους ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ᾽Ιουδαίους, καὶ τὴν ἀποσκευὴν αὐτῶν ἐπαγόμενος εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν πάλιν[1] ἀνέστρεψεν.

335 (3) ᾽Ιούδας δὲ ὁ Μακκαβαῖος καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ᾽Ιωνάθης διαβάντες τὸν ᾽Ιορδάνην ποταμὸν καὶ ὁδὸν ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τριῶν ἀνύσαντες ἡμερῶν τοῖς Ναβαταίοις εἰρηνικῶς ὑπαντῶσι περιτυγχάνουσιν.
336 ὧν διηγησαμένων τὰ περὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Γαλααδίτιδι, ὡς πολλοὶ κακοπαθοῦσιν αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις ἀπειλημμένοι καὶ ταῖς πόλεσιν τῆς Γαλααδίτιδος, καὶ παραινεσάντων αὐτῷ σπεύδειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους καὶ ζητεῖν ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν σώζειν τοὺς ὁμοεθνεῖς, πεισθεὶς ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς τὴν ἔρημον, καὶ προσπεσὼν πρώτοις τοῖς τὴν Βοσόραν[2] κατοικοῦσιν καὶ λαβὼν αὐτήν,[3] πᾶν τὸ ἄρρεν καὶ μάχεσθαι
337 δυνάμενον διέφθειρε καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὑφῆψεν. ἐπιγενομένης δὲ νυκτὸς οὐδ᾽ οὕτως ἐπέσχεν, ἀλλ᾽ ὁδεύσας δι᾽ αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τὸ φρούριον ἔνθα τοὺς ᾽Ιουδαίους ἐγκεκλεῖσθαι συνέβαινε, περικαθεζομένου τὸ

[1] πάλιν om. FLAMVW Lat.
[2] Βοσόρραν FV: Βοσσόρραν L: Betsuram Lat.
[3] + καταλαβὼν PAMW: + καταβαλὼν rell.

[a] 1 Macc. does not specify Jewish captives, but "those from Galilee and in Arbatta (location uncertain) with their wives and children and all that belonged to them," presumably meaning the Jews resident among the gentiles of Galilee.

[b] 1 Macc. "a three-days' journey in the wilderness."

[c] Originally an Arab tribe (*cf. Ant.* i. 220 ff.) dwelling N.E. of the peninsular of Sinai; in the 6th century B.C. they occupied Petra, formerly held by the Edomites; during Hellenistic and Roman periods they spread north and east through Transjordan as far as Palmyra where many inscriptions (in Aramaic) have been found. Josephus gives further details of their history in *Ant.* xiii. 10 ff. For a convenient

and bringing back the Jews who had been made captive by them, and their belongings,[a] he returned once more to his own country.

(3) As for Judas Maccabaeus and his brother Jonathan, they crossed the river Jordan, and after covering a distance of three days' march from it,[b] they came upon the Nabataeans,[c] who greeted them peaceably. And they told him what had happened to those in Galaaditis, and that many of them were in distress after being shut up in the fortresses and cities of Galaaditis[d]; and when they urged him to march speedily against the foreigners and to try to save his countrymen[e] from them, he followed their advice, and returned into the wilderness; then falling first upon the inhabitants of Bosora,[f] and taking that city,[g] he destroyed all the males and those able to fight,[h] and set fire to the city. And not even when night came on did he call a halt, but marched through the night toward the fortress[i] where the Jews had been shut up when Timotheus invested

Victories of Judas and Jonathan in Gilead. 1 Macc. v. 24.

modern account of this people see G. Robinson, *The Sarcophagus of an Ancient Civilization*, 1930, ch. xxviii. (by A. P. Scott).

[d] The names of these cities are given in 1 Macc. v. 26 as Bosora, Bosor, Alema, Chasphor, Maked and Karnaim, *cf.* below, § 340.

[e] There is no need to render ὁμοεθνεῖς here or elsewhere by "coreligionists" rather than "countrymen," since the distinction is a modern one; 1 Macc. has "brothers."

[f] Variants Bosorra, Bossora; 1 Macc. Bosor, probably bibl. Bozrah of Moab, modern *Boṣrâ eski-Šâm*, *cf.* § 330 note *b*.

[g] Emended text: mss. add "and occupying it" or "and overthrowing it."

[h] This last detail seems to be based on a careless reading of 1 Macc. v. 28, "he slew every male at the point of the sword."

[i] *i.e.* Dathema, *cf.* above, § 330.

χωρίον Τιμοθέου μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, ἕωθεν ἐπ'
338 αὐτὸ παραγίνεται. καὶ καταλαβὼν ἤδη τοῖς τείχεσι
προσβεβληκότας τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ τοὺς μὲν
κλίμακας ὥστε ἀναβαίνειν ἐπ' αὐτά, τοὺς δὲ μη-
χανήματα προσφέροντας, κελεύσας τὸν σαλπικτὴν
σημῆναι, καὶ παρορμήσας τοὺς στρατιώτας ὑπὲρ
ἀδελφῶν καὶ συγγενῶν διακινδυνεῦσαι προθύμως,
εἰς τρία διελὼν τὸν στρατὸν ἐπιπίπτει κατὰ νώτου
339 τοῖς πολεμίοις. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Τιμόθεον αἰσθόμενοι
ὅτι Μακκαβαῖος εἴη, πεῖραν ἤδη καὶ πρότερον
αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀνδρείας καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις εὐτυ-
χίας εἰληφότες φυγῇ χρῶνται[1]· ἐφεπόμενος δὲ μετὰ
τοῦ στρατεύματος ὁ Ἰούδας ἀναιρεῖ μὲν αὐτῶν εἰς[2]
340 ὀκτακισχιλίους. ἀπονεύσας δ' εἰς Μελλὰ[3] πόλιν
οὕτως λεγομένην τῶν ἀλλοφύλων λαμβάνει καὶ
ταύτην, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄρρενας ἅπαντας ἀποκτείνει,
τὴν δὲ πόλιν αὐτὴν ἐμπίμπρησιν. ἄρας δ' ἐκεῖθεν
τήν τε Χασφομάκη[4] καὶ Βοσὸρ καὶ πολλὰς ἄλλας
πόλεις τῆς Γαλααδίτιδος καταστρέφεται.
341 (4) Χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον οὐ πολλῷ Τιμόθεος δύναμιν
μεγάλην παρασκευασάμενος, καὶ συμμάχους ἄλ-
λους τε παραλαβὼν καὶ Ἀράβων τινὰς μισθῷ

[1] φυγῇ χρῶνται] εἰς φυγὴν χρῶνται P: εἰς φυγὴν τρέπονται FLV Lat.

[2] ὡς P: om. FL.

[3] Μαάφην FLV et AM marg.: Μάλλα W: Mellam Lat.

[4] Χασθομακι P: Χασφωμακεὶ (F)V: Χασμοφάκην L: Κασφομάχην (A)M: Κασθῶμακεῖ (sic) W: Castomachi Lat.

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[a] This last phrase is an addition to 1 Macc.

[b] *Cf.* § 331 note *d*. 1 Macc. does not so describe the city here.

[c] Variants Maaphe, Malla; 1 Macc. Maspha, probably bibl. Mizpeh of Gilead, which in turn is perhaps to be

the place with his force, and reached it at dawn. And finding that the enemy was already assaulting the walls, some bringing up ladders to scale them, and others siege-engines, he ordered the trumpeter to sound the charge; then, after urging his soldiers to face danger gladly for their brothers and kin, he divided his army into three parts, and fell upon the enemy's rear. And when Timotheus' men recognized Maccabaeus, of whose courage and good fortune in war they had already had proof,[a] they took to flight; but Judas followed them closely with his army, and slew as many as eight thousand. Then turning aside to one of the gentile[b] cities called Mella,[c] he took this also, and killed all the males, and burned the city itself. From there he moved on, and subdued Chasphomake[d] and Bosor[e] and many other cities of Galaaditis.

(4) Not long after this Timotheus made ready a great force, and taking, in addition to other allies, some of the Arabs whom he persuaded by payment of

Judas defeats Timotheus and takes Carnaim. 1 Macc. v. 37.

identified with *Tell Masfa* near *Ṣûf*, *c.* 5 miles N.W. of *Jeraš* (Gerasa). But the reading Maspha in 1 Macc. is questioned by Père Abel, while the Mella of Josephus may just possibly, as Grimm surmises, be a corruption of Alema, mentioned earlier in 1 Macc. (v. 26).

[d] Variants Chasthomaki, Chasphomakei, etc.; the readings of all the MSS. of Josephus combine into one name those of two cities named separately in 1 Macc. Chasphor (*v.l.* Chasphon, *cf.* Kaspin, Chaspin in 2 Macc. xii. 13) and Maked; Casphor is identified by Père Abel, following Hölscher, with *el-Mezeirib* situated on one of the tributaries of the Yarmuk, where now the old Roman road, the Pilgrim road of the Muslims and the Hejaz railway all meet; Maked is more tentatively identified by Père Abel with *Tell el-Jamîd* on the Yarmuk river, *c.* 10 miles due W. of *el-Mezeirib.*

[e] Probably modern *Buṣr el-Hariri*, *c.* 20 miles N.E. of *el-Mezeirib.*

πείσας αὐτῷ συστρατεύειν, ἧκεν ἄγων τὴν στρατιὰν
342 πέραν τοῦ χειμάρρου Ῥομφῶν[1] ἄντικρυς (πόλις δ' ἦν αὕτη), καὶ παρεκελεύετο τοὺς στρατιώτας, εἰ συμβάλοιεν εἰς μάχην τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, προθύμως ἀγωνίζεσθαι καὶ κωλύειν αὐτοὺς διαβαίνειν τὸν χείμαρρον· διαβάντων γὰρ ἧτταν αὐτοῖς προέλεγεν.
343 Ἰούδας δ' ἀκούσας παρεσκευάσθαι τὸν Τιμόθεον πρὸς μάχην, ἀναλαβὼν ἅπασαν τὴν οἰκείαν δύναμιν ἔσπευδεν ἐπὶ τὸν πολέμιον, καὶ περαιωσάμενος τὸν χείμαρρον ἐπιπίπτει[2] τοῖς ἐχθροῖς καὶ τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ὑπαντιάζοντας ἀνῄρει, τοὺς δ' εἰς δέος ἐμβαλὼν ῥίψαντας τὰ ὅπλα φεύγειν ἠνάγκασεν.
344 καὶ τινὲς μὲν αὐτῶν διέδρασαν, οἱ δ' εἰς τὸ καλούμενον Ἐγκρανὰς[3] τέμενος συμφυγόντες ἤλπισαν τεύξεσθαι σωτηρίας. Ἰούδας δὲ τὴν πόλιν καταλαβόμενος αὐτούς τε ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τὸ τέμενος ἐνέπρησε, ποικίλῃ χρησάμενος ἰδέᾳ τῆς ἀπωλείας τῶν πολεμίων.

345 (5) Ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος καὶ συναγαγὼν τοὺς ἐν τῇ Γαλααδίτιδι Ἰουδαίους μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης αὐτοῖς ἀποσκευῆς, οἷός τε ἦν
346 εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπαναγαγεῖν. ὡς δ' ἧκεν ἐπί τινα

[1] Ῥαμφῶν AM: Ῥαφῶν FLV: Rophon Lat.
[2] ἐμπίπτει FLAM.
[3] ἐν κραναῖν F: ἐν καρναῖν LV: Ἐγκαρναῖν AM.

[a] Variants Ramphon, Raphon (so 1 Macc.), Rophon; it is identified by Père Abel, following Buhl, with *Tell eš-Šihâb*, c. 4 miles S.W. of *el-Mezeirib*, near one of the tributaries of the Yarmuk river, which is probably " the stream " referred

money to join his campaign, he led his army across the stream opposite Romphon[a]—this was a city—and exhorted his soldiers, if they engaged the Jews in battle, to fight eagerly and prevent them from crossing the stream; for, he predicted, if the Jews crossed, they themselves would be defeated. But when Judas heard that Timotheus had made ready for battle, he took all his own force and hastened to meet the enemy; and after crossing the stream, he fell upon his foes, and slew some of them who opposed him, and struck fear into the others and forced them to throw away their arms and flee. And so some of them escaped, while others took refuge in the sacred precinct called Enkranai,[b] where they hoped to find safety. But Judas took this city, and killed the inhabitants, and also burned the sacred precinct; thus he accomplished the destruction of the enemy under various forms.[c]

(5) Having achieved these things and gathered together the Jews in Galaaditis with their children and wives and belongings, he was ready to lead them back to Judaea. But when he came to a certain city

Judas' further victories in Gilead. 1 Macc. v. 45.

to in the text above: this identification is questioned by Bévenot, who prefers *er-Râfe*, *c.* 15 miles N.E. of *el-Mezeirib*. Grotius (*ap.* Grimm) and Hudson connect Raphon with the Raphana mentioned by Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 16, as one of the cities of the Decapolis.

[b] Variant Enkarnain: the readings of all the mss. of Josephus are corruptions of the phrase in 1 Macc. ἐν Καρναίν "in Carnaim"; this is the bibl. Carnaim, identified by Père Abel and Bévenot with *Šeikh Sa'ad*, *c.* 10 miles due N. of *el-Mezeirib*, and *c.* 2 miles N. by W. of *Tell 'Aštara* (bibl. Ashtaroth). Karnaim and Ashtaroth are coupled in Gen. xiv. 5 and Jubilees xxix. 10.

[c] The phrase ποικίλῃ . . . ἰδέᾳ τῆς ἀπωλείας is reminiscent of Thucydides, *cf.* Thuc. iii. 81. 5 and vii. 29. 5.

πόλιν Ἐμφρὼν ὄνομα ἐπὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ κειμένην, καὶ οὔτε ἄλλην αὐτῷ τραπομένῳ βαδίζειν δυνατὸν ἦν οὔτε ἀναστρέφειν ἤθελεν, πέμψας πρὸς τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ παρεκάλει τὰς πύλας ἀνοίξαντας ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτῷ διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀπελθεῖν· τάς τε γὰρ πύλας λίθοις
347 ἐμπεφράκεσαν[1] καὶ τὴν διέξοδον ἀπετέμοντο.[2] μὴ πειθομένων δὲ τῶν Ἐμφραίων, παρορμήσας τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ κυκλωσάμενος ἐπολιόρκει, καὶ δι' ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς προσκαθίσας ἐξαιρεῖ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ πᾶν ὅσον ἄρρεν ἦν ἐν αὐτῇ κτείνας καὶ καταπρήσας ἅπασαν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἔσχεν· τοσοῦτον δ' ἦν τὸ τῶν πεφονευμένων πλῆθος, ὡς ἐπ' αὐτῶν βαδί-
348 ζειν τῶν νεκρῶν. διαβάντες δὲ τὸν Ἰορδάνην ἧκον εἰς τὸ μέγα πεδίον, οὗ κεῖται κατὰ πρόσωπον πόλις Βεθσάνη, καλουμένη πρὸς Ἑλλήνων Σκυθόπολις.
349 κἀκεῖθεν ὁρμηθέντες εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν παρεγένοντο ψάλλοντές τε καὶ ὑμνοῦντες καὶ τὰς συνήθεις ἐν τοῖς ἐπινικίοις παιδιὰς ἄγοντες[3]· ἔθυσαν δὲ χαριστηρίους ὑπέρ τε τῶν κατωρθωμένων θυσίας καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ στρατεύματος σωτηρίας· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐν τούτοις τοῖς πολέμοις τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀπέθανεν.

350 (6) Ἰώσηπος δὲ ὁ Ζαχαρίου καὶ Ἀζαρίας, οὓς κατέλιπε στρατηγοὺς ὁ Ἰούδας καθ' ὃν καιρὸν Σίμων μὲν ὑπῆρχεν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ πολεμῶν τοὺς ἐν τῇ Πτολεμαΐδι, αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Ἰούδας καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς

[1] ἐπεφράκεσαν Dindorf.
[2] ἀπετέμνοντο FLV.
[3] ᾄδοντες M.

[a] 1 Macc. Ephron, identified by Père Abel with mod. *et-Taybeh*, c. 8 miles E. of the Jordan, a little N. of the lati-

by the name of Emphron,[a] which lay on his road, as it was not possible for him to avoid it by taking another road,[b] and being unwilling to turn back, he sent to the inhabitants and requested them to open their gates and permit him to go on through their city ; for they had blocked the gates with stones, and had cut off any passage through it. The Emphraeans, however, would not consent to this, and so he urged on his men and surrounded the city and besieged it, and after investing it for a day and a night, he took the city, and killed all the males who were in it, and burned it all down,[c] and so made a way ; but so great was the number of the slain that they had to walk over their dead bodies. And after crossing the Jordan, they came to the Great Plain, in front of which lies Bethsane,[d] by the Greeks called Scythopolis. And setting out from there, they came to Judaea, playing harps and singing songs of praise and observing such forms of merry-making as are customary at celebrations of a victory [e] ; then they offered the sacrifices of thanksgiving for their successes and for the safety of their army, for not one of the Jews had met death in these wars.

(6) Now Joseph, the son of Zacharias, and Azarias, whom Judas had left in command at the time when Simon was in Galilee warring against those in Ptolemais, and Judas himself and his brother Jonathan

Gorgias defeats the Jewish home-guard at Jamneia. 1 Macc. v. 55.

tude of *Beisân* (Scythopolis), and 8 miles W. by S. of *Irbîd* (Arbela) : it is probably the Γεφροῦν of Polyb. v. 70. 12, as suggested by Graetz.

[b] Because of the difficult terrain.

[c] 1 Macc. " uprooted it."

[d] Bibl. Beth-shean, mod. *Beisân*, *cf. Ant.* v. 83 note *h*.

[e] According to 1 Macc., it seems, the rejoicing began only when they reached Jerusalem.

αὐτοῦ Ἰωνάθης ἐν τῇ Γαλααδίτιδι, βουληθέντες κὰι
αὐτοὶ δόξαν περιποιήσασθαι στρατηγῶν τὰ πολε-
μικὰ γενναίων, τὴν ὑπ' αὐτοῖς δύναμιν ἀναλαβόντες
351 ἦλθον εἰς Ἰάμνειαν. Γοργίου δὲ τοῦ τῆς Ἰαμνείας
στρατηγοῦ ὑπαντήσαντος, συμβολῆς γενομένης δισ-
χιλίους ἀποβάλλουσι τῆς στρατιᾶς, καὶ φεύγοντες[1]
352 ἄχρι τῶν τῆς Ἰουδαίας ὅρων[2] διώκονται.[3] συνέβη
δ' αὐτοῖς τὸ πταῖσμα τοῦτο παρακούσασιν ὧν
αὐτοῖς Ἰούδας ἐπέστειλεν, μὴ συμβαλεῖν εἰς μάχην
μηδενὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐκείνου παρουσίας· πρὸς γὰρ τοῖς
ἄλλοις αὐτοῦ στρατηγήμασιν καὶ τὸ κατὰ τοὺς περὶ
τὸν Ἰώσηπον καὶ τὸν Ἀζαρίαν πταῖσμα θαυμά-
σειεν ἄν τις, ὃ συνῆκεν, εἰ παρακινήσουσί τι τῶν
353 ἐπεσταλμένων αὐτοῖς, ἐσόμενον. ὁ δὲ Ἰούδας καὶ
οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ πολεμοῦντες τοὺς Ἰδουμαίους οὐκ
ἀνίεσαν, ἀλλ' ἐνέκειντο πανταχόθεν αὐτοῖς, τήν τε
Χεβρῶνα πόλιν καταλαβόμενοι, ὅσον ἦν ὀχυρὸν
αὐτῆς καθεῖλον, καὶ τοὺς πύργους ἐμπρήσαντες
ἐδῄουν τὴν ἀλλόφυλον χώραν καὶ Μάρισαν[4] πόλιν,
εἴς τε Ἄζωτον ἐλθόντες καὶ λαβόντες αὐτὴν διήρ-
πασαν. πολλὰ δὲ σκῦλα καὶ λείαν κομίζοντες εἰς
τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ὑπέστρεψαν.

[1] φεύγουσιν AMW Lat.: φυγόντες E.
[2] ὀρῶν FLAMW: om. E.
[3] διώκονται om. PAMWE Lat.
[4] Μάρισσαν V.

[a] *Cf.* § 308 note *d*.
[b] *Cf.* § 298.
[c] The variant omits "were pursued."
[d] So 1 Macc.; variant "mountains."
[e] In place of the sentence about Judas' cleverness 1 Macc. gives the explanation that Joseph and Azariah were defeated

were in Galaaditis—they too wished to acquire the reputation of being generals valiant in action, and so they took their force and went to Jamneia.[a] But Gorgias,[b] the commander of Jamneia, met them there, and in the engagement which took place they lost two thousand men of their army, and fleeing, were pursued[c] as far as the borders[d] of Judaea. This reverse befell them because they disobeyed the instructions of Judas not to engage anyone in battle before his arrival; for in addition to the other instances of Judas' cleverness, one might well admire him also for having foreseen that such a reverse would come to the men under Joseph and Azarias if they departed in any respect from the instructions given them.[e] Meanwhile Judas and his brothers were warring on the Idumaeans[f] without ceasing, and pressed them closely on all sides; and after taking the city of Hebron, they destroyed all its fortifications and burned its towers[g]; and they ravaged the foreign territory, including the city of Marisa,[h] and coming to Azotus,[i] they took this city and sacked it.[j] Then they returned to Judaea, carrying much spoil and booty.

Judas' victories in Idumaea.

because "they were not of the seed of those men (*i.e.* the Hasmonaeans) by whose hand salvation was given to Israel."

[f] 1 Macc. "the sons of Esau," which, of course, means the Idumaeans.

[g] 1 Macc. adds that they captured the villages near Hebron.

[h] The reading "Samaria" in the Gr. MSS. of 1 Macc. is generally recognized to be a corruption of "Marisa" (also found in most MSS. of 2 Macc. xii. 35); it is the bibl. Mareshah near the Philistine border, *cf. Ant.* viii. 246 note *i*.

[i] Bibl. Ashdod, *cf.* § 308 note *e*.

[j] 1 Macc. adds that they burned the carved idols found there.

354 (ix. 1) Ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος τὴν ἄνω χώραν ἐπερχόμενος ἀκούει πόλιν ἐν τῇ Περσίδι πλούτῳ διαφέρουσαν Ἐλυμαΐδα τοὔνομα, καὶ πολυτελὲς ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ παντοδαπῶν ἀναθημάτων πλῆρες εἶναι ἔτι γε μὴν ὅπλα καὶ θώρακας, ἃ καταλιπεῖν ἐπυνθάνετο τὸν υἱὸν τὸν Φιλίππου βασιλέα δὲ Μακεδόνων
355 Ἀλέξανδρον. κινηθεὶς οὖν ὑπὸ τούτων[1] ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐλυμαΐδα, καὶ προσβαλὼν αὐτὴν ἐπολιόρκει. τῶν δ' ἐν αὐτῇ μὴ καταπλαγέντων τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτοῦ μηδὲ τὴν πολιορκίαν, ἀλλὰ καρτερῶς ἀντισχόντων, ἀποκρούεται τῆς ἐλπίδος· ἀπωσάμενοι γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐπεξελθόντες ἐδίωξαν, ὥστ' αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα φεύγοντα καὶ
356 πολλοὺς ἀποβαλόντα τῆς στρατιᾶς. λυπουμένῳ δ' ἐπὶ τῇ διαμαρτίᾳ ταύτῃ προσαγγέλλουσί τινες καὶ τὴν τῶν στρατηγῶν ἧτταν, οὓς πολεμήσοντας τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις κατελελοίπει, καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν ἤδη τὴν τῶν
357 Ἰουδαίων. προσγενομένης οὖν καὶ τῆς περὶ τούτων φροντίδος τῇ προτέρᾳ, συγχυθεὶς ὑπὸ ἀθυμίας εἰς νόσον κατέπεσεν, ἧς μηκυνομένης καὶ αὐξανο-

[1] ἐπὶ τούτῳ AMW.

[a] His eastern campaign lasted from about the summer of 165 B.C. to the summer of 163 B.C., *cf.* §§ 297 note *f*, 361 note *a*.

[b] So 1 Macc., probably referring to the province, not the city, of Elymais = bibl. Elam, and corresponding to Susiana, the eighth in the list of provinces of Darius' empire, as given by Herodotus. According to 2 Macc. ix. 2 it was Persepolis that Antiochus attempted to despoil.

[c] So Polyb. xxxi. 9 (11). 1, *cf.* Jerome on Dan. xi., who gives the Latin form Diana, citing Polybius and Diodorus; Appian, *Syria* 66, gives the goddess's name as Aphrodite; 1 Macc. omits her name. Both names, Artemis and Aphro-

(ix. 1) About the same time King Antiochus, as he was entering the upper country,[a] heard of a city in Persia of surpassing wealth, named Elymais,[b] and that there was in it a rich temple of Artemis,[c] which was full of all kinds of dedicatory offerings, as well as of arms and breastplates which he learned had been left behind by Alexander, the son of Philip, king of Macedon. And so, being excited by these reports, he set out for Elymais, and assaulted it and began a siege. As those within the city, however, were not dismayed either by his attack or by the siege, but stoutly held out against him, his hopes were dashed; for they drove him off from the city, and went out against him in pursuit, so that he had to come to Babylon [d] as a fugitive, and lost many of his army. And as he was grieving over this failure, some men brought him news also of the defeat of the generals whom he had left to make war on the Jews, and of the strength which the Jews now had. And so, with the anxiety over these events added to his former anxiety, he was overwhelmed, and in his despondency fell ill; and as his illness lingered on, and his sufferings in-

Antiochus Epiphanes is stricken in Persia. 1 Macc. vi. 1.

Death of Antiochus Epiphanes. 1 Macc. vi. 8

dite, are merely hellenizations of the Oriental Nanaia or Anaitis, *cf.* 2 Macc. i. 13 and Cook, *RAP*, pp. 218, 223.

[d] So 1 Macc.; Polybius gives the name of the city in which Antiochus died as Tabae in Persia. This is probably an error for Gabae, a city in Gabiane, a sub-province (*eparchia*) of Elymais, according to Strabo xv. 728 and xvi. 745. Ecbatana is given in 2 Macc. ix. 3 as the name of the city where Antiochus heard the news of the Jews' successes in the West; this, in turn, is identified by Kugler, pp. 387 ff., with Aspadana (mod. *Ispahan*), once apparently called Gai or Gabae. Niese, *GGMS* iii. 218 note 3, corrects Polybius' Tabae to Gabae, but in *Kritik*, pp. 19 f., suggests that here 2 Macc. confuses Antiochus Epiphanes with Antiochus Sidetes. See now W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria*, pp. 463-466.

μένων τῶν παθῶν, συνεὶς ὅτι μέλλοι τελευτᾶν, συγ-
καλεῖ τοὺς φίλους καὶ τήν τε νόσον αὐτοῖς χαλε-
πὴν οὖσαν ἐμήνυε, καὶ[1] ὅτι ταῦτα πάσχει κακώ-
σας τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος παρεδήλου, συλήσας[2]
τὸν ναὸν καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ καταφρονήσας· καὶ ταῦτα
358 λέγων ἐξέπνευσεν. ὥστε με[3] θαυμάζειν Πολύβιον
τὸν Μεγαλοπολίτην, ὃς ἀγαθὸς ὢν ἀνὴρ ἀποθανεῖν
λέγει τὸν Ἀντίοχον βουληθέντα τὸ τῆς ἐν Πέρσαις
Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν συλῆσαι· τὸ γὰρ μηκέτι ποιῆσαι
τὸ ἔργον βουλευσάμενον οὐκ ἔστιν τιμωρίας ἄξιον.
359 εἰ δὲ διὰ τοῦτο Πολυβίῳ δοκεῖ καταστρέψαι τὸν
βίον Ἀντίοχον οὕτως, πολὺ πιθανώτερον διὰ τὴν
ἱεροσυλίαν τοῦ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ναοῦ τελευτῆσαι
τὸν βασιλέα. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτου οὐ διαφέρομαι
τοῖς τὴν[4] ὑπὸ τοῦ Μεγαλοπολίτου λεγομένην αἰτίαν
παρὰ τὴν[5] ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀληθῆ νομίζουσιν.[6]
360 (2) Ὁ δ' Ἀντίοχος πρὶν ἢ τελευτᾶν καλέσας
Φίλιππον ἕνα τῶν ἑταίρων, τῆς βασιλείας αὐτὸν
ἐπίτροπον καθίστησι, καὶ δοὺς αὐτῷ τὸ διάδημα καὶ
τὴν στολὴν καὶ τὸν δακτύλιον, Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ παιδὶ
αὐτοῦ ταῦτα ἐκέλευσε κομίσαντα δοῦναι, δεηθεὶς
προνοῆσαι τῆς ἀνατροφῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ τηρῆσαι τὴν
361 βασιλείαν ἐκείνῳ. ἀπέθανε δὲ Ἀντίοχος ἐνάτῳ καὶ

[1] καὶ τοῦτο FLV : τοῦτο PW.
[2] καὶ συλήσας AMWE : συλήσας γὰρ V : συλήσας τε Naber.
[3] με om. PFLAM.
[4] τοῖς τὴν Bekker : τὴν PFLAVW : τὴν εἴτε πρὸς τοὺς M.
[5] παρὰ τὴν ed. pr. : ταύτην PFLAVW : ἢ ταύτην τὴν AM.
[6] ed. pr. : νομιζόντων (νομίζοντος M^2) codd.

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[a] Or "intimated."
Variant "one is."

creased, he perceived that he was about to die; he therefore called together his friends and told them that his illness was severe, and confessed [a] that he was suffering these afflictions because he had harmed the Jewish nation by despoiling their temple and treating God with contempt; and with these words he expired. Accordingly I am [b] surprised that Polybius of Megalopolis, who is an honest man, says that Antiochus died because he wished to despoil the temple of Artemis in Persia [c]; for merely to wish a thing without actually doing it is not deserving of punishment. But although Polybius may think that Antiochus lost his life on that account, it is much more probable that the king died because of sacrilegiously despoiling the temple in Jerusalem. Concerning this matter, however, I shall not dispute with those who believe that the cause given by the Megalopolitan is nearer the truth than that given by us.[d]

(2) Now before he died, Antiochus summoned Philip, one of his companions,[e] and appointed him regent of his kingdom, and giving him his diadem and robe and seal-ring, ordered him to take these and give them to his son Antiochus; and he requested Philip to look after his son's education and to guard the kingdom for him.[f] And Antiochus died in the

Philip is appointed regent of the Seleucid kingdom. 1 Macc. vi. 14.

[c] *Cf.* Polyb. xxxi. 9 (11), also referred to in *Ap.* ii. 84, together with Strabo, Nicolas of Damascus, Timagenes, Castor and Apollodorus.

[d] Text slightly uncertain.

[e] 1 Macc. "Friends," probably in a technical sense, *cf.* § 134 note *a*.

[f] Earlier (*cf.* § 296 = 1 Macc. iii. 33) Antiochus had entrusted Lysias, his regent in the West, with this office, and it was Lysias who actually governed after Antiochus' death, *cf.* § 379.

τεσσαρακοστῷ καὶ ἑκατοστῷ ἔτει. Λυσίας δὲ τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ δηλώσας τῷ πλήθει, τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ἀντίοχον (αὐτὸς γὰρ εἶχεν τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν) ἀποδείκνυσι βασιλέα, καλέσας αὐτὸν Εὐπάτορα.

362 (3) Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ οἱ ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων φρουροὶ καὶ φυγάδες τῶν Ἰουδαίων πολλὰ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους εἰργάσαντο· τοὺς γὰρ ἀναβαίνοντας εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ[1] θῦσαι βουλομένους ἐξαίφνης ἐκτρέχοντες οἱ φρουροὶ διέφθειραν· ἐπ-
363 έκειτο γὰρ τῷ ἱερῷ ἡ ἄκρα. τούτων οὖν συμβαινόντων αὐτοῖς Ἰούδας ἐξελεῖν διέγνω τὴν φρουράν, καὶ συναγαγὼν τὸν λαὸν ἅπαντα τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ καρτερῶς ἐπολιόρκει. ἔτος δ᾽ ἦν τοῦτο τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῖς ἀπὸ Σελεύκου ἑκατοστὸν καὶ πεντηκοστόν. κατασκευάσας οὖν μηχανήματα καὶ χώματα ἐγείρας, φιλοπόνως προσέκειτο τῇ τῆς ἄκρας αἱρέσει.
364 πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ φυγάδων νύκτωρ ἐξελθόντες εἰς τὴν χώραν καί τινας τῶν ὁμοίων καὶ ἀσεβῶν συναγαγόντες ἧκον πρὸς Ἀντίοχον τὸν βασιλέα, οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες ἑαυτοὺς ὑπεροράσθαι δεινὰ πάσχοντας ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμοφύλων καὶ ταῦθ᾽ ὑπομένοντας διὰ

[1] *καὶ* om. FVW Lat.

[a] The 149th yr. Sel. extended from Oct. 164 to Oct. 163 B.C. Other ancient sources indicate that Antiochus died in the spring or summer of 163 B.C., so, *e.g.*, Eusebius, *Chronicon* (ed. Aucher I. 348), who gives Olymp. 154.1 = July 164 to July 163 B.C.: this date is rather arbitrarily corrected by some scholars (*cf.* Niese, *GGMS* iii. 218 note 7) to Olymp. 153.4 = July 165 to July 164 B.C. Niese considers the date given by Josephus and 1 Macc. vi. 16 "a deliberate or careless alteration" of the real date, and prefers the account of 2 Macc. xi. 23 ff., which implies that Antiochus' death was known in Syria—or at least that his son Antiochus Eupator was recognized as king—as early as the 148th yr. Sel., that

hundred and forty-ninth year.[a] Then Lysias, after informing the people of his death, appointed his son Antiochus king—for he had charge of him,—and called him Eupator.

(3) At this time the garrison in the *Akra* of Jerusalem and the Jewish renegades [b] did much harm to the Jews; for when they went up to the temple with the intention of sacrificing, the garrison would sally out and kill them—for the *Akra* commanded the temple.[c] And so, as a result of these experiences, Judas determined to drive out the garrison, and gathering together all the people, he stoutly besieged those in the *Akra*. This was in the hundred and fiftieth year of the Seleucid reign.[d] Accordingly, he constructed siege-engines, and erected earthworks, and assiduously applied himself to the capture of the *Akra*. But many of the renegades within the *Akra* went out by night into the country, and having gathered together some of the irreligious men like themselves, came to King Antiochus [e] and said that they did not deserve to be left to suffer these hardships at the hands of their countrymen, especially as they were enduring them for the sake of his father,

Judas besieges the Syrians in the citadel of Jerusalem. 1 Macc. vi. 18.

is, before Oct. 164 B.C. Kugler, pp. 390 ff., dates Antiochus' death in March or April, 164 B.C.

[b] The Jewish renegades are not mentioned at this point in 1 Macc. They are, indeed, mentioned further on, in vs. 21, καὶ ἐκολλήθησαν αὐτοῖς (the Syrians) τινὲς τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἐξ Ἰσραήλ, but 1 Macc. does not say that they were in the *Akra*, as Josephus states in § 364; *cf.* §§ 252 note *e*, 305 note *a*.

[c] Here too Josephus amplifies 1 Macc.

[d] The 150th yr. Sel. extended from Oct. 163 to Oct. 162 B.C. 2 Macc. xiii. 1 places the invasion of Judaea by Antiochus Eupator and Lysias (*cf.* § 367) in the 149th yr. Sel. = 164/3 B.C.

[e] At Antioch, *cf.* § 367. 1 Macc. does not say where the king was.

τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ, τὴν μὲν πάτριον αὐτῶν καταλύσαντας θρησκείαν, ἣν δὲ προσέταξε ταύτης
365 ἀντιποιουμένους· κινδυνεύειν οὖν ὑπὸ Ἰούδου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν αἱρεθῆναι καὶ τοὺς φρουροὺς τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως κατασταθέντας, εἰ
366 μή τις παρ' αὐτοῦ βοήθεια πεμφθείη. ταῦτ' ἀκούσας ὁ παῖς Ἀντίοχος ὠργίσθη, καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας καὶ φίλους μεταπεμψάμενος ἐκέλευσε μισθοφόρους συναγαγεῖν καὶ ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας τοὺς στρατεύσιμον ἡλικίαν ἔχοντας. καὶ συνήχθη στρατὸς πεζῶν μὲν ὡσεὶ δέκα μυριάδες, ἱππεῖς δὲ δισμύριοι, ἐλέφαντες δὲ δύο καὶ τριάκοντα.

367 (4) Ταύτην οὖν ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν ἐξώρμησεν ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας μετὰ Λυσίου πάσης τῆς στρατιᾶς ἔχοντος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Βεθσούραν ἀναβαίνει πόλιν σφόδρα ὀχυρὰν[1] καὶ δυσάλωτον, καὶ περι-
368 καθίσας ἐπολιόρκει τὴν πόλιν. ἰσχυρῶς δὲ ἀντεχόντων τῶν Βεθσουραίων καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν αὐτοῦ τῶν μηχανημάτων ἐμπρησάντων (ἐπεξῆλθον γὰρ αὐτῷ) χρόνος ἐτρίβετο πολὺς περὶ τὴν πολι-
369 ορκίαν. Ἰούδας δὲ τὴν ἔφοδον τοῦ βασιλέως ἀκούσας ἀφίσταται μὲν τοῦ τὴν ἄκραν πολιορκεῖν, ἀπαντήσας δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ βάλλεται στρατόπεδον ἐπὶ τῶν στενῶν ἔν τινι τόπῳ Βεθζαχαρίᾳ λεγομένῳ, στα-

[1] ἰσχυρὰν PM : ἐχυρὰν L[1]A[1].

[a] So most mss. of 1 Macc., but cod. A has "horses." In *B.J.* i. 41 Josephus gives the numbers as 50,000 foot-soldiers,

for they had broken with their ancestral religion and had adopted that which he had commanded them to follow; and now, they continued, the citadel was in danger of being taken by Judas and his men, as well as the garrison stationed there by the king, unless some assistance were sent by him. When the young Antiochus heard this, he became angry, and sending for his officers and Friends, ordered them to collect mercenaries and those in his kingdom who were of military age. And so an army was collected, which consisted of about a hundred thousand foot-soldiers and twenty thousand horsemen [a] and thirty-two elephants.

(4) Thereupon he took this force and set out from Antioch with Lysias, who was in command of the entire army, and after coming to Idumaea, he went up from there to Bethsura,[b] a very strong city and one difficult to take, and he invested the city and besieged it. However, as the people of Bethsura strongly resisted and burned his supply of siege-engines—for they sallied out against him,—much time was consumed in the siege. And when Judas heard of the king's advance, he left off besieging the *Akra*, and went to meet the king, pitching his camp near the mountain passes, at a place called Bethzacharias,[c]

Antiochus V Eupator invades Judaea. 1 Macc. vi. 31.

5000 horsemen and 80 elephants (2 Macc. has 110,000 foot-soldiers, 5300 horsemen and 22 elephants). On the number of elephants (32) given above, Abrahams, *Campaigns*, p. 30, remarks, "this agrees with Polybius who (in the procession at Antioch in 165 B.C.), in addition to a few chariot elephants, describes the presence of 'thirty-six elephants in single file, with all their furniture on.' The coincidence of numbers is almost exact."

[b] *Cf.* § 313 note *b*.

[c] Mod. *Beit Skâria*, *c.* 10 miles S.W. of Jerusalem and 6 miles N.E. of Bethsur.

370 δίους ἀπέχοντι τῶν πολεμίων ἑβδομήκοντα. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ὁρμήσας ἀπὸ τῆς Βεθσούρας ἤγαγε τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ τὰ στενὰ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἰούδα στρατόπεδον, ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ δὲ πρὸς μάχην διέτασσε τὴν
371 στρατιάν. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐλέφαντας ἐποίησεν ἀλλήλοις ἕπεσθαι, διὰ τὴν στενοχωρίαν οὐ δυναμένων αὐτῶν ἐπὶ πλάτος τετάχθαι. εἰς δὲ κύκλον ἐλέφαντος ἑκάστου συμπροῆσαν[1] πεζοὶ μὲν χίλιοι, ἱππεῖς δὲ πεντακόσιοι· ἔφερον δὲ οἱ ἐλέφαντες πύργους τε ὑψηλοὺς[2] καὶ τοξότας. τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν δύναμιν ἑκατέρωθεν ἐποίησεν ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη, τοὺς
372 ψιλοὺς[3] αὐτῆς προτάξας. κελεύσας δὲ ἀλαλάξαι τὴν στρατιὰν προσβάλλει τοῖς πολεμίοις, γυμνώσας τάς τε χρυσᾶς καὶ χαλκᾶς ἀσπίδας, ὥστε αὐγὴν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀφίεσθαι λαμπράν· συνεπήχει δὲ τὰ ὄρη κεκραγότων αὐτῶν. ταῦτα ὁρῶν ὁ Ἰούδας οὐ κατεπλάγη, δεξάμενος δὲ γενναίως τοὺς πολεμίους
373 τῶν προδρόμων περὶ ἑξακοσίους ἀναιρεῖ. Ἐλεά-

[1] συμπαρῆσαν FLV : προήεσαν E : properabant Lat.
[2] + καὶ ἰσχυροὺς AMW.
[3] Naber : φίλους codd.

[a] About 8 miles; this estimate (not given in 1 Macc.) is a little more than the actual distance between Bethzacharias and Bethsur, given in the preceding note. Père Abel locates the actual battlefield at *Balluṭat el-Yerza*, c. ½ mile S. of *Beit Skâria*.

[b] Josephus omits the detail in 1 Macc. that the Syrians "showed the blood of grapes (*i.e.* red wine) and mulberries" to the elephants to make them fierce. It has been conjectured by Wellhausen (cited by Bévenot) that the Heb. original had *hirwâh* "intoxicated" and that this was corrupted to, or mistaken for, *her'âh* "showed."

which was seventy stades [a] away from the enemy. Thereupon the king set out from Bethsura and led his army to the passes and Judas' camp; and at daybreak he drew up his army for battle.[b] And he made his elephants follow one another, since they could not be placed side by side in an extended line because of the narrow space.[c] Round each elephant there advanced together a thousand foot soldiers and five hundred horsemen; and the elephants carried high [d] towers and archers.[e] He also made the rest of his force ascend the mountains on either side, putting his light-armed troops [f] in front of them. Then he ordered his army to raise the battle-cry, and set upon the enemy, uncovering his shields of gold [g] and bronze so that a brilliant light was given off by them, while the mountains re-echoed the shouts of his men. Judas saw this, and yet was not terrified, but valiantly met the enemy's charge, and slew some six hundred of their skirmishers. And his brother Eleazar, whom they

The battle of Bethzacharias. 1 Macc. vi. 33.

[c] This sentence is an amplification of the text of cod. A and Luc. in 1 Macc. vi. 35, "And they divided the elephants among the defiles," reading φάραγγας for φάλαγγας "phalanxes."

[d] The variant adds "and strong."

[e] 1 Macc. gives the number of men in the tower or howdah as 30 (*v.l.* 32), an impossible number, plausibly explained by Rahlfs, *ZAW*, N.F. xi., 1934, pp. 78 ff., as a corruption of Δ′=4 to Λ′=30. Perhaps Josephus has omitted this detail because of its incredibility.

[f] "Light-armed troops" (ψιλούς) is Naber's conjecture for MSS. "friends" (φίλους); although the conjecture has no support in the text of 1 Macc., it is plausible in view of the parallel in § 426.

[g] The shields of gold (also mentioned in 1 Macc.) are a fictitious detail. Polybius tells us, xi. 9. 1, that Philopoemen had his soldiers keep their arms bright in order to inspire the enemy with fear.

ζαρος δὲ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ, ὃν Αὐρὰν ἐκάλουν, ἰδὼν
τὸν ὑψηλότατον τῶν ἐλεφάντων ὡπλισμένον θώραξι
βασιλικοῖς, καὶ νομίζων ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τὸν βασιλέα
εἶναι, παρεβάλετο σφόδρα εὐκαρδίως ἐπ' αὐτὸν
ὁρμήσας, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν περὶ τὸν ἐλέφαντα
κτείνας τοὺς ἄλλους διεσκέδασεν, ὑποδὺς δὲ ὑπὸ
τὴν γαστέρα καὶ πλήξας ἀπέκτεινε τὸν ἐλέφαντα.
374 ὁ δ' ἐπικατενεχθεὶς τῷ Ἐλεαζάρῳ διαφθείρει τὸν
ἄνδρα ὑπὸ τοῦ βάρους. καὶ οὗτος[1] μὲν εὐψύχως
πολλοὺς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπολέσας, τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ
τὸν βίον κατέστρεψεν.
375 (5) Ὁ δὲ Ἰούδας ὁρῶν τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἰσχὺν
ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ πρὸς πολιορκίαν
παρεσκευάζετο. Ἀντίοχος δὲ τὸ μέν τι τῆς στρα-
τιᾶς εἰς Βεθσοῦραν ἔπεμψε πολεμήσων αὐτήν, τῷ
λοιπῷ δὲ τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτὸς ἧκεν εἰς[2] Ἱεροσόλυμα.
376 οἱ μὲν οὖν Βεθσουρῖται τὴν ἰσχὺν καταπλαγέντες
καὶ σπανίζοντα βλέποντες τὰ ἐπιτήδεια παρα-
διδόασιν ἑαυτούς, ὅρκους λαβόντες ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν
πείσεσθαι κακὸν[3] ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως. Ἀντίοχος δὲ
λαβὼν τὴν πόλιν ἄλλο μὲν αὐτοὺς οὐδὲν διέθηκεν ἢ
μόνον[4] γυμνοὺς ἐξέβαλε, φρουρὰν δὲ κατέστησεν
377 ἰδίαν ἐν τῇ πόλει. πολλῷ δὲ χρόνῳ τὸ ἱερὸν πολι-
ορκῶν τὸ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις προσεκαθέζετο, καρ-
τερῶς τῶν ἔνδοθεν ἀμυνομένων· πρὸς ἕκαστον γὰρ
ὧν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔστησε μηχάνημα,
378 κἀκεῖνοι πάλιν ἀντεμηχανῶντο. τροφὴ δ' αὐτοῖς[5]
ἐπιλελοίπει, τοῦ μὲν ὄντος ἀπανηλωμένου καρποῦ,

[1] οὕτως FLAMW Lat.
[2] ἐπὶ τὰ FLAMWE.
[3] δεινὸν VE.
[4] ἢ μόνον] μόνον δὲ P.
[5] M Zonaras: αὐτοὺς rell.

called Auran,[a] on seeing that the tallest of the elephants was armed with breastplates like those of the king, and supposing that the king was mounted on it, risked his life by rushing upon it boldly, and after killing many of the men round the elephant and scattering the others, he slipped under the elephant's belly and killed it with a thrust. But the animal came down upon Eleazar and crushed the hero under its weight. And so, after bravely [b] destroying many of the foe, Eleazar met his end in this manner.

Eleazar is crushed by an elephant. 1 Macc. vi. 43.

(5) Thereupon Judas, seeing how strong the enemy was, retired to Jerusalem [c] and prepared himself for a siege. And Antiochus sent a part of his army to Bethsura to assault it, while he himself with the rest of his force came to Jerusalem. Now the inhabitants of Bethsura, being overawed by his strength, and seeing how scarce their provisions were, surrendered to him, after receiving sworn assurances that they should suffer no harm at the hands of the king.[d] Then Antiochus took the city and did nothing to them beyond expelling them unarmed; and he stationed his own garrison in the city. But the siege of the temple in Jerusalem kept him there a long time, for those within stoutly resisted; and every siege-engine which the king set up against them, they, in turn, countered with another engine. Their supply of food, however, had begun to give out, for the present crop had been consumed, and the ground

Antiochus Eupator captures Bethsur. 1 Macc. vi. 49.

He then besieges Jerusalem. 1 Macc. vi. 51.

[a] *Cf.* § 266 note *b*.

[b] Variant "And after so bravely."

[c] According to *B.J.* i. 45 Judas withdrew to Gophna, N. of Jerusalem.

[d] 1 Macc. says nothing of these "sworn assurances," but merely that the king "made peace with them."

τῆς δὲ γῆς ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἔτει μὴ γεωργουμένης,[1] ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ εἶναι τὸ ἕβδομον ἔτος, καθ' ὃ νόμος ἡμῖν ἀργὴν ἐᾶν τὴν χώραν, ἀσπόρου μεμενηκυίας. πολλοὶ τοιγαροῦν τῶν πολιορκουμένων ἀπεδίδρασκον διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀπορίαν, ὡς ὀλίγους ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καταλειφθῆναι.

379 (6) Καὶ τοῖς μὲν πολιορκουμένοις ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοιαῦτα συνέβαινεν εἶναι τὰ πράγματα. Λυσίας δὲ ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ ὁ βασιλεύς,[2] ἐπεὶ Φίλιππος αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς Περσίδος ἥκων ἐδηλώθη[3] τὰ πράγματα εἰς αὐτὸν κατασκευάζειν, εἶχον μὲν ὥστε τὴν πολιορκίαν ἀφέντες ὁρμᾶν ἐπὶ τὸν Φίλιππον, οὐ μὴν τοῦτο ποιῆσαι φανερὸν τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν
380 ἔγνωσαν, ἀλλ' ἐκέλευσε τὸν Λυσίαν ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῷ[4] τε καὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἐν κοινῷ διαλεχθῆναι, μηδὲν μὲν τῶν περὶ Φίλιππον ἐμφανίζοντα, τὴν δὲ πολιορκίαν ὅτι χρονιωτάτη[5] γένοιτ' ἂν δηλοῦντα, καὶ τὴν ὀχυρότητα τοῦ χωρίου, καὶ ὅτι τὰ τῆς

[1] E: γεωργημένης aut γεγεωργημένης codd.
[2] + Ἀντίοχος E Lat.
[3] E Lat.: ἐδηλώθη καὶ codd.
[4] αὐτοῖς ed. pr.: om. Lat.
[5] πολυχρονιωτάτη LAMW.

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[a] Josephus here too amplifies somewhat. The date of this seventh (sabbatical) year is a matter of dispute. According to §§ 363 ff. Lysias' campaign against Bethsur began in the 150th yr. Sel., extending from Oct. 163 to Oct. 162 B.C.; as the sabbatical year was reckoned from Tishri (roughly October), we may assume that this one coincided with the 150th yr. Sel., and that it was toward the end of this year, about the summer of 162 B.C., that the besieged inhabitants of Jerusalem began to feel the lack of food. This reckoning is supported by the statement in *Ant.* xiii. 234 that a sabbatical year began after Simon's death: as this occurred about February 135 B.C., the sabbatical year then began in

had not been tilled that year, but had remained unsown because it was the seventh year,[a] during which our law obliges us to let it lie uncultivated.[b] Many of the besieged, therefore, ran away because of the lack of necessities, so that only a few were left in the temple.

(6) Such were the circumstances of those who were besieged in the temple. But when Lysias, the commander, and the king were informed that Philip was coming against them from Persia to secure the government for himself, they were ready to abandon the siege and set out against Philip; they decided, however, not to reveal their plan to the soldiers and their officers,[c] but, instead, the king ordered Lysias to address him [d] and the officers publicly and say nothing of the trouble with Philip, but merely show that the siege would take a very long time, and the place was very strong, and explain that their supply of food had

Antiochus Eupator, threatened by Philip's advance, makes terms with the Jews in Jerusalem. 1 Macc. vi. 55.

Oct. 135 B.C., the sabbatical years being the following: (1) Oct. 163 to Oct. 162 B.C. (2) Oct. 156 to Oct. 155 B.C. (3) Oct. 149 to Oct. 148 B.C. (4) Oct. 142 to Oct. 141 B.C. (5) Oct. 135 to Oct. 134 B.C. This reckoning seems however to be contradicted by the statement in *Ant.* xiv. 475 that Herod and Sossius captured Jerusalem during a sabbatical year, since that event occurred in the summer of 37 B.C., and thus the sabbatical year began in Oct. 38 B.C., which does not fit in with the table given above. But Josephus may have been inexact in language there, *cf.* note *ad loc.*

[b] *Cf.* Ex. xxiii. 10 f., Lev. xxv. 2 ff.

[c] Our text of 1 Macc. vi. 57 states that Lysias addressed the king, the officers and the men at the same time, εἶπεν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας, but it is quite possible that Josephus' text of 1 Macc. read differently (some MSS. and the Syriac version have "the nobles" for "the men"). It is likely, moreover, that Josephus infers secrecy on the king's part from the fact that Lysias does not mention Philip in his speech.

[d] Variant "them."

τροφῆς αὐτοῖς ἤδη ἐπιλελοίπει, καὶ ὡς πολλὰ δεῖ
381 καταστῆσαι τῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ πραγμάτων, καὶ
ὡς δοκεῖ πολὺ κρεῖττον εἶναι σπονδὰς ποιησαμένους
πρὸς τοὺς πολιορκουμένους καὶ φιλίαν πρὸς ὅλον
αὐτῶν τὸ ἔθνος, ἐπιτρέψαντας αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι τοῖς
πατρίοις νόμοις, ὧν ἀφαιρεθέντες νῦν ἐξεπολεμώθησαν, χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα. ταῦτα τοῦ Λυσίου
φήσαντος ἠρέσθη τό τε στράτευμα καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες
τῇ γνώμῃ.

382 (7) Καὶ πέμψας ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς τὸν Ἰούδαν καὶ
τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ πολιορκουμένους εἰρήνην τε ἐπηγγείλατο καὶ συγχωρεῖν τοῖς πατρίοις νόμοις χρωμένους ζῆν. οἱ δὲ ἀσμένως δεξάμενοι τοὺς λόγους[1]
καὶ[2] λαβόντες ὅρκους τε καὶ πίστεις ἐξῆλθον ἐκ τοῦ
383 ἱεροῦ. εἰσελθὼν δὲ Ἀντίοχος εἰς αὐτὸ καὶ θεασάμενος ὀχυρὸν οὕτως τὸ χωρίον παρέβη τοὺς ὅρκους,
καὶ κελεύει τὴν δύναμιν περιστᾶσαν[3] καθελεῖν τὸ
τεῖχος εἰς ἔδαφος. καὶ ταῦτα ποιήσας ἀνέστρεψεν
εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν, ἐπαγόμενος Ὀνίαν τὸν ἀρχιερέα, ὃς
384 καὶ Μενέλαος ἐκαλεῖτο. Λυσίας γὰρ συνεβούλευσε
τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸν Μενέλαον ἀνελεῖν, εἰ βούλεται τοὺς
Ἰουδαίους ἠρεμεῖν καὶ μηδὲν ἐνοχλεῖν αὐτῷ· τοῦτον γὰρ ἄρξαι τῶν κακῶν, πείσαντ' αὐτοῦ τὸν

[1] *παραγενομένους* P: *παραγενομένους λόγους* F.
[2] *καὶ* om. PFLV.
[3] *παραστᾶσαν* PFLA²V.

[a] 1 Macc. "the king and the officers," *cf.* § 380 note *c*.
[b] Variant "to accompany him." The above reading is closer to 1 Macc., *καθεῖλεν τὸ τεῖχος κυκλόθεν*.
[c] The following section, §§ 383-388, is not taken from 1 Macc.
[d] Zeitlin, *Meg. Taanit*, pp. 80 f., connects with this event

already begun to fail, and that it was necessary to put in order many of the affairs of the kingdom, and that it seemed much better to make a treaty with the besieged and seek the friendship of their whole nation by permitting them to observe their fathers' laws, the loss of which had caused them to begin the present war; and that then they should return home. Lysias spoke in this manner, and both the army and their officers [a] were pleased with his advice.

(7) And so the king sent to Judas and those who were being besieged with him, and offered to make peace with them and allow them to live in accordance with their fathers' laws. Thereupon the Jews gladly accepted his proposals, and after receiving sworn assurances of his good faith, went out from the temple. But when Antiochus entered it and saw how strong the place was, he violated his oaths, and ordered his force to go round [b] and pull down the wall to the ground.[c] After doing this, he returned to Antioch,[d] taking with him the high priest Onias, who was also called Menelaus.[e] For Lysias had advised the king to slay Menelaus, if he wished the Jews to remain quiet and not give him any trouble; it was this man, he said, who had been the cause of the mischief

Antiochus Eupator pulls down the temple wall. 1 Macc. vi. 60.

the statement in *Megillath Ta'anith* under the 28th of Shebat (roughly February) that "Antiochus departed (or "was made to depart") from Jerusalem," while Derenbourg, p. 59, and Lichtenstein, *Fastenrolle* p. 279, connect with this period the statement in *Megillath Ta'anith* under the 28th of Adar (roughly March) that "the good news came to the Jews that they need not depart from the Law" (*cf.* 2 Macc. xi. 24 ff.), which statement the ancient scholion refers to the time of Hadrian. In view of the vagueness of these statements, it is safer not to connect them with known historical events.

[e] He was, according to § 238, the youngest son of Simon II and the brother of Onias III and Jesus-Jason.

πατέρα[1] τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀναγκάσαι τὴν πάτριον
385 θρησκείαν καταλιπεῖν. πέμψας οὖν τὸν Μενέλαον
ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς Βέροιαν τῆς Συρίας διέφθειρεν,
ἀρχιερατεύσαντα μὲν ἔτη δέκα, πονηρὸν δὲ γενό-
μενον καὶ ἀσεβῆ, καὶ ἵνα αὐτὸς ἄρχῃ, τὸ ἔθνος
ἀναγκάσαντα τοὺς ἰδίους παραβῆναι νόμους. ἀρχ-
ιερεὺς δὲ ἐγένετο μετὰ τὸν Μενελάου θάνατον
386 Ἄλκιμος ὁ καὶ Ἰάκειμος[2] κληθείς.[3] ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς
Ἀντίοχος εὑρὼν[4] ἤδη τὸν Φίλιππον κρατοῦντα
τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπολέμει πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ λαβὼν
387 αὐτὸν ὑποχείριον ἀπέκτεινεν. ὁ δὲ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως
υἱὸς Ὀνίας, ὃν προείπομεν ἔτι παῖδα τελευτήσαντος
ἀφεῖσθαι[5] τοῦ πατρός, ἰδὼν ὅτι τὸν θεῖον αὐτοῦ
Μενέλαον ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνελὼν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην
Ἀλκίμῳ δέδωκεν οὐκ ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀρχιερέων ὄντι
γενεᾶς, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ Λυσίου πεισθεὶς μεταθεῖναι τὴν
τιμὴν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς οἰκίας εἰς ἕτερον οἶκον,
φεύγει πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Αἰγύπτου βασιλέα.
388 καὶ τιμῆς ἀξιωθεὶς ὑπό τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς

[1] + Ἀντίοχον AMW.
[2] Ἰάκιμος PFLW: Ἰωάκειμος A²ME: Ioachim Lat.
[3] ἐπικληθείς LAMW.
[4] ὁρῶν PFLA marg. V.
[5] Bekker: ἀφίεσθαι codd. E: relictus Lat.

[a] A similar account of Menelaus' execution is given in 2 Macc. xiii. 4.

[b] This would place the beginning of his office about 172 B.C.

[c] Gr. Alkimos. According to 1 Macc. vii. 5 ff. it was King Demetrius (*cf.* below) who appointed Alcimus high priest. 2 Macc. is inconsistent on this point; in xiv. 3 it states that Alcimus had been high priest before Demetrius became king, while in xiv. 13 it says that Demetrius ordered his general to "appoint" Alcimus high priest; possibly, however, the latter expression (καταστῆσαι) may here mean "to reinstate." In any case Alcimus probably succeeded Menelaus toward the end of 162 B.C.

by persuading the king's father to compel the Jews to abandon their fathers' religion. Accordingly, the king sent Menelaus to Beroea in Syria, and there had him put to death [a]; he had served as high priest for ten years,[b] and had been a wicked and impious man, who in order to have sole authority for himself had compelled his nation to violate their own laws. The high priest chosen after the death of Menelaus was Alcimus,[c] also called Jakeimos.[d] Now when King Antiochus found [e] that Philip had already seized control of the government, he made war on him, and after getting him into his power, killed him. Then Onias,[f] the son of the high priest,[g] who, as we said before,[h] had been left a mere child when his father died, seeing that the king had slain his uncle Menelaus and had given the high priesthood to Alcimus, although he was not of the family of high priests,[i] because he had been persuaded by Lysias to transfer the office from this house to another, fled to Ptolemy, the king of Egypt. And being treated with honour

Execution of the high priest Menelaus; accession of Alcimus.

Onias IV flees to Egypt and builds a temple there.

[d] Variants Joakimos, Joakeimos (Joachim).

[e] Variant "saw."

[f] *i.e.* Onias IV (if we disregard Onias-Menelaus in the numbering of Oniad high priests).

[g] Onias III. According to *B.J.* vii. 423 it was an Onias, son of Simon, who fled to Ptolemy—this would be Onias III and not Onias IV, as here and in *Ant.* xiii. 62 ff. The Onias who was slain at Daphne near Antioch by Andronicus, the minister of Antiochus Epiphanes, at the instigation of Menelaus, according to 2 Macc. iv. 32 ff., was Onias III, and not Onias IV: his martyrdom is probably alluded to in Dan. ix. 26, "the anointed one" (A.V. "Messiah"), meaning the anointed high priest.

[h] In § 237.

[i] According to 1 Macc. vii. 14 the *Asidaioi* (=Heb. *Ḥasidim*) or pious Jews spoke of Alcimus as "a priest of the seed of Aaron," without specifying whether he was of the family of the high-priestly family; *cf. Ant.* xx. 235.

αὐτοῦ Κλεοπάτρας λαμβάνει τόπον[1] ἐν τῷ νομῷ τῷ Ἡλιοπολίτῃ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὅμοιον τῷ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ᾠκοδόμησεν ἱερόν. περὶ τούτου[2] μὲν οὖν εὐκαιρότερον ἡμῖν ἔσται διελθεῖν.

389 (x. 1) Ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν φυγὼν Δημήτριος ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ὁ Σελεύκου υἱὸς καὶ καταλαβόμενος τῆς Συρίας Τρίπολιν,[3] περιτίθησι μὲν ἑαυτῷ διάδημα, συναγαγὼν δέ τινας περὶ αὐτὸν μισθοφόρους εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν εἰσῆλθε, πάντων αὐτὸν ἡδέως προσδεχομένων καὶ παραδιδόντων αὐτούς.
390 συλλαβόντες δὲ καὶ Ἀντίοχον τὸν βασιλέα καὶ Λυσίαν ζῶντας ἀνάγουσιν αὐτῷ. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν κελεύσαντος Δημητρίου παραχρῆμα διεφθάρησαν, βασιλεύσαντος Ἀντιόχου ἔτη δύο, καθὼς ἤδη που
391 καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις[4] δεδήλωται. συστραφέντες δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν πολλοὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων πονηροὶ καὶ φυγάδες καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν Ἄλκιμος ὁ ἀρχιερεύς, κατηγόρουν τοῦ ἔθνους παντὸς καὶ Ἰούδα καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν
392 αὐτοῦ, λέγοντες ὡς τοὺς φίλους αὐτοῦ πάντας ἀπεκτόνασι, καὶ ὅσοι τὰ ἐκείνου φρονοῦντες καὶ περιμένοντες αὐτὸν ὑπῆρχον ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τούτους ἀπολωλέκασιν, αὐτούς τε τῆς οἰκείας γῆς ἐκβα-

[1] τόπον Herwerden: τόπον ἀξιώσας codd.
[2] τούτων V Lat.
[3] τριοῖν PFV[1]: Tyrum Lat.
[4] ἄλλῳ PFLV.

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[a] In *Ant.* xiii. 62 ff.

[b] 1 Macc. vii. 1 dates this event in the 151st yr. Sel., which extended from Oct. 162 to Oct. 161 B.C. The account in Polybius (see next note) pretty definitely fixes it in the autumn of 162 B.C.

[c] Demetrius I Soter, the son of Seleucus IV Philopator and the nephew of Antiochus Epiphanes, had been a hostage in

by him and his wife Cleopatra, he received a place in the nome of Heliopolis, where he built a temple similar to that in Jerusalem. Of this, however, we shall give an account on a more fitting occasion.[a]

(x. 1) About the same time[b] Demetrius, the son of Seleucus,[c] escaped from Rome, and occupying Tripolis in Syria,[d] placed the diadem on his own head: then he gathered round him a number of mercenaries, and entered the kingdom, where all the people received him gladly and submitted to him. They also seized King Antiochus and Lysias, and brought them to him alive. And by order of Demetrius these two were immediately put to death,[e] Antiochus having reigned two years,[f] as has already been related elsewhere.[g] Then there came to him in a body many of the wicked and renegade Jews, among whom was the high priest Alcimus, and they accused their whole nation, especially Judas and his brothers, saying that they had killed all the king's friends, and had destroyed all those in the kingdom who were of his party and awaited his coming, and had driven the present speakers out of their country and made them aliens in

Demetrius escapes from Rome and becomes king of Syria. 1 Macc. vii. 1.

Alcimus appeals to Demetrius for help against Judas. 1 Macc. vii. 5.

Rome during the latter's reign. The story of his escape, when refused permission to return to Syria by the Roman Senate, is vividly narrated by his friend and counsellor, the historian Polybius, xxxi. 11 (19) ff.

[d] So 2 Macc. xiv. 1; 1 Macc. has only "a city on the sea-coast" (of Phoenicia).

[e] According to 1 Macc. Demetrius' order was given in a less explicit form, "Do not show me their faces," probably in order to evade direct responsibility for their execution.

[f] 163 to 162 B.C. inclusive.

[g] No such passage is found in Josephus; this may, however, be a reference to another historian, and not to Josephus' earlier writing; *cf.* the Appendix on the sources of Josephus for the Hellenistic-Roman period in the last volume of this translation.

λόντες ἀλλοτρίας ἐπήλυδας πεποιήκασιν· ἠξίουν τε πέμψαντα τῶν ἰδίων τινὰ φίλων γνῶναι δι' αὐτοῦ τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰούδαν τετολμημένα.

393 (2) Ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος παροξυνθεὶς ἐκπέμπει Βακχίδην φίλον Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Ἐπιφανοῦς βασιλέως, ἄνδρα χρηστὸν καὶ τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν ἅπασαν πεπιστευμένον, δοὺς αὐτῷ δύναμιν καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα παραθέμενος αὐτῷ Ἄλκιμον, ἐντειλάμενος ἀπο-
394 κτεῖναι Ἰούδαν καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ. ἐξορμήσας δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ὁ Βακχίδης μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, ἔπεμψε πρὸς τὸν Ἰούδαν καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ, περὶ φιλίας καὶ εἰρήνης διαλεγόμενος· δόλῳ γὰρ αὐτὸν
395 ἐβούλετο λαβεῖν. ὁ δ' οὐκ ἐπίστευσεν· ἑώρα γὰρ ὅτι μετὰ στρατιᾶς πάρεστι τοσαύτης μεθ' ὅσης ἐπὶ πόλεμόν τις, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπ' εἰρήνην ἔρχεται. τινὲς μέντοι γε τῶν ἐκ τοῦ δήμου προσέχοντες οἷς ὁ Βακχίδης ἐπεκηρυκεύσατο, καὶ νομίσαντες οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ Ἀλκίμου πείσεσθαι δεινὸν ὄντος ὁμο-
396 φύλου, πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀνεχώρησαν, καὶ λαβόντες ὅρκους παρ' ἀμφοτέρων μήτε αὐτοί τι παθεῖν μήτε τοὺς ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ὄντας προαιρέσεως, ἐπίστευσαν αὐτοὺς ἐκείνοις. ὁ δὲ Βακχίδης ὀλιγωρήσας τῶν ὅρκων ἑξήκοντα μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινεν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ὅσοι διενοοῦντο πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀναχωρεῖν ἀπέτρεψε,[1] τοῖς πρώτοις τὴν πίστιν μὴ φυλάξας.

[1] M: ἀπέστρεψε ed. pr.: ἐπέτρεψε FLAVWE: ἐπέστρεψε P: remorari fecit Lat.

[a] 1 Macc. calls him "one of the Friends (*cf.* § 134 note *a*) of the king," without specifying which king, but presumably meaning Demetrius.

[b] 1 Macc. "a great man in the kingdom and one faithful to the king."

a strange land: and now they requested him to send one of his own friends and learn from him what bold crimes had been committed by Judas and his men.

(2) And so Demetrius, being roused to anger, sent out Bacchides, a friend of King Antiochus Epiphanes,[a] and a worthy man,[b] who had been entrusted with the government of all Mesopotamia,[c] and giving him a force of soldiers, and putting Alcimus under his protection, instructed him to kill Judas and the men with him. Thereupon Bacchides set out with his force from Antioch, and when he came to Judaea, sent to Judas and his brothers to discuss friendship and peace, for he planned to take him by deceit. But Judas did not trust him, for he saw that he had come with such an army as one has when going to war, but not when making peace. Some of the citizens,[d] however, giving ear to the peace proposals made by Bacchides, and believing that they would suffer no harm at the hands of Alcimus, who was their countryman,[e] went over to them, and after receiving oaths from both men that neither they themselves nor those who were of their mind should suffer in any way, put themselves in their hands. But Bacchides made light of his oaths, and killed sixty of them: and so, by not keeping faith with the first, deterred the others who were thinking of going over to him from doing so. And

Demetrius sends Bacchides against Judas.
1 Macc. vii. 8.

[c] Josephus misunderstands the phrase in 1 Macc., κυριεύοντα ἐν τῷ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, which means that he was governor of the country *west* of the Euphrates, whether North Syria (so Meyer, *Ursprung* ii. 242 note 4) or Coele-Syria (so Wellhausen cited by Meyer, *cf. Ant.* xi. 25 note *a*), and not Mesopotamia.

[d] These were the scribes and *Asidaioi* (= Heb. *Hasidim*) or pious and peace-loving Jews, who did not, it seems, fully sympathize with the Hasmonaeans, but *cf.* § 401 note *a*.

[e] 1 Macc. "a priest of the seed of Aaron," *cf.* § 387 note *i*.

397 ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἀπελθὼν κατὰ κώμην Βηρζηθὼ[1] λεγομένην ἐγένετο, πέμψας συλλαμβάνει πολλοὺς τῶν αὐτομολούντων καί τινας τοῦ λαοῦ, καὶ πάντας ἀποκτείνας προσέταξε τοῖς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ πᾶσιν ὑπακούειν Ἀλκίμῳ· καὶ μετὰ στρατιᾶς τινος, ἵν' ἔχῃ τηρεῖν τὴν χώραν αὐτῷ,[2] καταλιπὼν αὐτόν, εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Δημήτριον ὑπέστρεψεν.

398 (3) Ἄλκιμος[3] δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ βουλόμενος βεβαιώσασθαι, καὶ συνεὶς ὅτι κατασκευάσας εὔνουν τὸ πλῆθος ἀσφαλέστερον ἄρξει, χρηστοῖς ἅπαντας ὑπήγετο λόγοις, καὶ[4] πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἑκάστῳ καὶ χάριν ὁμιλῶν, ταχὺ δὴ μάλα χεῖρα πολλὴν καὶ
399 δύναμιν περιεβάλετο· τούτων δ' ἦσαν οἱ πλείους ἐκ τῶν ἀσεβῶν καὶ πεφυγαδευμένων, οἷς ὑπηρέταις καὶ στρατιώταις χρώμενος ἐπήρχετο τὴν χώραν, καὶ ὅσους ἐν αὐτῇ τὰ Ἰούδα φρονοῦντας εὕρισκεν
400 ἐφόνευσεν. ὁρῶν δὲ τὸν Ἄλκιμον ἤδη[5] μέγαν ὁ Ἰούδας γενόμενον[6] καὶ πολλοὺς διεφθαρκότα τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ ὁσίων τοῦ ἔθνους, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπιπορευόμενος τὴν χώραν, διέφθειρεν τοὺς ταὐτὰ ἐκείνῳ φρονοῦντας. βλέπων δ' αὐτὸν Ἄλκιμος ἀντέχειν

[1] Βηθζηθὼ FV: Birzitho Lat.
[2] Naber: αὐτοῦ codd.
[3] Ἰάκιμος P: Ἰωάκειμος E: Ioachim Lat.
[4] καὶ secl. Naber.
[5] ἤδη om. PL Lat.
[6] γινόμενον AWM corr.

[a] Variant Bethzetho; most mss. of 1 Macc. have Βηζέθ, but Luc. Βαιθζαρά. This Bezeth or Bethzetho is probably not the well-known Bezetha, the northern quarter of Jerusalem, since the text of 1 Macc. implies that Bacchides marched some distance from the city, but, as Père Abel suggests, mod. *Beit Zeita*, *c.* 3 miles N. of Bethsur. 1 Macc. speaks of Bacchides' victims being slaughtered near a great cistern, the

when, after marching out of Jerusalem, he came to a village called Berzetho,[a] he sent his men to seize many of the deserters [b] and some of the people, and after killing all these, commanded all who lived in the country to obey Alcimus; and leaving him with enough of an army to enable him to keep the country under his control, he returned to Antioch [c] to King Demetrius.

(3) But Alcimus, wishing to strengthen his authority, and perceiving that by making the people feel friendly toward him he would govern with greater security, led them on with kind words, and speaking to everyone in a pleasant and gracious manner, very soon indeed acquired a large body of men and a force behind him,[d] who were for the most part from the irreligious and renegades, and these he used as his attendants and soldiers in going through the country; and all those whom he found in it siding with Judas he slew. When Judas, therefore, saw that Alcimus had now become powerful and had put to death many of the good and pious men of the nation, he also went through the country, and put to death those who sided with the enemy. And when Alcimus saw that he was

Alcimus attempts to conciliate the Jews. 1 Macc. vii. 21.

ruins of which Père Abel thinks may still be seen at *Kûfîn* close by *Beit Zeita*. Meyer, on the other hand, *Ursprung* ii. 244 note 1, adheres to the older view that Bezetha (or Bethesda) is meant, and connects the cistern in 1 Macc. with the "pool of Bethesda" mentioned in John v. 2.

[b] 1 Macc. vii. 19 "those of the deserters who were with him," which may mean either the Jews who had deserted to the Syrians (*cf.* vs. 24 = § 400) and whom he was now punishing for their earlier disobedience, or the Jews who had first sided with the Syrians, but later went over to Judas.

[c] 1 Macc. omits "to Antioch."

[d] This explanation of the way in which Alcimus acquired a following is an addition to 1 Macc.

τῷ Ἰούδᾳ μὴ δυνάμενον, ἀλλ᾽ ἡττώμενον[1] αὐτοῦ τῆς ἰσχύος, ἐπὶ τὴν παρὰ Δημητρίου τοῦ βασιλέως
401 συμμαχίαν ἔγνω τραπέσθαι. παραγενόμενος οὖν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν παρώξυνεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰούδαν, κατηγορῶν ὡς πολλὰ μὲν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πεπόνθοι κακά, πλείω δὲ γένοιτ᾽ ἄν, εἰ μὴ προκαταληφθείη καὶ δοίη[2] δίκην, δυνάμεως ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἰσχυρᾶς ἀποσταλείσης.

402 (4) Ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος τοῦτ᾽ ἤδη καὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις αὐτοῦ πράγμασιν ἐπισφαλὲς ἡγησάμενος εἶναι τὸ περιιδεῖν Ἰούδαν ἐν ἰσχύι τοσαύτῃ γενόμενον, ἐκπέμπει Νικάνορα τὸν εὐνούστατον αὐτῷ καὶ πιστότατον τῶν φίλων (οὗτος γάρ ἐστιν ὁ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως αὐτῷ συμφυγών), καὶ δοὺς δύναμιν ὅσην ὑπέλαβεν ἀρκέσειν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Ἰούδαν, ἐκέλευσεν μηδεμίαν φειδὼ ποιεῖσθαι τοῦ
403 ἔθνους. ὁ δὲ Νικάνωρ παραγενόμενος εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πολεμεῖν μὲν εὐθὺς οὐ διέγνω τῷ Ἰούδᾳ, δόλῳ δ᾽ ὑποχείριον λαβεῖν κρίνας προσπέμπει λόγους εἰρηνικοὺς αὐτῷ, μηδεμίαν μὲν ἀνάγκην εἶναι φάσκων πολεμεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν, ὅρκους δ᾽ αὐτῷ διδόναι περὶ τοῦ μηδὲν πείσεσθαι δεινόν· ἥκειν γὰρ μετὰ φίλων ἐπὶ τῷ ποιῆσαι φανερὰν αὐτοῖς τὴν

[1] ἀλλ᾽ ἡττώμενον] ἀλλὰ κατὰ πολὺ λειπόμενον AMW.
[2] Dindorf: δῷ codd.

[a] 1 Macc. says merely that Alcimus accused Judas of evil deeds. It is noteworthy that 2 Macc. xiv. 6 ff. makes Alcimus

not able to withstand Judas, but was inferior to him in strength, he decided to turn for help to his ally King Demetrius. Accordingly, he went to Antioch and roused the king's anger against Judas, at whose hands he said in his accusation, he had suffered many injuries, which would become still greater unless Judas were first caught and brought to punishment by having a strong force sent against him.[a]

(4) Thereupon Demetrius, beginning to believe that it would be hazardous to his own interests also to do nothing about Judas' growing strength, sent out Nicanor, the most devoted and faithful of his Friends[b] —for it was he who had escaped with him from the city of Rome,[c]—and giving him as large a force as he thought would be sufficient for him to use against Judas, ordered him to deal unsparingly with the nation. But when Nicanor came to Jerusalem, he decided not to fight Judas immediately, but chose to get him into his power by deceit, and so he sent him offers of peace, saying that there was no necessity for their making war and facing danger, but he would give Judas his oath that he should suffer no harm; for, he said, he had come with some friends to make clear to them what the intentions of King Demetrius

Demetrius sends Nicanor against Judas. 1 Macc vii. 26.

denounce Judas as leader of the *Asidaioi*, really the peace-loving Jews, *cf.* § 396 note *d*.

[b] 1 Macc. "one of his honoured officers (ἀρχόντων)," 2 Macc. xiv. 12 "the elephantarch."

[c] Neither 1 Macc. nor 2 Macc. mentions Nicanor's having been in Rome with Demetrius, which information Josephus must have got from Polybius, *cf.* Polyb. xxxi. 14 (22). 4. It is doubtful whether he is the same Nicanor whom Lysias sent against Judas in 165 B.C., *cf.* § 298 note *b*. Bevan, *H. Sel.* ii. 200 note 5, writes, "One suspects that Josephus had nothing to go upon, except that he knew from Polybius that *a* Nicanor had been on that occasion with Demetrius."

Δημητρίου τοῦ βασιλέως διάνοιαν, ὡς περὶ τοῦ
404 γένους αὐτῶν φρονεῖ. ταῦτα διαπρεσβευσαμένου τοῦ Νικάνορος ὁ Ἰούδας καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ πεισθέντες καὶ μηδεμίαν ἀπάτην ὑποπτεύσαντες διδόασι πίστεις αὐτῷ καὶ δέχονται τὸν Νικάνορα μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως. ὁ δὲ ἀσπασάμενος τὸν Ἰούδαν, μεταξὺ[1] προσομιλῶν δίδωσι τοῖς οἰκείοις τι σημεῖον
405 ὅπως συλλάβωσι τὸν Ἰούδαν. ὁ δὲ συνεὶς τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, ἐκπηδήσας πρὸς τοὺς ἰδίους[2] συνέφυγεν. φανερᾶς δὲ τῆς προαιρέσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐνέδρας γενομένης ὁ Νικάνωρ[3] πολεμεῖν ἔκρινεν τῷ Ἰούδᾳ· ὁ δὲ[4] συγκροτήσας καὶ παρασκευασάμενος τὰ πρὸς τὴν μάχην συμβάλλει κατά τινα κώμην Καφαρσαλαμά, καὶ νικήσας ἀναγκάζει αὐτὸν[5] ἐπὶ[6] τὴν ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἄκραν φεύγειν.
406 (5) Ἔτι[7] δ' αὐτῷ κατιόντι ἀπὸ[8] τῆς ἄκρας εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἀπαντήσαντες[9] τῶν ἱερέων τινὲς καὶ πρεσβυτέρων ἠσπάζοντο, καὶ τὰς θυσίας ἐπεδείκνυον ἃς ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλέως ἔλεγον προσφέρειν[10] τῷ θεῷ. ὁ

[1] V Lat. vid.: καὶ μεταξὺ rell.
[2] Ἰουδαίους PFLVEA marg.
[3] γενομένης (ὁ) Νικάνωρ E: ὁ Νικάνωρ γενομένης codd.
[4] ὁ δὲ Dindorf: ὃς Hudson: καὶ codd.
[5] Dindorf: τὸν Ἰούδαν codd.
[6] εἰς AMWE.
[7] ἐπεὶ PFLV.
[8] ἐκ FLVE.
[9] ὑπαντήσαντες LAM.
[10] MV: ἐπιφέρειν rell.

[a] 1 Macc. does not say that Nicanor spoke of Demetrius' attitude toward the Jews. Is there, perhaps, some connexion between this statement in Josephus and that of 2 Macc. xiv. 5, that Demetrius inquired of Alcimus how the Jews were disposed toward him?

[b] Variant "the Jews." In the preceding sentences, Josephus amplifies somewhat.

were, and how he felt toward their race.[a] This offer, which was made by the envoys of Nicanor, was believed by Judas and his brothers, and not suspecting any treachery, they gave pledges to him, and received Nicanor with his force. But he, after greeting Judas, and while conversing with him, gave his men a certain signal by which they were to seize Judas. He, however, saw through the plot, and dashing out, escaped to his own men.[b] Accordingly, since his purpose and the trap had become known, Nicanor decided to make war on Judas; but the other, having organized his men and prepared for battle, engaged him at a certain village called Kapharsalama,[c] and defeated him and forced him to flee to the *Akra* in Jerusalem.[d]

Failure of Nicanor's plot. *Cf.* 1 Macc. vii. 29.

(5) And again,[e] as Nicanor was coming down from the *Akra* to the temple, he was met by some of the priests and elders, who greeted him and showed him the sacrifices which they said they were offering to God on behalf of the king. Thereupon he fell to

Nicanor threatens the Jews of Jerusalem. 1 Macc. vii. 33.

[c] 1 Macc. Chapharsalama. Formerly identified with mod. *Kefar Sallâm* on the road from *Ramleh* to Caesarea, it is now located by Père Abel near *Khirbet Deir Sellam*, *c*. 5 miles N.E. of Jerusalem.

[d] The text of this paragraph has been emended in two places by Dindorf; according to the ms. reading it was Nicanor who defeated Judas and forced him to flee to the *Akra*. It seems necessary to accept Dindorf's emendations for two reasons, first because 1 Macc. says plainly that Nicanor, having lost 500 men, fled to Jerusalem ("the city of David"), and second because the *Akra* was in the hands of the Syrians, and it must therefore have been Nicanor, and not Judas, who fled there. Schürer, however, i. 217 note 26, insists that Nicanor could not have suffered a "real defeat" since, according to 1 Macc., he lost only 500 men (a *v.l.* gives 5000).

[e] ἔτι is preferable to the variant ἐπεὶ "when"; it introduces another instance of Nicanor's treachery.

δὲ βλασφημήσας αὐτοὺς ἠπείλησεν, εἰ μὴ παραδοίη[1] τὸν Ἰούδαν ὁ λαὸς αὐτῷ, καθαιρήσειν, ὅταν ἐπ-
407 ανέλθῃ, τὸν ναόν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἀπειλήσας ἐξ-ῆλθεν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων, οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς εἰς δάκρυα διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις λύπην προέπεσον, καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἱκέτευον ῥύσασθαι ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων αὐ-
408 τούς. ὁ δὲ Νικάνωρ, ὡς ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐξελθὼν ἐγένετο κατά τινα κώμην Βηθωροῦν[2] λεγομένην, αὐτόθι στρατοπεδεύεται, προσγενομένης αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλης ἀπὸ Συρίας δυνάμεως. Ἰούδας δὲ ἐν Ἀδασοῖς, ἑτέρᾳ κώμῃ σταδίους ἀπεχούσῃ τριάκοντα τῆς Βηθωροῦ, στρατοπεδεύεται, δισ-
409 χιλίους[3] ἔχων τοὺς ἅπαντας.[4] τούτους παρορμήσας μὴ καταπλαγῆναι τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων πλῆθος, μηδὲ λογίζεσθαι πρὸς πόσους ἀγωνίζεσθαι μέλλουσιν, ἀλλὰ τίνες ὄντες καὶ περὶ οἵων ἐπάθλων κινδυνεύουσιν ἐνθυμουμένους, εὐψύχως ὁμόσε χωρῆσαι τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην ἐξάγει. καὶ συμβαλὼν τῷ Νικάνορι καὶ καρτερᾶς τῆς μάχης γενομένης κρατεῖ τῶν ἐναντίων, καὶ πολλούς τε αὐτῶν ἀπ-έκτεινε, καὶ τελευταῖον αὐτὸς ὁ Νικάνωρ λαμπρῶς
410 ἀγωνιζόμενος ἔπεσεν. οὗ πεσόντος οὐδὲ τὸ στράτευμα ἔμεινεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀπολέσαντες εἰς φυγὴν ἐτράπησαν ῥίψαντες τὰς πανοπλίας. ἐπι-

[1] Dindorf: παραδώῃ aut παραδῷ codd. E.
[2] Βηθωρου P: Βαιθωρὼν FL: Βεθωρὸν V: Bethoro Lat.
[3] εἰς χιλίους AMW: χιλίους E Lat.
[4] ἔχων τοὺς ἅπαντας LAMWE: ἅπαντας ἔχων FV: στρατιώτας ἔχων P: socios habens Lat.

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[a] 1 Macc. "burn."
[b] Variant Baithoron, *cf.* § 289 note *d*.
[c] Père Abel accepts the identification of Adasa with mod. *Khirbet 'Adaseh* earlier proposed by Guérin, although this

cursing them, and threatened that, if the people did not give Judas up to him, he would pull down[a] the temple when he returned. After making these threats, he left Jerusalem, while the priests burst into tears in their distress over his words, and supplicated God to deliver them from their enemies. Now after Nicanor had left Jerusalem, he came to a certain village called Bethoron,[b] and there encamped, being joined by another force from Syria. And Judas encamped at Adasa,[c] another village thirty stades[c] distant from Bethoron, with two thousand men in all.[d] These he exhorted not to be overawed by the numbers of their adversaries nor to reflect how many they were about to contend against, but to bear in mind who they were and for what prize they were facing danger, and bravely encounter the enemy; and then he led them out to battle. And engaging Nicanor, he defeated his adversaries after a severe fight, and killed many of them; and finally[e] Nicanor himself fell, fighting gloriously. When he fell, his army did not stay, but having lost their commander, threw away all their armour, and turned to flight. But Judas

Judas' victory over Nicanor at Adasa. 1 Macc. vii. 43.

site is really 60 stades (*c.* 7 miles) from *Beit-'Ûr el-Fôqâ* (Bethoron), and not merely 30 stades as Josephus states (no distance is given in 1 Macc.). Other scholars, including Schürer, identify Adasa with mod. *'Adaseh* N.E. of Bethoron in the vicinity of *Jifnâ* (Gophna), on the basis of *B.J.* i. 45 ff. where the account of Judas' retreat to Gophna after the battle of Bethzacharias (*cf.* §§ 369 ff.) is followed by that of his death (!) at Acedasa (= Adasa?), but the passage in *B.J.* is entirely unreliable. We must, it seems, suppose, with Père Abel, that Josephus errs here in giving the distance between Adasa and Bethoron as 30 stades.

[d] Variant 1000; 1 Macc. 3000.

[e] 1 Macc. says that Nicanor was the *first* to fall. Josephus also adds the phrase "fighting gloriously."

διώκων δὲ ὁ Ἰούδας ἐφόνευσε, καὶ ταῖς σάλπιγξι ταῖς πέριξ κώμαις ἐσήμαινεν ὅτι νικῴη τοὺς πολε-
411 μίους. οἱ δ' ἐν αὐταῖς ἀκούοντες ἐξεπήδων ὡπλισμένοι καὶ τοῖς φεύγουσιν ὑπαντῶντες ἔκτεινον αὐτούς, γενόμενοι κατὰ πρόσωπον, ὥστε ἐκ τῆς μάχης ταύτης οὐδεὶς διέφυγεν, ὄντων αὐτῶν ἐν-
412 νακισχιλίων. τὴν δὲ νίκην συνέβη γενέσθαι ταύτην τῇ τρισκαιδεκάτῃ τοῦ μηνὸς τοῦ λεγομένου παρὰ μὲν Ἰουδαίοις Ἄδαρ κατὰ δὲ Μακεδόνας Δύστρου. ἄγουσιν δ' ἐν τούτῳ τὰ νικητήρια κατὰ πᾶν ἔτος, καὶ ἑορτὴν νομίζουσι τὴν ἡμέραν. ἐξ ἐκείνου μέντοι τοῦ χρόνου πρὸς ὀλίγον τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος τῶν πολέμων ἀναπαυσάμενον καὶ εἰρήνης ἀπολαῦον, ἔπειτα εἰς ἀγῶνας πάλιν καὶ κινδύνους κατέστη.

413 (6) Τῷ δ' ἀρχιερεῖ τῷ Ἀλκίμῳ βουληθέντι καθελεῖν τὸ τεῖχος τοῦ ἁγίου παλαιὸν ὂν καὶ κατεσκευασμένον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων[1] προφητῶν, πληγή τις αἰφνίδιος ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ προσέπεσεν, ὑφ' ἧς ἄφωνός τε ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν κατηνέχθη καὶ βασανισθεὶς ἐπὶ συχνὰς ἡμέρας ἀπέθανεν, ἀρχιερατεύσας ἔτη
414 τέσσαρα. τελευτήσαντος δὲ τούτου τὴν ἀρχ-

[1] ἁγίων MVE.

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[a] As far as Gazera (bibl. Gezer) according to 1 Macc., which adds that this was "one day's journey from Adasa." Gezer is, in fact, *c.* 20 miles W. of *Khirbet 'Adaseh.*

[b] Their number is not given in 1 Macc.

[c] Roughly March; it preceded by one day the festival of Purim, as noted in 2 Macc. xv. 36 (which calls the latter "Mordecai's Day").

pursued[a] and slew them, and caused the trumpets to signal to the surrounding villages that he was defeating the enemy. When their inhabitants heard this, they leaped to arms, and heading off the fugitives, met them face to face, and killed them, so that from this battle not a single man escaped out of the nine thousand who were in it.[b] Now the victory took place on the thirteenth of the month which is called Adar by the Jews, and Dystros by the Macedonians.[c] And the Jews celebrate their victory every year in this month, and observe this day as a festival.[d] But though the Jewish nation for a little while after that date had respite from war and enjoyed peace, thereafter it was again to undergo a period of struggle and danger.

(6)[e] As the high priest Alcimus was planning to pull down the wall of the Holy Place,[f] which was very old[g] and had been erected by the ancient[h] prophets, a sudden stroke from God[i] seized him, by which he was brought speechless to the ground, and after suffering torment for many days, he died, having been high priest for four years.[j] And when he died,

The painful death of Alcimus. 1 Macc. ix. 54.

1 Macc. viii. 1.

[d] *Cf. Megillath Ta'anith* under this date, "On the 13th (of Adar) is the day of Nicanor," *cf.* also *Ant.* xi. 292 note *c*. The year of the victory over Nicanor is not given in 1 Macc., but on the basis of 1 Macc. ix. 3 we may date the battle in March 161 B.C.

[e] The following section on Alcimus is placed in 1 Macc. (ix. 54 ff.) after the death of Judas, in the 153rd yr. Sel. = 160/59 B.C.

[f] 1 Macc. "the wall of the inner court of the sanctuary."

[g] Detail not found in 1 Macc.

[h] Variant "holy."

[i] 1 Macc. omits "from God."

[j] From 162 B.C. (*cf.* § 385 note *c*) to 159 B.C. inclusive (*cf.* above, note *e*), counting part of a year as a full year.

ἱερωσύνην ὁ λαὸς τῷ Ἰούδᾳ δίδωσιν, ὃς ἀκούσας περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων δυνάμεως καὶ ὅτι καταπεπολεμήκασι[1] τήν τε Γαλατίαν καὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν καὶ Καρχηδόνα τῆς Λιβύης, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις τὴν Ἑλλάδα κεχείρωνται καὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς Περσέα καὶ Φίλιππον καὶ τὸν μέγαν Ἀντίοχον, ἔγνω φιλίαν
415 ποιήσασθαι πρὸς αὐτούς. πέμψας οὖν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην τῶν αὐτοῦ φίλων Εὐπόλεμον τὸν Ἰωάννου υἱὸν καὶ Ἰάσονα τὸν Ἐλεαζάρου, παρεκάλει δι' αὐτῶν συμμάχους εἶναι καὶ φίλους, καὶ Δημητρίῳ
416 γράψαι ὅπως μὴ πολεμῇ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις. ἐλθόντας δὲ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην τοὺς παρὰ τοῦ Ἰούδα πρεσβευτὰς ἡ σύγκλητος δέχεται, καὶ διαλεχθεῖσι[2] περὶ ὧν ἐπέμφθησαν τὴν συμμαχίαν ἐπινεύει. ποιήσασα δὲ περὶ τούτου δόγμα τὸ μὲν ἀντίγραφον εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀπέστειλεν, αὐτὸ δ' εἰς τὸ Καπετώλιον
417 εἰς χαλκᾶς ἐγγράψαντες δέλτους ἀνέθεσαν. ἦν δὲ

[1] καταπεπονήκασι PV. [2] διαλεχθεῖσα PFLV.

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[a] This statement, repeated in §§ 419 and 434, has no basis in 1 Macc.; it is, moreover, contradicted by Josephus himself, who says, *Ant.* xx. 237, that after the death of Alcimus there was no high priest in Jerusalem for seven years (*i.e.* until Jonathan became high priest). According to early rabbinic tradition, *cf.* Derenbourg, p. 58, Mattathias and his sons were all high priests. If not actually high priest, Judas was, at any rate, the head of the Jewish people, as Schürer points out, i. 219.

[b] *Cf.* § 413 note *e*.

[c] Either the territory of the Gauls in Asia Minor, which the Romans raided in 189 B.C. or Cisalpine Gaul, which the Romans conquered in 190 B.C.

[d] 1 Macc. Σπανίας "Spain," which the Romans conquered in part in 201 B.C. 1 Macc. refers to the precious metals of this country.

[e] A reference to the victory of the Romans at Zama in

the people gave the high priesthood to Judas[a]; thereupon,[b] having heard of the power of the Romans and that they had subdued Galatia[c] and Iberia[d] and Carthage in Libya,[e] and in addition had conquered Greece[f] and the kings Perseus,[g] Philip[h] and Antiochus the Great,[i] he decided to make a treaty of friendship with them.[j] Accordingly, he sent to Rome his friends Eupolemus, the son of Joannes, and Jason, the son of Eleazar, and through them requested the Romans to become his allies and friends, and to write to Demetrius that he should not make war on the Jews. When the envoys sent by Judas came to Rome, the Senate received them, and after they[k] had spoken about their mission, agreed to the alliance. It also made a decree concerning this, and sent a copy to Judaea, while the original was engraved on bronze tablets and deposited in the Capitol.[l] It read as

202 B.C. 1 Macc. does not mention the Carthaginians by name, but probably refers to them (viii. 4) as " the kings . . . from the end of the earth."

[f] 1 Macc. " the Kitians," here meaning the Macedonians.

[g] The last Macedonian king, who was defeated by L. Aemilius Paulus at Pydna in 168 B.C.

[h] The father of Perseus, defeated by T. Quinctius Flamininus at Cynoscephalae in 197 B.C. (1 Macc. mentions Philip before Perseus).

[i] Antiochus III, having been defeated in several battles by the Romans, the last at Magnesia in 189 B.C., was forced to pay a large indemnity and annual tribute to Rome. Josephus omits further details about the Romans given in 1 Macc. viii. 6-16.

[j] On the problem of the first diplomatic relations between Judaea and Rome, and on the authenticity of the decree of the Roman senate quoted in §§ 417 ff. (= 1 Macc. viii. 23 ff.) see literature cited in Appendix J.

[k] Variant " it " (the senate).

[l] 1 Macc. says naïvely that the copy sent to Jerusalem was engraved on bronze tablets.

τοιοῦτον· " δόγμα συγκλήτου περὶ συμμαχίας καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος τῶν Ἰουδαίων. μηδένα τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων Ῥωμαίοις πολεμεῖν τῷ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνει, μηδὲ τοῖς πολεμοῦσι χορηγεῖν ἢ σῖτον
418 ἢ πλοῖα ἢ χρήματα. ἐὰν δὲ ἐπίωσί[1] τινες Ἰουδαίοις, βοηθεῖν Ῥωμαίους αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, καὶ πάλιν, ἂν τῇ[2] Ῥωμαίων ἐπίωσί[1] τινες, Ἰουδαίους αὐτοῖς συμμαχεῖν. ἂν δέ τι πρὸς ταύτην τὴν συμμαχίαν θελήσῃ τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος ἢ προσθεῖναι ἢ ἀφελεῖν, τοῦτο κοινῇ γινέσθω[3] γνώμῃ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ὃ δ' ἂν προστεθῇ τοῦτ' εἶναι
419 κύριον." ἐγράφη τὸ[4] δόγμα ὑπὸ Εὐπολέμου τοῦ Ἰωάννου παιδὸς καὶ ὑπὸ Ἰάσονος τοῦ Ἐλεαζάρου ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως μὲν τοῦ ἔθνους Ἰούδα, στρατηγοῦ δὲ Σίμωνος τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ. καὶ τὴν μὲν πρώτην Ῥωμαίοις πρὸς Ἰουδαίους φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν οὕτως συνέβη γενέσθαι.

420 (xi. 1) Δημήτριος δ' ἀπαγγελθείσης αὐτῷ τῆς Νικάνορος τελευτῆς καὶ τῆς ἀπωλείας τοῦ σὺν αὐτῷ στρατεύματος, πάλιν τὸν Βακχίδην μετὰ
421 δυνάμεως εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐξέπεμψεν. ὃς ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἐξορμήσας καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν

[1] ἐπιβῶσί LAMW. [2] τινι LAMW.
[3] γενέσθω F : γενέσθαι V : γίγνεσθαι AMW.
[4] δὲ τὸ P Lat.

[a] Josephus substitutes this technical phrase for the informal one of 1 Macc. καλῶς γένοιτο Ῥωμαίοις καὶ τῷ ἔθνει Ἰουδαίων "may it go well with the Romans and the Jewish nation." We must remember that the Greek text of the treaty in 1 Macc. is a translation from Hebrew, and this, in turn, a translation of the Greek original.

[b] 1 Macc. adds "arms."

follows. "A decree of the Senate concerning a treaty of alliance and goodwill [a] with the Jewish nation. No one of those who are subject to the Romans shall make war on the Jewish nation, or furnish to those who make war on them any grain, ships or money.[b] And if any attack the Jews, the Romans shall assist them so far as they are able, and on the other hand, if any attack the Romans, the Jews shall help them as allies.[c] And if the Jewish nation [d] wishes either to add anything to, or remove anything from, this treaty of alliance, this shall be done with the concurrence of the Roman people,[e] and whatever may be added shall be valid." [f] The decree was signed [g] by Eupolemus, the son of Joannes, and by Jason, the son of Eleazar, Judas being high priest of the nation, and his brother Simon commander.[h] This, then, is how the first treaty of friendship and alliance between the Romans and the Jews came about.

The Roman treaty with the Jews. 1 Macc. viii. 23.

(xi. 1) Now when Demetrius was informed of the death of Nicanor and of the destruction of the army with him, he again sent out Bacchides [i] with a force to Judaea. Setting out from Antioch, he came to

Demetrius sends Bacchides against Judas. 1 Macc. ix. 1

[c] In these two sentences also Josephus alters the phraseology of 1 Macc. to conform with Greek usage.

[d] 1 Macc. "if either side."

[e] 1 Macc. *ἐξ αἱρέσεως αὐτῶν* "by their choice" (*i.e.* of both Romans and Jews); to the phrase *κοινῇ . . . γνώμῃ τοῦ δήμου* in Josephus Täubler, *Imp. Rom.* p. 241, cites parallels from other treaties, *e.g.*, *κοινῇ βουλῇ δημοσίᾳ* (Cibyra).

[f] 1 Macc. adds that the Romans wrote to Demetrius warning him not to molest their Jewish allies.

[g] Lit. "written."

[h] This sentence is not found in 1 Macc. On the alleged high-priesthood of Judas, *cf.* § 414 note *a*.

[i] 1 Macc. adds "and Alcimus," which Josephus omits because he has already reported Alcimus' death, *cf.* § 413 note *e*.

Ἰουδαίαν, ἐν Ἀρβήλοις πόλει τῆς Γαλιλαίας στρατοπεδεύεται, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἐκεῖ σπηλαίοις ὄντας (πολλοὶ γὰρ εἰς αὐτὰ συμπεφεύγεσαν) ἐκπολιορκήσας καὶ λαβών, ἄρας ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα
422 σπουδὴν ἐποιεῖτο. μαθὼν δὲ τὸν Ἰούδαν ἔν τινι κώμῃ Βηρζηθὼ[1] τοὔνομα κατεστρατοπεδευμένον, ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἠπείγετο μετὰ πεζῶν μὲν δισμυρίων, ἱππέων δὲ δισχιλίων· τῷ Ἰούδᾳ δὲ ἦσαν οἱ πάντες χίλιοι.[2] οὗτοι τὸ Βακχίδου πλῆθος θεωρήσαντες ἔδεισαν,[3] καὶ τὴν παρεμβολὴν καταλιπόντες ἔφυγον
423 πάντες πλὴν ὀκτακοσίων. Ἰούδας δὲ καταλειφθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων στρατιωτῶν, καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπικειμένων καὶ μηδένα καιρὸν αὐτῷ πρὸς συλλογὴν τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπιτρεπόντων, οἷός τ' ἦν μετὰ τῶν ὀκτακοσίων συμβαλεῖν τοῖς τοῦ[4] Βακχίδου, καὶ προτρεπόμενός γε[5] τούτους εὐψύχως ὑφίστασθαι

[1] Βαρζηθὼ AMW: Βιρζηθὼ V: Ζηθῶ P: Βηρζηθοῖ E: Barziton Lat.: Βηθζηθὼ (cf. ad § 397) Naber.
[2] duo milia Lat.
[3] θεωρήσαντες ἔδεισαν] δείσαντες AMWE.
[4] μετὰ τοῦ FLAMVW. [5] τε P.

[a] 1 Macc. "And they took the road to Galgala (*v.l.* "Galaad") and encamped against Maisaloth in Arbela." Josephus thus omits Maisaloth, and apparently equates Galilee with Judaea, probably using "Judaea" in the broader sense of "Jewish territory," as in *B.J.* i. 309. Père Abel follows Josephus in reading Galilee for Galgala or Galaad, and with Robinson explains Maisaloth, not as a proper name, but as the transliteration of Heb. *m^esillôth*, here meaning "ascent" (in the LXX of 2 Chron. ix. 11 ἀναβάσεις renders *m^esillôth*). This Arbela in Galilee would then be the same as that mentioned in *Vita* 188, 311 *et al.* as a region of caves, as Josephus describes it here, and is therefore to be identified with mod. *Irbîd*, a few miles W. of the Sea of Galilee, a little S.W. of Magdala and N.W. of Tiberias.

Judaea and encamped at Arbela, a city in Galilee[a]; and after besieging those who were in the caves there[b]—for many had taken refuge in these,—he captured them, and departing from there, hastened toward Jerusalem.[c] But when he learned that Judas had encamped at a certain village by the name of Berzetho,[d] he pushed on to meet him with twenty thousand foot-soldiers and two thousand horsemen; while Judas' whole force amounted to only a thousand.[e] When these saw the great numbers of Bacchides' men, they became afraid,[f] and abandoning their lines, all but eight hundred fled. But Judas, although abandoned by his own soldiers, and with the enemy pressing him and allowing him no time to rally his force, was ready to engage Bacchides' men with his eight hundred; and so he exhorted these few[g] to

Judas encourages his small force. 1 Macc. ix. 7.

[b] The caves (see preceding note) are not mentioned in 1 Macc.

[c] 1 Macc. dates this in the first month of the 152nd yr. Sel. = April 161 B.C.

[d] Variants Barzetho, Birzetho, Zetho, etc.; 1 Macc. Berea, *v.ll.* Beerzath, Berethiim. This site was earlier identified (*cf.* Schürer i. 222 note 36) with *Bir ez-Zeit c.* 2 miles N.W. of Gophna (mod. *Jifnâ*) and *c.* 15 miles N. of Jerusalem. Père Abel, however, positing the reading Bereth in 1 Macc., conjectures that the Heb. original had *Birath*, which he identifies with mod. *el-Bîreh c.* 10 miles N. of Jerusalem, commanding the road between Jerusalem and Samaria. He holds that this conjecture is supported by the fact that Elasa, mentioned in 1 Macc. as the site of Judas' camp over against Berea, can plausibly be identified with mod. *el-'Aššy* less than a mile S.W. of *el-Bîreh*.

[e] Variant 2000; 1 Macc. "3000 picked men." Judas must have had much more than a 1000 men, if, after most of them had fled (*cf.* below), there were still 800 left.

[f] Variant "these feared the great number of Bacchides' men."

[g] Reading γε.

424 τὸν κίνδυνον, παρεκάλει χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην. τῶν
δὲ λεγόντων ὡς οὐκ εἰσὶ πρὸς τοσοῦτον μέγεθος
στρατιᾶς ἀξιόμαχοι, συμβουλευόντων δὲ νῦν μὲν
ἀναχωρεῖν καὶ[1] σώζειν αὐτούς,[2] αὖθις δὲ συναγα-
γόντα[3] τοὺς ἰδίους τοῖς ἐχθροῖς συμβαλεῖν, "μὴ
τοῦτ'," εἶπεν, "ἥλιος ἐπίδοι γενόμενον, ἵν' ἐγὼ τὰ
425 νῶτά μου δείξω τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ τελευ-
τὴν ὁ παρών μοι καιρὸς φέρει καὶ δεῖ πάντως
ἀπολέσθαι μαχόμενον, στήσομαι, γενναίως πᾶν
ὑπομένων μᾶλλον ἢ[4] τοῖς ἤδη κατωρθωμένοις καὶ
τῇ περὶ αὐτῶν δόξῃ προσβαλὼν[5] τὴν ἐκ τῆς νῦν
φυγῆς ὕβριν." καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς ὑπο-
λειφθέντας, παρακαλῶν τοῦ κινδύνου καταφρονή-
σαντας ὁμόσε χωρῆσαι τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἔλεγεν.
426 (2) Ὁ δὲ Βακχίδης ἐξαγαγὼν ἐκ τοῦ στρατο-
πέδου τὴν δύναμιν πρὸς μάχην παρετάσσετο, καὶ
τοὺς μὲν ἱππεῖς ἐξ ἑκατέρων τῶν κεράτων ἔταξε,
τοὺς δὲ ψιλοὺς καὶ τοξότας προέστησε πάσης τῆς
427 φάλαγγος, αὐτὸς δ' ἦν ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως. οὕτως
δὲ συντάξας τὴν στρατιάν, ἐπεὶ προσέμιξε τῷ τῶν
πολεμίων στρατοπέδῳ, σημῆναι τὸν σαλπικτὴν
ἐκέλευσε καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἀλαλάξασαν προσιέναι.[6]
428 τὸ δ' αὐτὸ ποιήσας ὁ Ἰούδας συμβάλλει τοῖς πολε-
μίοις, καὶ καρτερῶς ἀμφοτέρων ἀγωνιζομένων καὶ
τῆς μάχης μέχρι δυσμῶν παρατεινομένης, ἰδὼν ὁ

[1] ἢ καὶ PFW. [2] αὑτοὺς AMW corr.
[3] συναγαγόντας PLAMW.
[4] μᾶλλον ἢ coni.: τὸ μέλλον ἢ codd.
[5] προσβαλῶ LAMW.
[6] W: προσεῖναι rell.: προϊέναι Bekker.

face danger bravely, and urged them to advance to battle. They, however, said that they were not sufficiently strong to fight so great an army, and advised him to retreat for the time being, and so save them, but, when he had assembled his men,[a] to engage the foe then. "May the sun not look upon such a thing," [b] he replied, "as that I should show my back to the enemy. But even if the present moment brings death to me, and I must inevitably perish in the fight, I will stand my ground, valiantly enduring all things [c] rather than flee now and so bring disgrace upon my former achievements and upon the glory won through them." [d] So he spoke to those who were left, urging them to show contempt for danger and join battle with the enemy.

(2) Meanwhile Bacchides led his force out of their camp, and drew them up for battle; his horsemen he stationed on either wing, and the light-armed troops and archers he placed in front of his main body,[e] while he himself was on the right wing. Having marshalled his army in this way, he came close to the enemy's lines, and ordered his trumpeter to sound the charge, and his army to raise the battle-cry and go forward. And Judas, doing the same, engaged the enemy, and as both sides fought stoutly, the battle was prolonged till sunset; but Judas, seeing

Bacchides defeats Judas at Berzetho. 1 Macc. ix. 11

[a] Variant "when they had assembled their men."

[b] Josephus varies the phrase in 1 Macc. μή μοι γένοιτο ποιῆσαι τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο, which reflects the Heb. idiom = "God forbid!"

[c] The variant, apparently a corruption through dittography, adds "that are to come."

[d] 1 Macc. "Let us die bravely for the sake of our brothers, and let us not leave any stain on our reputation" (or "glory").

[e] Lit. "the entire phalanx."

Ἰούδας τὸν Βακχίδην καὶ τὸ καρτερὸν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ κέρατι τυγχάνον, παραλαβὼν τοὺς εὐψυχοτάτους ὥρμησεν ἐπ' ἐκεῖνο τὸ μέρος τῆς τάξεως, καὶ προσβαλὼν τοῖς ἐκεῖ διασπᾷ αὐτῶν τὴν
429 φάλαγγα. ὠσάμενος δ' εἰς μέσους εἰς φυγὴν αὐτοὺς ἐβιάσατο, καὶ διώκει μέχρι Ἀζᾶ[1] ὄρους οὕτω λεγομένου. θεασάμενοι δὲ τὴν τροπὴν τῶν[2] ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ κέρατι οἱ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἔχοντες ἐκυκλώσαντο τὸν Ἰούδαν διώκοντα,[3] καὶ λαμβάνουσι
430 μέσον αὐτὸν κατόπιν γενόμενοι. ὁ δὲ φυγεῖν οὐ δυνάμενος, ἀλλὰ περιεσχημένος ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, στὰς ἐμάχετο μετὰ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ. πολλοὺς δὲ κτείνας τῶν ἀντιπάλων καὶ κατάκοπος γενόμενος καὶ αὐτὸς ἔπεσεν, ἐπὶ καλοῖς μὲν πρότερον γεγενημένοις, ἐφ' ὁμοίοις δέ, ὅτε ἀπέθνησκε, τὴν ψυχὴν
431 ἀφείς. πεσόντος δὲ Ἰούδα, πρὸς μηδένα τὸ λοιπὸν ἀφορᾶν ἔχοντες οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, στρατηγοῦ δὲ τοιούτου
432 στερηθέντες ἔφυγον. λαβόντες δὲ τὸ σῶμα παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων ὑπόσπονδον Σίμων καὶ Ἰωνάθης ἀδελφοὶ τοῦ Ἰούδα, κομίσαντες εἰς τὴν Μωδεεῖν[4] κώμην, ὅπου καὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῶν ἐτέθαπτο, κηδεύουσι, πενθήσαντος ἐπὶ συχνὰς αὐτὸν τοῦ πλήθους ἡμέρας καὶ τιμήσαντος κοινῇ τοῖς νενομισμένοις.

[1] Ἐζᾶ P: Gazara (om. ὄρους . . . λεγομένου) Lat.
[2] τὴν PFLVE.
[3] διώκοντες V.
[4] Μωδεείμ FV: Μωδεεῖ L: Μωδαιεὶ AMW: Modin Lat.

[a] Variants Mount Eza, Gazara; 1 Macc. ἕως Ἀζώτου ὄρους "as far as Mount Azotus"—this cannot, of course, be the city of Azotus (bibl. Ashdod) in the Philistine plain. Michaelis (*ap.* Grimm) long ago ingeniously suggested that Azotus (= Ashdod) in 1 Macc. is a misunderstanding of Heb. *'ašdôth hā-hār* "the slopes of the mountain (hill)," while

that Bacchides and the strongest part of his army were on the right wing, took his bravest men and made for that part of the line, and falling upon the troops there, broke their solid ranks. Then thrusting himself through their midst, he forced them to flee, and pursued them as far as Mount Aza,[a] as it is called. But when those of the left observed the rout of their right wing, they encircled Judas as he was pursuing it,[b] and coming up behind him, caught him in their midst. And so, being unable to flee, and surrounded by the enemy, he stood there with his followers and fought. But after killing many of his adversaries, he became worn out, and himself fell; and so, still performing glorious deeds as he was dying, like those which he had performed in the past, he breathed his last. When Judas fell, his followers, having no one to look to thereafter, and being deprived of so great a commander, fled forthwith.[c] But Simon and Jonathan, the brothers of Judas, obtained his dead body from the enemy under a truce, and carrying it to the village of Modeein,[d] where their father also had been buried, performed the last rites; and the people mourned him for many days, and publicly honoured him with the customary ceremonies. Such was the

The death of Judas Maccabaeus. 1 Macc. ix. 16.

Torrey, *JBL* liii., 1934, p. 32, less plausibly supposes that the original Greek of 1 Macc. was ἕως ἄνω τοῦ ὄρους rendering Heb. *'ad ma'alēh hā-hār* "up to the slope of the hill." Both these attempts to eliminate the proper name seem less convincing than the proposal of Père Abel to explain ΑΖΑΟΡΟΥΣ in Josephus as an haplography of ΑΖΩΡΟΥ ΟΡΟΥΣ, and to identify this Azorus with mod. *el-'Aṣûr*, a hilly site *c.* 6 miles N.E. of *el-Bîreh* (Berzetho).

[b] Variant "they encircled and pursued Judas."

[c] Josephus here amplifies the brief statement in 1 Macc. (ix. 18), "And Judas fell, and the rest fled."

[d] Variants Modeei, Modaiei, etc., *cf.* § 265 note *e*.

433 καὶ τέλος μὲν τοιοῦτον κατέσχεν Ἰούδαν, ἄνδρα γενναῖον καὶ μεγαλοπόλεμον[1] γενόμενον, καὶ τῶν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐντολῶν Ματταθίου μνήμονα, καὶ πάνθ' ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν πολιτῶν ἐλευθερίας καὶ δρᾶσαι καὶ
434 παθεῖν ὑποστάντα. τοιοῦτος οὖν τὴν ἀρετὴν ὑπάρξας μέγιστον αὐτοῦ κλέος καὶ μνημεῖον κατέλιπεν, ἐλευθερώσας τὸ ἔθνος καὶ τῆς ὑπὸ Μακεδόσιν ἐξαρπάσας αὐτὸ δουλείας. τὴν δ'[2] ἀρχιερωσύνην ἔτος τρίτον κατασχὼν ἀπέθανεν.

[1] μεγαλότολμον coni. Niese.
[2] δ' P: om. rell.

end of Judas, who had been a valiant man and a great warrior,[a] and mindful of the injunctions of his father Mattathias, had had the fortitude to do and suffer all things for the liberty of his fellow-citizens. And such was the prowess of this man that he left behind him the greatest and most glorious of memorials—to have freed his nation and rescued them from slavery to the Macedonians. And he had held the high priesthood for three years when he died.[b]

[a] Conjectured variant "greatly daring."
[b] *Cf.* § 414 note *a*. The final section, §§ 433-434, is an addition to 1 Macc.

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΙΓ

(i. 1) Τίνα μὲν οὖν τρόπον τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων
ἔθνος καταδουλωσαμένων αὐτὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων
ἀνεκτήσατο τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ δι' ὅσων καὶ πη-
λίκων ἀγώνων ὁ στρατηγὸς αὐτῶν ἐλθὼν Ἰούδας
ἀπέθανεν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μαχόμενος, ἐν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης
2 βίβλῳ δεδηλώκαμεν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν τελευτὴν τὴν
Ἰούδου πάλιν[1] ὅσον ἦν ἔτι τῶν ἀσεβῶν καὶ παρα-
βεβηκότων τὴν πάτριον πολιτείαν ἐπεφύη τοῖς
Ἰουδαίοις καὶ πανταχόθεν αὐτοὺς ἀκμάζον ἐκάκου.
3 συνελάμβανε δὲ τῇ τούτων πονηρίᾳ καὶ λιμὸς τὴν
χώραν καταλαβών, ὡς πολλοὺς διὰ τὴν σπάνιν
τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ τὸ[2] μὴ δύνασθαι τοῖς παρ'
ἀμφοτέρων ἀπό τε[3] τοῦ λιμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν
δεινοῖς ἀντέχειν αὐτομολῆσαι πρὸς τοὺς Μακε-
4 δόνας. Βακχίδης δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τοὺς ἀπο-
στάντας τῆς πατρίου συνηθείας καὶ τὸν κοινὸν βίον
προῃρημένους συναθροίσας, τούτοις ἐνεχείρισε τὴν
τῆς χώρας ἐπιμέλειαν, οἳ καὶ συλλαμβάνοντες τοὺς
Ἰούδου φίλους καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου φρονοῦντας τῷ
Βακχίδῃ παρέδοσαν[4]· ὁ δὲ βασανίζων πρῶτον αὐ-
τοὺς καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν αἰκιζόμενος ἔπειθ' οὕτως
5 διέφθειρεν. ταύτης δὲ τῆς συμφορᾶς τοῖς Ἰου-
δαίοις τηλικαύτης γενομένης ἡλίκης οὐκ ἦσαν

[1] AMW Lat.: παρ' V: πᾶν rell.
[2] τῷ Niese.
[3] τε om. AMW: γε P.
[4] παρεδίδοσαν AMWE.

BOOK XIII

(i. 1) In what manner the Jewish nation regained its liberty after the Macedonians had subjugated it, and how many and how severe were the struggles through which their commander Judas went before he died fighting on their behalf, we have related in the preceding book. Now after the death of Judas [a] all those who remained of the godless, and the transgressors against their country's manner of life once more rose up among the Jews, and flourishing on all sides, did them injury. And their wickedness was accompanied by a famine which seized upon the country, so that through the lack of necessities and their inability to hold out against the afflictions caused both by the famine and by their foes, many deserted to the Macedonians. Then Bacchides gathered together those of the Jews who had given up the customs of their country and had chosen the kind of life common to other nations, and entrusted to them the government of the country; and these men seized the friends of Judas and those who sympathized with him, and delivered them to Bacchides, whereupon he first tortured and maltreated them at his pleasure, and then made an end of them in this way. After this calamity had befallen the Jews, which was greater than any they had experienced

Bacchides oppresses the Jews after Judas's death.
1 Macc. ix. 23.

[a] In 161 B.C.

πεπειραμένοι μετὰ τὴν ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἐπάνοδον, οἱ
περιλειφθέντες τῶν ἑταίρων τοῦ Ἰούδου βλέποντες
ἀπολλύμενον οἰκτρῶς[1] τὸ ἔθνος, προσελθόντες αὐ-
τοῦ τῷ ἀδελφῷ Ἰωνάθῃ μιμεῖσθαι τὸν ἀδελφὸν
αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου περὶ τῶν ὁμοφύλων πρό-
νοιαν ἠξίουν ἀποθανόντος ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁπάντων[2] ἐλευ-
θερίας, καὶ μὴ περιορᾶν ἀπροστάτητον τὸ ἔθνος
6 μηδ' ἐν οἷς κακοῖς[3] φθείρεται. ὁ δ' Ἰωνάθης φήσας
ἑτοίμως ἔχειν ἀποθνήσκειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ νομι-
σθεὶς κατὰ μηδὲν εἶναι χείρων τἀδελφοῦ, στρατηγὸς
ἀποδείκνυται τῶν Ἰουδαίων.
7 (2) Ὁ δὲ Βακχίδης ἀκούσας τοῦτο[4] καὶ φοβηθεὶς
μὴ παράσχῃ πράγματα τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τοῖς Μακε-
δόσιν ὁ Ἰωνάθης, ὡς καὶ πρότερον Ἰούδας, ἀπο-
8 κτεῖναι δόλῳ τοῦτον ἐζήτει. ταύτην δὲ ἔχων τὴν
προαίρεσιν οὐκ ἔλαθε τὸν Ἰωνάθην οὐδὲ τὸν
ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Σίμωνα, ἀλλὰ γὰρ μαθόντες οὗτοι
καὶ παραλαβόντες τοὺς ἑταίρους ἅπαντας εἰς τὴν
ἐρημίαν τὴν ἔγγιστα τῆς πόλεως τὸ τάχος ἔφυγον,
καὶ παραγενόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ καλούμενον
9 λάκκον Ἀσφὰρ αὐτόθι διῆγον. ὁ δὲ Βακχίδης
αἰσθόμενος αὐτοὺς ἀπηρκότας καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ
τόπῳ τυγχάνοντας, ὥρμησεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς μετὰ
πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως, καὶ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου
10 στρατοπεδευσάμενος ἀνελάμβανε τὴν δύναμιν. Ἰω-

[1] πικρῶς PFLV: miserabiliter Lat.
[2] ἀπάντων AMVWE: ἐκείνων PL: ἀπάντων ἐκείνων F.
[3] κακῶς LA: κακῷ W: om. PFMV.
[4] τοῦτο om. PF.

since their return from Babylon,[a] those of Judas' companions who survived, seeing their nation perish so miserably, went to his brother Jonathan and begged him to imitate his brother, who in his concern for his countrymen had died on behalf of the liberty of them all, and not suffer the nation to be without a defender or be destroyed by its present afflictions. Thereupon Jonathan said that he was ready to die for them, and so, being considered in no way inferior to his brother, he was appointed commander of the Jews.[b]

(2) But Bacchides heard of this, and fearing that Jonathan might cause trouble to the king and the Macedonians, as Judas had done before him, he sought to kill him by treachery.[c] That this was his intention, however, was not unknown to Jonathan and his brother Simon, and when they learned of it, they took all their companions and fled in haste to the wilderness which was nearest to the city,[d] and on coming to the body of water called the Pool of Asphar,[e] remained there. But when Bacchides became aware that they had removed and were now in that place, he set out against them with his entire force and encamped across the Jordan and there rested his

Jonathan escapes from Bacchides. 1 Macc. ix. 32.

[a] The return from Babylon is substituted by Josephus for "the time that a prophet was not seen among them," *cf.* 1 Macc. ix. 27, referring to Malachi probably.

[b] 1 Macc. ix. 31 says simply, "and Jonathan at that time took the leadership upon him."

[c] Bacchides' fear and treachery are not mentioned in 1 Macc.

[d] Of Tekoah, *c.* 6 miles S. of Bethlehem; *cf. Ant.* ix. 12. On this wilderness *cf.* Abel, *GP* i. 436-437.

[e] Identified by Abel in *RB* with mod. *Bir ez-Za'feran*, *c.* 3 miles S. of Tekoah.

νάθης δὲ γνοὺς τὸν Βακχίδην ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἥκοντα, πέμπει τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰωάννην τὸν καὶ Γαδδὶν[1] λεγόμενον πρὸς τοὺς Ναβαταίους Ἄραβας ἵνα παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἀποθῆται τὴν ἀποσκευὴν ἕως ἂν[2] πολεμή-
11 σωσι[3] πρὸς Βακχίδην· ἦσαν γὰρ φίλοι. τὸν δὲ Ἰωάννην ἀπιόντα πρὸς τοὺς Ναβαταίους ἐνεδρεύσαντες ἐκ Μηδάβας πόλεως οἱ Ἀμαραίου παῖδες αὐτόν τε συλλαμβάνουσι καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ, καὶ διαρπάσαντες ὅσα ἐπεκομίζετο κτείνουσι τὸν[4] Ἰωάννην καὶ τοὺς ἑταίρους αὐτοῦ πάντας. δίκην μέντοι γε τούτων ὑπέσχον τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀξίαν, ἣν μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ δηλώσομεν.

12 (3) Ὁ δὲ Βακχίδης γνοὺς τὸν Ἰωνάθην ἐν τοῖς ἕλεσι τοῦ Ἰορδάνου κατεστρατοπεδευμένον, παραφυλάξας τὴν τῶν σαββάτων ἡμέραν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἧκεν
13 ὡς οὐ μαχούμενον ἐν ἐκείνῃ διὰ τὸν νόμον. ὁ δὲ παρορμήσας τοὺς ἑταίρους καὶ περὶ τῶν ψυχῶν αὐτοῖς εἶναι τὸν κίνδυνον εἰπών, μέσοις ἀπειλημ-

[1] Καδδειν P: Γαδδὶ FΛ[1]: Γαδδὴν L[2].
[2] οὗ PFVE.
[3] πολεμήσουσι E.
[4] καὶ τὸν FLV: αὐτόν τε τὸν AMW.

[a] That Bacchides "rested his force" is a detail apparently based on 1 Macc. ix. 34 (*cf.* § 12), καὶ ἔγνω Βακχίδης τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν σαββάτων, "and Bacchides knew (of it) on the Sabbath day." Josephus' text must have read, like Luc., τὴν ἡμέραν, which Josephus took to mean that Bacchides observed the Sabbath. Incidentally the verse is out of place, as Bacchides had no reason to cross the Jordan until he learned that the Jews were there; *cf.* below.

force.[a] Thereupon Jonathan, learning that Bacchides had come against him, sent his brother John, also called Gaddis,[b] to the Nabataean Arabs[c] to leave his equipment with them until they should fight against Bacchides, for they were friends of the Jews. But as John was on his way to the Nabataeans, the sons of Amaraios[d] lay in ambush for him outside the city of Medaba,[e] and seized both him and his men, and after plundering all that they were carrying, killed John and all his companions. Nevertheless they suffered fitting punishment for this at the hands of his brothers, as we shall presently relate.[f]

Bacchides attacks the Jews on the Sabbath. 1 Macc. ix. 43.

(3) Now when Bacchides learned that Jonathan had encamped in the marshes of the Jordan,[g] he waited for the day of the Sabbath and then came against him, thinking that he would not fight on that day because of the Law. But Jonathan exhorted his companions, telling them that their lives were in danger, since they were hemmed in between the

[b] *Cf. Ant.* xii. 266 note *i*.

[c] *Cf. Ant.* xii. 335 note *c*.

[d] Bibl. Jambri (Ἰάμβρι, *v.l.* Ἀμβρί); prob., as Clermont-Ganneau suggested long ago, from the name *Ya'amrû*, found on a Nabataean inscription near Medeba. Some of the older scholars held that the original Heb. of 1 Macc. had Amorite (*'emôrî*), as Josephus' Greek implies, because Medeba is mentioned as an Amorite city in Num. xxi. 29-31. However Medeba was generally known as a Moabite city.

[e] Bibl. Medeba, mod. *Mādabā*, *c.* 12 miles S.E. of the N. end of the Dead Sea.

[f] In §§ 18-21. In 1 Macc. the story of Jonathan's and Simon's revenge comes directly after the story of John's murder.

[g] The battle must have taken place on the East of Jordan, though this is not clear from 1 Macc., and apparently not clear to Josephus, who has Jonathan escaping across the river to Transjordan, *cf.* below, § 14.

μένοις τοῦ τε ποταμοῦ καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ὡς
φυγεῖν[1] οὐκ ἔχουσιν (οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἔμπροσθεν ἐπῄεσαν
ὁ ποταμὸς δ' ἦν κατόπιν αὐτῶν), εὐξάμενος δὲ καὶ[2]
τῷ θεῷ νίκην αὐτοῖς παρασχεῖν, συνάπτει τοῖς
14 πολεμίοις. ὧν πολλοὺς καταβαλών, ἐπεὶ τολ-
μηρῶς εἶδεν ἐπερχόμενον αὐτῷ τὸν Βακχίδην, ἐξ-
έτεινε τὴν δεξιὰν ὡς πλήξων αὐτόν. τοῦ δὲ
προϊδομένου[3] καὶ τὴν πληγὴν ἐκκλίναντος ἀπο-
πηδήσας μετὰ τῶν ἑταίρων εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν
διενήξατο, καὶ τοῦτον διασώζονται[4] τὸν τρόπον εἰς
τὸ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, τῶν πολεμίων οὐκέτι τὸν
ποταμὸν ἐπιδιαβάντων[5] ἀλλ'[6] ὑποστρέψαντος εὐθὺς
τοῦ Βακχίδου εἰς τὴν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἄκραν.
ἀπέβαλε δὲ τῆς στρατιᾶς ὡς περὶ δισχιλίους.
15 πολλὰς δὲ τῆς Ἰουδαίας καταλαβόμενος πόλεις ὁ
Βακχίδης ὠχύρωσε καὶ τὴν Ἱεριχοῦντα καὶ Ἀμ-
μαοῦν[7] καὶ Βαιθωρὼν[8] καὶ Βήθηλα[9] καὶ Θαμναθὰ
16 καὶ Φαραθὼ καὶ Τοχόαν[10] καὶ Γάζαρα, καὶ πύργους
ἐν ἑκάστῃ τῶν πόλεων οἰκοδομήσας, καὶ τείχη
περιβαλὼν αὐταῖς καρτερὰ καὶ τῷ μεγέθει δια-
φέροντα, δύναμιν εἰς αὐτὰς κατέστησεν, ὅπως
κακοῦν ἐκεῖθεν ὁρμώμενοι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἔχωσιν.
17 μάλιστα δὲ τὴν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ὠχύρωσεν ἄκραν.
λαβὼν δὲ καὶ τοὺς τῶν πρώτων τῆς Ἰουδαίας

[1] φυγὴν PL[1]: φεύγειν F. [2] καὶ om. LAMW.
[3] Bekker: προειδομένου codd. E. [4] διασώζεται AMW Lat.
[5] ἀντιδιαβάντων P. [6] ἀλλ' om. PE.
[7] Ἐμμαοῦμ F: Ἀμμαθοῦν L: Ἀμαθοῦν AMW: Ἐμμαοῦν V: Amathuntem Lat.
[8] Βαιθαροῦν P: Βεθωρὸν V: Βαίθαρον W: Betharon Lat.
[9] Βεθιλλᾶ P: Βαιθήλλα F: Βέθηλλα L: Βεθήλλαν V: Bethelam Lat. [10] Θοκόαν W: Toconam Lat. (vid.).

[a] See note *g* on p. 233.

river and the enemy and so were unable to escape —for the enemy was attacking them in front, and the river was behind them—,[a] and after praying to God to grant them the victory, he joined battle with the enemy. He had felled many of them when he saw Bacchides boldly advancing on him, and so he stretched out his right hand to strike him. But Bacchides saw the blow coming and evaded it, whereupon Jonathan leaped into the river with his companions and swam across, and in this manner they escaped to the other side of the Jordan, for the enemy no longer followed them across the river; and Bacchides straightway returned to the citadel in Jerusalem, having lost about two thousand[b] of his army. Bacchides then occupied many cities of Judaea and fortified them, such as Jericho, Emmaus,[c] Beth-horon,[d] Bethel, Thamnatha,[e] Pharatho,[f] Tochoa[g] and Gazara[h]; in each of these cities he built towers, and surrounded them with strong walls of exceeding height, and stationed forces in them in order that they might be able to issue from them and harass the Jews. Above all he fortified the citadel in Jerusalem.[i] He also took the sons of the chief men of

[b] Only 1000 in most MSS. of 1 Macc. (*v.l.* 3000).

[c] Variant Amathūs. Emmaus is mod. *'Amwās*, *c.* 20 miles N.W. of Jerusalem. [d] *Cf. Ant.* xii. 289 note *d.*

[e] Prob. bibl. Timnath-Serah, and mod. *Khirbet Tibna*, according to Abel, *GP*, ii. 482, *c.* 12 miles N.E. of Emmaus.

[f] Identified by some with bibl. Pirathon and mod. *Far'ata*, *c.* 6 miles S.W. of Shechem (mod. *Nablūs*); this identification is questioned by Albright in *BASOR*, 49 (Feb. 1933), 26.

[g] 1 Macc. has Tephon or Tepho, identified by Abel and others with bibl. Tappuah and mod. *Šeikh Abū Zarad*, *c.* 25 miles due N. of Jerusalem.

[h] *Cf. Ant.* xii. 308 note *a.*

[i] Josephus omits Bethsur, mentioned in 1 Macc. ix. 52.

παῖδας ὁμήρους, εἰς τὴν ἄκραν αὐτοὺς ἐνέκλεισε καὶ τοῦτον ἐφύλαττε τὸν τρόπον.

18 (4) Ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ καιρὸν παραγενόμενός τις πρὸς Ἰωνάθην καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Σίμωνα, τοὺς Ἀμαραίου παῖδας ἀπήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς γάμον ἐπιτελοῦντας καὶ τὴν νύμφην ἄγοντας ἀπὸ Ναβαθὰ[1] πόλεως θυγατέρα τινὸς οὖσαν τῶν ἐπιφανῶν παρὰ τοῖς Ἄραψιν, μέλλειν δὲ γίνεσθαι παραπομπὴν τῆς

19 κόρης λαμπρὰν καὶ πολυτελῆ. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην καὶ Σίμωνα καιρὸν ἐπιτηδειότατον εἰς τὴν ἐκδικίαν τἀδελφοῦ νομίσαντες αὐτοῖς παραφανῆναι, καὶ λήψεσθαι τὴν ὑπὲρ Ἰωάννου δίκην παρ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ πολλῆς ἐξουσίας ὑπολαβόντες, ἐξώρμησαν εἰς τὰ Μήδαβα καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐν τῷ ὄρει λοχῶντες

20 ἔμενον. ὡς δὲ εἶδον αὐτοὺς ἄγοντας τὴν παρθένον καὶ τὸν νυμφίον καὶ φίλων σὺν αὐτοῖς οἷον εἰκὸς ἐν γάμοις ὄχλον, ἀναπηδήσαντες ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας ἀπέκτειναν ἅπαντας, καὶ τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ὅση τότε εἵπετο λεία τοῖς ἀνθρώποις λαβόντες

21 ὑπέστρεψαν. καὶ τιμωρίαν μὲν ὑπὲρ Ἰωάννου τἀδελφοῦ παρὰ τῶν υἱῶν Ἀμαραίου τοιαύτην ἀπέλαβον· αὐτοί τε γὰρ οὗτοι καὶ οἱ συνεπόμενοι τούτοις φίλοι καὶ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν καὶ τέκνα διεφθάρησαν, ὄντες ὡς[2] τετρακόσιοι.

22 (5) Σίμων μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἰωνάθης εἰς τὰ ἕλη τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὑποστρέψαντες αὐτόθι κατέμενον. Βακχίδης δὲ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἅπασαν φρουραῖς ἀσφαλι-

[1] Γαβαθᾶ V at fort. W. [2] ὡς om. PVL.

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[a] *Cf.* above § 11 note *f*.

[b] 1 Macc. has "of Canaan."

[c] So some LXX MSS.; the majority have Nadabath, *e.ll.*

Judaea as hostages and shut them up in the citadel and in this manner kept them under guard.

(4) About this time[a] someone came to Jonathan and his brother Simon with the report that the sons of Amaraios were celebrating a wedding and bringing the bride, who was the daughter of one of the distinguished men among the Arabs,[b] from the city of Nabatha,[c] and that the procession accompanying the girl would be a splendid and costly one. Thereupon Jonathan and Simon, thinking that a most favourable opportunity had arisen for avenging their brother, and believing that they could exact satisfaction from them with the greatest ease for the killing of John, set out for Medaba and lay in wait for their foes in the mountains. And when they saw them conducting the maid and her bridegroom and a great company of friends, as is usual at a wedding, they sprang out from their ambush and killed them all, and after taking as spoil the ornaments and the rest of the possessions that were then being taken along by these people, turned back. Such, then, was the punishment which they inflicted on the sons of Amaraios for killing their brother John, for these men themselves and the friends who accompanied them, and their wives and children, perished to the number of about four hundred.[d]

Jonathan and Simon avenge the murder of their brother John. 1 Macc. ix. 37.

(5) And so Simon and Jonathan returned to the marshes of the river and remained there, while Bacchides, after securing all Judaea with garrisons,

Bacchides returns to Syria. 1 Macc. ix. 42.

Nabadath, Gabadan. Abel, *GP*, carte viii, locates it 2 miles S.W. of Medeba. Klein, *EY* 66, corrects the name to Narbatta, near Caesarea on the coast; with this the reading "of Canaan" seems to him to agree better than with a site in Transjordan.

[d] No number is given in 1 Macc.

σάμενος ὑπέστρεψε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. καὶ τότε μὲν ἐπ' ἔτη δύο τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἠρέμησε πράγματα.
23 οἱ δὲ φυγάδες καὶ ἀσεβεῖς ὁρῶντες τὸν Ἰωνάθην καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ μετὰ πολλῆς ἀδείας ἐνδιατρίβοντας τῇ χώρᾳ διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην, πέμπουσι πρὸς Δημήτριον τὸν βασιλέα, παρακαλοῦντες ἀποστεῖλαι Βακχίδην ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰωνάθου σύλληψιν· ἐδήλουν γὰρ αὐτὴν ἀπόνως ἐσομένην, καὶ νυκτὶ μιᾷ μὴ προσδοκῶσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπιπεσόντας ἀποκτενεῖν ἅπαντας.
24 τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ἐκπέμψαντος τὸν Βακχίδην, γενόμενος οὗτος ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ πᾶσιν ἔγραψε τοῖς φίλοις καὶ Ἰουδαίοις καὶ συμμάχοις συλλαβεῖν αὐτῷ τὸν
25 Ἰωνάθην. σπουδαζόντων δὲ πάντων καὶ μὴ δυναμένων κρατῆσαι τοῦ Ἰωνάθου (ἐφυλάττετο γὰρ σφόδρα τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ᾐσθημένος[1]), ὁ Βακχίδης ὀργισθεὶς τοῖς φυγάσιν ὡς ψευσαμένοις αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸν βασιλέα πεντήκοντα αὐτῶν τοὺς ἡγου-
26 μένους συλλαβὼν ἀπέκτεινεν. ὁ δὲ Ἰωνάθης σὺν τἀδελφῷ καὶ τοῖς ἑταίροις εἰς Βηθαλαγὰν[2] ἀναχωρεῖ κώμην οὖσαν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, φοβηθεὶς τὸν Βακχίδην, καὶ οἰκοδομήσας πύργους καὶ τείχη περιβαλόμενος αὐτὸν ἔσχεν ἀσφαλῶς πεφρουρη-
27 μένον. Βακχίδης δὲ ταῦτ' ἀκούσας τήν τε μεθ'

[1] αἰσθόμενος L²AMW. [2] Vithalagam Lat.

[a] At this point (ix. 54) 1 Macc. relates the death of the high priest Alcimus in the 153rd yr. Sel. = 160/59 B.C.; this has already been mentioned by Josephus in *Ant.* xii. 413.

[b] According to 1 Macc. the two-years peace came after the death of Alcimus.

[c] *Cf. Ant.* xii. 252 note *e*.

[d] The guarding of himself is a detail not found in 1 Macc.

[e] 1 Macc. ix. 61 reads, "and they seized of the men of the country, the leaders of the wickedness, about fifty men,

returned to the king.[a] And thereafter the affairs of the Jews were peaceful for two years.[b] But the renegades[c] and godless men, seeing that Jonathan and his followers were living in the country in the greatest security because of the peace, sent to King Demetrius and urged him to send Bacchides to seize Jonathan, for this, they informed him, could be done without difficulty, and if his men fell upon them unexpectedly in one night they could kill them all. The king therefore sent Bacchides, and when he came to Judaea, he wrote to his friends, both Jews and allies, to seize Jonathan for him. And they all made an effort to do so, but were not able to get hold of Jonathan—for he had become aware of the plot and guarded himself closely—[d], whereupon Bacchides, being enraged at the renegades for having, as he thought, deceived him and the king, seized fifty of their leaders and killed them.[e] But Jonathan, in fear of Bacchides, withdrew with his brother and his companions to Bethalaga,[f] a village in the wilderness, and building towers and surrounding it with walls, kept himself safely protected. When Bacchides heard of this, he led out the army that was with him, Bacchides besieges Jonathan.

and killed them." Most commentators take this to mean that Jonathan killed fifty of the Jews who called Bacchides to Judaea. Perhaps Josephus takes Bacchides to be the subject here because of vs. 69 (see below, § 31), which says that Bacchides, angry at the siege he was forced to undergo by Jonathan and Simon, killed many of the Jews who had invited him to attack the Hasmonaean forces. 1 Macc. ix. 63.

[f] Bethbasi in 1 Macc. Oesterley, *CAP*, suggested a connexion with the *Wady el-Bassah*, E. of Tekoah, and recently Père Abel has identified it more exactly with *Khirbet Beit-Bassa*, c. 3 miles N. by E. of Tekoah. Klein, *EY*, p. 56, suggests that the original name was Beth Nibshan, found in Josh. xv. 62. But the form Bethalaga in Josephus still remains a puzzle.

ἑαυτοῦ στρατιὰν ἄγων καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τοὺς συμμάχους παραλαβὼν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ἧκε, καὶ προσβαλὼν αὐτοῦ τοῖς ὀχυρώμασιν ἐπὶ πολλὰς
28 αὐτὸν ἡμέρας ἐπολιόρκει. ὁ δὲ πρὸς τὴν σπουδὴν τῆς πολιορκίας οὐκ ἐνδίδωσιν, ἀλλὰ καρτερῶς ἀντιστὰς Σίμωνα μὲν[1] τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει καταλείπει[2] τῷ Βακχίδῃ πολεμήσοντα, λάθρα δ' αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν χώραν ἐξελθὼν καὶ συναγαγὼν χεῖρα πολλὴν παρὰ τῶν τὰ αὐτοῦ φρονούντων, νυκτὸς ἐπιπίπτει τῷ τοῦ Βακχίδου στρατοπέδῳ, καὶ συχνοὺς αὐτῶν διαφθείρας φανερὸς καὶ τἀδελφῷ Σίμωνι γίνεται
29 τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐπιπεσών. καὶ γὰρ οὗτος αἰσθόμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κτεινομένους τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπέξεισιν αὐτοῖς, καὶ τά τε μηχανήματα τὰ πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν ἐνέπρησε τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ φόνον αὐτῶν
30 ἱκανὸν εἰργάσατο. θεασάμενος δ' αὐτὸν ὁ Βακχίδης ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπειλημμένον καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῷ[3] τοὺς δ' ὄπισθεν προσκειμένους, εἰς ἀθυμίαν ἅμα καὶ ταραχὴν τῆς διανοίας ἐνέπεσε, τῷ παρ' ἐλπίδας ἀποβάντι τῆς πολιορκίας[4] συγχυ-
31 θείς. τὸν μέντοι γε ὑπὲρ τούτων θυμὸν εἰς τοὺς φυγάδας, οἳ μετεπέμψαντο παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτόν, ἀπέσκηψεν ὡς ἐξηπατηκότας· ἐβούλετο δὲ τελευτήσας τὴν πολιορκίαν, εἰ δυνατόν, εὐπρεπῶς εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ὑποστρέψαι.

32 (6) Μαθὼν δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν Ἰωνάθης πρεσβεύεται πρὸς αὐτὸν περὶ φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας,

[1] μὲν εἴασε AMWE. [2] καταλείπει om. AMWE.
[3] αὐτῶν P. [4] περὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν LAMW.

and taking along his Jewish allies, came against Jonathan and assaulted his fortifications and besieged him for many days. Jonathan, however, did not yield before the severity of the siege, but after holding out stoutly, left his brother Simon in the city to carry on the fight with Bacchides, and himself secretly went out into the country; then having gathered together a large force from among those who sympathized with him,[a] he fell upon Bacchides' camp by night and slew a good many of them, thus making known to his brother Simon that he had fallen upon the foe. When Simon became aware that the enemy were being killed by him, he too sallied out against them and burned the engines which the Macedonians had used in the siege, and caused the slaughter of a considerable number of their men. But Bacchides, seeing himself hemmed in by his foes, some of them pressing him in front and others from behind, fell into a despondent and disturbed state of mind, for he was confounded at the unexpected outcome of the siege. However he vented his anger at these reverses on the renegades who had sent for him to the king, for he believed they had deceived him.[b] And he wished to end the siege and, if possible, return home without dishonour.[c]

(6) But Jonathan, learning what was in his mind, sent envoys to him to propose a friendly alliance and *Jonathan and Bacchides make peace. 1 Macc. ix. 70.*

[a] 1 Macc. ix. 66 reads, "And he (Jonathan) smote Odoares and his brothers and the sons of Phasiron in their tents." Possibly Josephus read ἐπέταξεν instead of ἐπάταξεν "he smote," and took the verse to mean that Jonathan enlisted the help of these tribes, not that he attacked them.

[b] *Cf.* above, § 25 note *e*.

[c] Or "to end the siege without dishonour, if possible, and return home."

ὅπως ἀποδῶσιν ἀλλήλοις οὓς εἰλήφασιν αἰχμαλώ-
33 *τους ἑκάτεροι. νομίσας δὲ ταύτην εὐπρεπεστάτην*[1]
ὁ Βακχίδης τὴν ἀναχώρησιν, σπένδεται πρὸς τὸν
Ἰωνάθην φιλίαν, καὶ ὤμοσαν μὴ στρατεύσειν ἔτι
κατ'[2] *ἀλλήλων, καὶ τούς τε αἰχμαλώτους ἀποδοὺς*
καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους[3] *κομισάμενος ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἀν-*
τιόχειαν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ μετὰ ταύτην τὴν
34 *ἀναχώρησιν οὐκέτι εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐνέβαλεν. ὁ*
δὲ Ἰωνάθης ταύτης τῆς ἀδείας λαβόμενος καὶ
ποιούμενος ἐν Μαχμᾷ πόλει τὴν δίαιταν, αὐτόθι
τοῖς ὄχλοις διεῖπε τὰ πράγματα, καὶ τοὺς πονηροὺς
καὶ ἀσεβεῖς κολάζων ἐκάθηρεν οὕτως ἀπὸ τούτων
τὸ ἔθνος.
35 (ii. 1) *Ἔτει δ' ἑξηκοστῷ καὶ ἑκατοστῷ τὸν Ἀν-*
τιόχου τοῦ Ἐπιφανοῦς υἱὸν Ἀλέξανδρον[4] *ἀναβάντα*
εἰς Συρίαν συνέβη καταλαβέσθαι Πτολεμαΐδα ἐκ
προδοσίας τῶν ἔνδον[5] *στρατιωτῶν· ἀπεχθῶς γὰρ*
εἶχον πρὸς τὸν Δημήτριον διὰ τὴν ὑπερηφανίαν
36 *αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ δυσέντευκτον. ἀποκλείσας γὰρ αὐτὸν*
εἰς τετραπύργιόν τι βασίλειον, ὃ κατεσκεύασεν
αὐτὸς οὐκ ἄπωθεν τῆς Ἀντιοχείας, οὐδένα προσ-

[1] *εὐπρεπεστέραν* FLV Lat.
[2] *ἐπὶ τὴν* AM : *ἔτι τὴν* W.
[3] *οἰκείους* P.
[4] *Ἀλέξανδρον* om. PFVE Lat.
[5] *τῶν ἔνδον* Niese : *τῶν ἔνδοθεν* AMWE : *ἔνδοθεν* FLV : *ἔνδον* P.

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[a] Josephus takes 1 Macc. ix. 70 to refer to an exchange of prisoners, although the context, esp. vs. 72, shows that the return of the Jewish prisoners only is meant.

[b] 1 Macc. "to his own land."

[c] Bibl. Michmash, mod. *Mukhmās*, *c.* 8 miles N.W. of

that each side might return to the other the prisoners they had taken.[a] Thereupon Bacchides, considering this the most dignified way of withdrawing, made a compact of friendship with Jonathan, and they swore not to make war against each other again; and after returning the prisoners and getting back his own men, he returned to Antioch to the king,[b] and after this withdrawal never again invaded Judaea. On obtaining this freedom of action, Jonathan made his residence in the city of Machma,[c] and there administered the affairs of the people and punished the wicked and godless, and so purged the nation of them.

Alexander Balas invades Syria. Demetrius bids for Jonathan's support. I Macc. x. 1.

(ii. 1) Now in the hundred and sixtieth year,[d] Alexander,[e] the son of Antiochus Epiphanes,[f] went up to Syria and succeeded in occupying Ptolemais[g] through the treason of the soldiers within, for they were hostile to Demetrius because of his arrogance and unapproachableness. For he had shut himself in a palace with four towers which he had built not far from Antioch, and admitted no one, but was lazy

Jerusalem; *cf. Ant.* vi. 98 note *e*. Jonathan must have ruled in comparative peace for about seven years, from 160 to 153 B.C.

[d] 153/2 B.C. Alexander arrived in Palestine in the summer of 152 B.C.

[e] Variant omits the name.

[f] So he is called in 1 Macc. The ancient Greek historians say that Alexander was an impostor put forward in their own interests by Attalus II of Pergamum and Ptolemy VI Philometor of Egypt, who persuaded the Roman Senate to recognize his claim to the Seleucid throne. On Alexander's surname Balas see § 119 note *a*. The following narrative, to § 37, is based on a Greek source, probably Polybius or Nicolas of Damascus. See the Appendix in vol. ix. of this translation.

[g] Mod. *'Akkā*, *cf. Ant.* xii. 331 note *c*.

ἱετο, ἀλλὰ[1] περὶ τὰ πράγματα ῥάθυμος ἦν καὶ ὀλίγωρος, ὅθεν αὐτῷ καὶ μᾶλλον τὸ παρὰ τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων μῖσος ἐξήφθη, καθὼς ἤδη καὶ ἐν
37 ἄλλοις δεδηλώκαμεν. γενόμενον οὖν ἐν Πτολεμαΐδι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀκούσας ὁ Δημήτριος ἦγεν ἅπασαν ἀναλαβὼν ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὴν δύναμιν. ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ πρὸς Ἰωνάθην πρέσβεις περὶ συμμαχίας καὶ εὐνοίας· φθάσαι γὰρ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον διέγνω, μὴ προδιαλεχθεὶς ἐκεῖνος αὐτῷ σχῇ τὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ
38 βοήθειαν. τοῦτο δ' ἐποίει φοβηθεὶς μὴ μνησικακήσας ὁ Ἰωνάθης αὐτῷ τῆς ἔχθρας συνεπιθῆται. προσέταξεν οὖν αὐτῷ συναθροίζειν δύναμιν καὶ κατασκευάζειν[2] ὅπλα καὶ τοὺς ὁμήρους, οὓς τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐνέκλεισε Βακχίδης ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ τῶν
39 Ἱεροσολύμων, ἀπολαβεῖν.[3] τοιούτων οὖν αὐτῷ τῶν παρὰ Δημητρίου προσπεσόντων ὁ Ἰωνάθης παραγενόμενος εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀνέγνω τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀκουόντων τοῦ τε λαοῦ καὶ
40 τῶν φρουρούντων τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. ἀναγνωσθέντων δὲ τούτων οἱ ἀσεβεῖς καὶ φυγάδες οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως λίαν ἔδεισαν, ἐπιτετροφότος Ἰωνάθῃ τοῦ βασιλέως στρατιὰν συλλέγειν καὶ τοὺς ὁμήρους ἀπολαβεῖν. ὁ δὲ τοῖς γονεῦσιν ἑκάστῳ τὸν ἴδιον
41 ἀπέδωκεν. καὶ οὕτως μὲν Ἰωνάθης ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις τὴν μονὴν ἐποιεῖτο, καινίζων τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ βούλησιν κατασκευάζων ἕκαστον.[4] ἐκέλευσε γὰρ οἰκοδομηθῆναι καὶ τὰ τείχη τῆς πόλεως ἐκ λίθων τετραγώνων, ὡς ἂν ᾖ
42 καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους[5] ἀσφαλέστερα.[6] ταῦτα δ'

[1] ἀλλὰ καὶ FLAMVW Lat.
[2] προκατασκευάζειν PFLV.
[3] ἀπολαμβάνειν AMWE.
[4] ἕκαστα Cobet.
[5] πολέμους PFV.
[6] ἀσφαλέστερον AMWE.

and careless about public affairs, for which reason the hatred of his subjects was still more inflamed against him, as we have already related elsewhere.[a] But when Demetrius heard that Alexander had come to Ptolemais, he took his entire army and led it against him. He also sent envoys to Jonathan to propose a friendly alliance, for he had determined to anticipate Alexander lest he should be before him in treating with Jonathan and obtaining assistance from him. This he did from fear that Jonathan might bear him a grudge for his former enmity, and therefore join in the attack on him. Accordingly he instructed him to collect a force and provide arms, and to recover the Jewish hostages whom Bacchides had shut up in the citadel of Jerusalem. On receiving this message from Demetrius, Jonathan came to Jerusalem and read the king's letter in the hearing of the people and of those who guarded the citadel. And when these instructions were read, the godless men and the renegades of the citadel were in great fear, now that the king had permitted Jonathan to raise an army and recover the hostages. But he restored every one of them to his parents. So Jonathan took up his residence[b] in Jerusalem, making various repairs in the city and arranging everything according to his own liking. Thus he ordered the walls of the city[c] also to be built of square stones in order that they might be more secure against the

[a] As there is no such passage in Josephus, we may assume that this phrase is taken over from his source.

[b] τὴν μονὴν ἐποιεῖτο is a Thucydidean phrase (Thuc. i. 131), also found in *Ant.* viii. 350.

[c] 1 Macc. x. 11, "the walls and the mount of Sion," that is, the temple hill, the walls of which had been destroyed by Antiochus Eupator; *cf. Ant.* xii. 382 ff. (=1 Macc. vi. 60 ff.).

ὁρῶντες οἱ τῶν φρουρίων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ φύλακες, ἐκλιπόντες αὐτὰ πάντες ἔφυγον εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν πάρεξ τῶν ἐν Βεθσούρᾳ πόλει καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων· οὗτοι γὰρ ἡ πλείων μοῖρα τῶν ἀσεβῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ πεφευγότων ἦσαν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὰς φρουρὰς οὐκ ἐγκατέλιπον.

43 (2) Γνοὺς δὲ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος τάς τε ὑποσχέσεις ἃς ἐποιήσατο Δημήτριος πρὸς Ἰωνάθην, καὶ εἰδὼς καὶ[1] τὴν ἀνδρείαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁπόσα διέθηκε πολεμῶν τοὺς Μακεδόνας, καὶ πάλιν οἷα πεπονθὼς αὐτὸς εἴη ὑπὸ Δημητρίου καὶ Βακχίδου τοῦ Δημητρίου στρατηγοῦ, σύμμαχον οὐκ ἂν εὑρεῖν Ἰωνάθου ἀμείνω πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἔλεγεν ἐν τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ, ὃς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους[2] ἐστὶν ἀνδρεῖος, καὶ μῖσος οἰκεῖον ἔχει πρὸς Δημήτριον, πολλὰ
44 πεπονθὼς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ κακὰ καὶ πεποιηκώς. "εἰ τοιγαροῦν δοκεῖ φίλον ποιεῖσθαι αὐτὸν κατὰ Δημητρίου, νῦν ἐστιν οὐκ ἄλλο τι[3] χρησιμώτερον ἢ[4] παρακαλεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν." δόξαν οὖν[5] αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς φίλοις πέμπειν πρὸς τὸν Ἰω-
45 νάθην, γράφει τοιαύτην ἐπιστολήν· "βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος Ἰωνάθῃ τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν. τὴν μὲν ἀνδρείαν σου καὶ πίστιν ἀκηκόαμεν πάλαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πεπόμφαμεν πρὸς σὲ περὶ φιλίας καὶ[6] συμ-

[1] καὶ εἰδὼς καὶ AMW: καὶ εἰδὼς L: καὶ rell.
[2] πολεμίους V Lat.
[3] ἄλλο τι Dindorf: ἄλλοτε codd.
[4] ἢ add. Dindorf.
[5] δὲ LAMW.
[6] φιλίας καὶ om. AMWE.

enemy.[a] When the defenders of the garrisons in Judaea observed this, they all left their posts and fled to Antioch, with the exception of those in the city of Bethsur and those in the citadel of Jerusalem,[b] for these consisted of the greater part of the godless and renegade Jews, and for that reason they did not abandon the garrisons.

(2) But when Alexander learned of the promises which Demetrius had made to Jonathan, knowing of his courage and what great things he had accomplished in the war with the Macedonians, and, on the other hand, how greatly he had suffered at the hands of Demetrius and Demetrius' general Bacchides, he told his Friends[c] that at the present juncture he could find no better ally than Jonathan, who was courageous in battle[d] and also had his own grounds for hating Demetrius, having suffered many injuries at his hands as well as having inflicted them on him. "If, then, we decide to make him our friend against Demetrius, nothing would be of more advantage just now than to invite him to make an alliance with us." Accordingly when it was decided by himself and his Friends to send to Jonathan, he wrote the following letter.[e] "King Alexander to his brother Jonathan, greeting. We have long heard of your courage and loyalty, and for this reason have sent to you to pro-

Alexander Balas tries to win over Jonathan by gifts and promises. 1 Macc. x. 15.

[a] Variant "war."

[b] Jerusalem is not specifically mentioned at this point in 1 Macc. For a brief summary of the recently discovered archaeological material bearing on the occupation of Bethsur see Albright in *BASOR*, 43 (Oct. 1931), pp. 2-12 or Watzinger ii. 24 f. and Tafel 3.

[c] *Cf. Ant.* xii. 134 note.

[d] Variant "against the enemy."

[e] On the authenticity of this letter and that of Demetrius below *cf.* literature cited in Appendix J.

μαχίας. χειροτονοῦμεν δέ σε σήμερον ἀρχιερέα τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ φίλον ἐμὸν καλεῖσθαι. ἀπέσταλκά σοι καὶ δωρεὰς στολὴν πορφυρᾶν καὶ στέφανον χρύσεον, καὶ παρακαλῶ τιμηθέντα ὑφ' ἡμῶν ὅμοιον γίνεσθαι περὶ ἡμᾶς."

46 (3) Δεξάμενος δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ὁ Ἰωνάθης ἐνδύεται μὲν τὴν ἀρχιερατικὴν[1] στολήν, τῆς σκηνοπηγίας ἐνστάσης, μετὰ ἔτη τέσσαρα ἢ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Ἰούδαν ἀποθανεῖν (καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἀρχιερεύς τις ἐγεγόνει)· συνάγει δὲ δύναμιν πολλὴν καὶ πλῆθος ὅπλων
47 ἐχάλκευεν. Δημήτριον δὲ ταῦτα σφόδρ' ἐλύπησε μαθόντα, καὶ τῆς βραδυτῆτος ἑαυτὸν ἐποίησεν αἰτιᾶσθαι, ὅτι μὴ προλαβὼν Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτὸς φιλανθρωπεύσαιτο[2] τὸν Ἰωνάθην, ἀλλ' ἐκείνῳ καταλίποι καιρὸν εἰς τοῦτο. γράφει τοίνυν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπιστολὴν τῷ Ἰωνάθῃ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ δη-
48 λοῦσαν τάδε· "βασιλεὺς Δημήτριος Ἰωνάθῃ καὶ τῷ ἔθνει τῶν Ἰουδαίων χαίρειν. ἐπειδὴ διετηρήσατε τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς φιλίαν καὶ πειράσασιν ὑμᾶς τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἐχθροῖς οὐ προσέθεσθε, καὶ ταύτην μὲν ὑμῶν ἐπαινῶ τὴν πίστιν καὶ παρακαλῶ δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐμμένειν,[3] ἀποληψομένους ἀμοιβὰς παρ'
49 ἡμῶν καὶ χάριτας. τοὺς γὰρ πλείστους ὑμῶν ἀνήσω τῶν φόρων καὶ τῶν συντάξεων ἃς ἐτελεῖτε τοῖς πρὸ ἐμοῦ βασιλεῦσιν καὶ ἐμοί, νῦν τε ὑμῖν

[1] ἱερατικὴν P: sacerdotali Lat.
[2] E: ἐφιλανθρωπεύσατο codd. [3] E: ἐπιμένειν codd.

[a] The variant omits "friendly."
[b] 1 Macc. x. 21, "in the seventh month of the hundred and sixtieth year," *i.e.* in the autumn of 152 B.C. (here reckoning the spring of 311 B.C. as the beginning of the Seleucid

pose a friendly[a] alliance. We therefore elect you this day high priest of the Jews with the title of my Friend. I have also sent you as gifts a robe of purple and a gold crown; and I request you, who have been honoured by us, to act toward us in like manner."

(3) On receiving this letter, Jonathan, at the time of the festival of Tabernacles, put on the high-priestly robe, this being four years after the death of his brother Judas—for there had been no high priest during this time—,[b] and gathered together a large force and forged a great number of arms. But Demetrius was greatly grieved on learning these things, and they caused him to blame himself for his dilatoriness in not anticipating Alexander by himself extending privileges[c] to Jonathan instead of leaving the other this opportunity. Accordingly he also wrote a letter to Jonathan and the people, which read as follows. "King Demetrius to Jonathan[d] and the Jewish nation, greeting. Since you have preserved your friendship for us, and in spite of their tempting offers have not joined yourselves to my foes, I commend you for this loyalty on your part, and exhort you to continue in the same course, for which you shall receive a recompense from us and our favour. For I shall release the greater part of you from the tribute and imposts which you have paid to my royal predecessors and to me, and for the

Demetrius makes counter proposals to Jonathan. 1 Macc. x. 21.

era, *cf. Ant.* xii. 240 note *a*). Judas died in 159 B.C.; thus Jonathan's accession to the high priesthood took place seven years after Judas' death, *cf. Ant.* xx. 237; for a similar contradiction *cf. Ant.* xii. 414 and note.

[c] This meaning of φιλανθρωπεύειν might have been included in the vocabulary given by Welles, *Royal Corr.*, p. 373.

[d] 1 Macc. omits Jonathan's name.

ἀφίημι τοὺς φόρους οὓς ἀεὶ παρείχετε. πρὸς τούτοις καὶ τὴν τιμὴν ὑμῖν χαρίζομαι τῶν ἁλῶν καὶ τῶν στεφάνων, οὓς προσεφέρετε ἡμῖν, καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν τρίτων τοῦ καρποῦ καὶ τοῦ ἡμίσους τοῦ ξυλίνου καρποῦ τὸ γινόμενον ἐμοὶ μέρος ὑμῖν ἀφίημι ἀπὸ
50 τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας. καὶ ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἑκάστης ὃ ἔδει μοι δίδοσθαι τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ κατοικούντων καὶ τῶν τριῶν τοπαρχιῶν τῶν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ προσκειμένων Σαμαρείας καὶ Γαλιλαίας καὶ Περαίας, τούτου[1] παραχωρῶ ὑμῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν εἰς τὸν
51 ἅπαντα χρόνον. καὶ τὴν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν ἱερὰν καὶ ἄσυλον εἶναι βούλομαι καὶ ἐλευθέραν ἕως τῶν ὅρων αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς δεκάτης καὶ τῶν τελῶν. τὴν δὲ ἄκραν ἐπιτρέπω τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ ὑμῶν Ἰωνάθῃ, οὓς δ' ἂν αὐτὸς δοκιμάσῃ πιστοὺς καὶ φίλους, τούτους ἐν αὐτῇ φρουροὺς[2] καταστῆσαι,[3] ἵνα φυλάσ-
52 σωσιν ἡμῖν αὐτήν. καὶ Ἰουδαίων δὲ τοὺς αἰχμαλωτισθέντας καὶ δουλεύοντας ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἀφίημι ἐλευθέρους. κελεύω δὲ μηδὲ ἀγγαρεύεσθαι τὰ Ἰουδαίων ὑποζύγια· τὰ δὲ σάββατα καὶ ἑορτὴν ἅπασαν[4] καὶ τρεῖς[5] πρὸ τῆς ἑορτῆς ἡμέρας[6] ἔστωσαν

[1] E: *τούτους* codd. [2] *φρουροὺς* om. AMW.
[3] Niese: *καταστῆσαι* PFAMVWE: *καταστήσω* L.
[4] *ἑορτὴ ἅπασα* E.
[5] *τρεῖς καὶ* P: *τρεῖς αἱ* LAMW. [6] *ἡμέραι* LAMW.

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[a] On these and the following taxes see Bikerman, *Inst. Sél.* pp. 111-114.

[b] On "toparchy" (for which 1 Macc. has "nome") as a subdivision of the nome see Schalit, pp. 21, 29 ff.

[c] 1 Macc. x. 30 reads, "And now I release you and exempt all the Jews from the tributes (*φόρων*) and from the payment of the salt-tax and the crown-taxes; and a third of the seed and a half of the fruit of trees, which it is my due to receive, I give up my right to receive from to-day and henceforth

present I remit to you the tribute which you have always given. In addition I excuse you from payment of the salt-tax and crown-tax,[a] which you have made to us, and in place of the third part of the grain and the half of the fruits of trees I remit to you my share thereof from this day on. And as for the poll-tax which was to be paid to me by the inhabitants of Judaea and the three toparchies[b] adjoining it, Samaria, Galilee and Peraea, I exempt you from this now and for all time.[c] And it is my wish that the city of Jerusalem shall be sacred and inviolable and be free to its borders from the tithe and tolls. And the citadel I place in the hands of your high priest Jonathan, and such men as he shall judge to be faithful and friendly to him, he may place in it as a garrison to guard it for us. And I also set free those Jews who have been taken captive and are in slavery in our realm.[d] And I command that the Jews' beasts of burden shall not be requisitioned[e] for our army, and that on the Sabbaths and all festivals and the three days preceding a festival[f] the Jews

from the land of Judah and from the three nomes added to it, from Samaritis and Galilee." Several scholars delete "Galilee" and understand the text to mean three districts of Samaria, namely Aphairema, Lydda and Ramathaim, mentioned by name in 1 Macc. xi. 34, and alluded to in 1 Macc. x. 38; *cf.* § 125 note *a*. Josephus seems to have interpreted the passage in the light of the divisions of Jewish territory in the 1st century A.D. *Cf.* further Dr. Thackeray's note on *Ap.* ii. 43 and Büchler's remarks quoted in Appendix C of vol. vi. of this translation.

[d] *Cf.* the similar act of Ptolemy II Philadelphus narrated in Aristeas § 12 f. (*Ant.* xii. 17 ff.).

[e] On this meaning of ἀγγαρεύεσθαι *cf.* Hatch, *Essays in Biblical Greek*, p. 37.

[f] 1 Macc. adds "and three days after."

53 ἀτελεῖς. τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ
κατοικοῦντας Ἰουδαίους ἐλευθέρους καὶ ἀνεπηρε-
άστους ἀφίημι, καὶ τοῖς στρατεύεσθαι μετ' ἐμοῦ
βουλομένοις ἐπιτρέπω καὶ μέχρι τρισμυρίων ἐξέστω
τοῦτο· τῶν δ' αὐτῶν, ὅποι ἂν ἀπίωσι, τεύξονται
ὧν καὶ τὸ ἐμὸν στράτευμα μεταλαμβάνει. κατα-
στήσω δ' αὐτῶν οὓς μὲν εἰς τὰ φρούρια, τινὰς δὲ[1]
περὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τοὐμοῦ σώματος, καὶ ἡγεμόνας
54 δὲ ποιήσω τῶν περὶ τὴν ἐμὴν αὐλήν. ἐπιτρέπω δὲ
καὶ τοῖς πατρίοις[2] χρῆσθαι νόμοις καὶ τούτους
φυλάσσειν, καὶ τοὺς ἐν[3] τρισὶν τοῖς προσκειμένοις[4]
τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ νομοῖς[5] ὑποτάσσεσθαι[6] βούλομαι, καὶ
τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ δὲ[7] ἐπιμελὲς εἶναι, ἵνα μηδὲ εἷς Ἰου-
δαῖος ἄλλο ἔχῃ ἱερὸν προσκυνεῖν ἢ μόνον τὸ ἐν
55 Ἱεροσολύμοις. δίδωμι δ' ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν καὶ εἰς τὴν
δαπάνην τῶν θυσιῶν κατ' ἔτος μυριάδας πεντε-
καίδεκα, τὰ δὲ περισσεύοντα τῶν χρημάτων
ὑμέτερα εἶναι βούλομαι· τὰς δὲ μυρίας δραχμὰς
ἃς ἐλάμβανον ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ οἱ βασιλεῖς, ὑμῖν ἀφίημι
διὰ τὸ προσήκειν αὐτὰς τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν τοῖς λειτουρ-

[1] δὲ καὶ FLV.
[2] Niese: πατρῴοις codd.
[3] τοὺς ἐν coni.: τοῖς codd.
[4] ex Macc. Bekker: προκειμένοις codd.; propositis Lat.
[5] τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ νομοῖς ex Macc. Grotius: ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ νόμοις codd.
[6] ἐπιτάσσεσθαι Grotius.
[7] δὲ P: om. rell.

[a] For a similar exemption (ἀτέλεια τῶν λειτουργιῶν) *cf.* Welles, *Royal Corr.*, p. 16.

[b] 1 Macc. x. 37, "And some shall be placed over the affairs of the kingdom which are matters of trust."

[c] Conj.: mss. "ancestral."

[d] *Cf.* above, § 50 note *e*.

[e] Text slightly uncertain.

shall be exempt from labour.[a] In the same manner do I set free the Jewish inhabitants of my realm and assure them of not being molested; and to those who wish to serve in my army I give leave to do so, and this shall be permitted to as many as thirty thousand, and wherever they go they shall receive the same pay as my own army. Some of them I shall place in garrisons, and others in my bodyguard, and I shall make them officers at my court.[b] I also permit them to live in accordance with their country's[c] laws and to observe them, and it is my will that those living in the three districts added to Judaea[d] shall be subject to these laws,[e] and that it shall be the concern of the high priest that not a single Jew shall have any temple for worship other than that at Jerusalem.[f] And I give out of my own revenue one hundred and fifty thousand drachmas[g] yearly for the expenses of the sacrifices, and it is my wish that whatever is left over from this sum shall be yours.[h] As for the ten thousand drachmas[i] which the kings used to receive from the temple, these I remit to you because they belong to the

[f] 1 Macc. x. 38 merely says that the inhabitants of the three newly acquired districts "shall not obey any authority other than that of the high priest." Josephus paraphrases freely. He also omits the donation of Ptolemais in vs. 39.

[g] 1 Macc. x. 40, "fifteen thousand shekels of silver" which would make only 30,000 drachmas or at most 60,000 (Attic) according to Josephus' reckoning in *Ant.* iii. 194.

[h] 1 Macc. x. 41, "And all the overplus which the finance officials (*οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν χρειῶν*) did not give as in former times, from now on they shall give for the work of the temple," which seems to mean the additional grants to the temple formerly made by the Seleucid (and Ptolemaic) kings and recently withheld by Seleucid officials.

[i] 1 Macc. "5000 shekels"; *cf.* note *g* above.

56 γοῦσιν[1] τῷ ἱερῷ.[2] καὶ ὅσοι δ' ἂν φύγωσιν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις καὶ εἰς τὰ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ χρηματίζοντα, ἢ βασιλικὰ ὀφείλοντες χρήματα ἢ δι' ἄλλην αἰτίαν, ἀπολελύσθωσαν οὗτοι καὶ τὰ
57 ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῖς σῶα ἔστω. ἐπιτρέπω δὲ καὶ ἀνακαινίζειν τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ οἰκοδομεῖν τῆς εἰς ταῦτα δαπάνης ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν γινομένης, καὶ τὰ τείχη δὲ συγχωρῶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως οἰκοδομεῖν καὶ πύργους ὑψηλοὺς ἐγείρειν καὶ ταῦτα ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν ἀνιστᾶν πάντα. εἰ δέ τι καὶ φρούριόν ἐστιν ὃ συμφέρει τῇ χώρᾳ τῇ Ἰουδαίων ὀχυρὸν εἶναι, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν κατασκευασθήτω."

58 (4) Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὑπισχνούμενος καὶ χαριζόμενος τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἔγραψε Δημήτριος. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς δύναμιν μεγάλην συναγαγὼν μισθοφόρων καὶ τῶν προσθεμένων ἐκ τῆς Συρίας αὐτῷ στρατιωτῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Δημήτριον ἐστράτευσεν.
59 καὶ μάχης γενομένης τὸ μὲν εὐώνυμον κέρας τοῦ Δημητρίου τρέπεται τοὺς ἐναντίους εἰς φυγὴν καὶ ἐδίωξεν ἄχρι πολλοῦ, κτείνει τε συχνοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ διαρπάζει τὸ στρατόπεδον, τὸ δὲ δεξιόν, οὗ συν-
60 έβαινεν εἶναι τὸν Δημήτριον, ἡττᾶται. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες ἔφυγον, Δημήτριος δὲ γενναίως μαχόμενος οὐκ ὀλίγους μὲν ἀναιρεῖ τῶν πολεμίων, διώκων δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους εἰσελαύνει[3] τὸν ἵππον εἰς τέλμα βαθὺ καὶ δυσεκπόρευτον, ἔνθα συνέβη πεσόντος αὐτῷ τοῦ ἵππου μὴ δυνάμενον διαφυγεῖν

[1] καὶ τοῖς λειτουργοῖς LAMWE.
[2] τῶν ἱερῶν LAMWE.
[3] ἐλαύνει P.

[a] 1 Macc. x. 46 f. states that Jonathan and the people distrusted the promises made by Demetrius, and remained loyal to Alexander Balas.

priests who minister in the temple. And all those who take refuge in the temple at Jerusalem or in any place to which its name is attached, whether because they owe money to the king or for any other reason, shall be set free, and their possessions shall be left untouched. I also permit you to repair and rebuild the temple, the expense of which shall come out of my revenue; and I give you leave to build the walls of your city and to erect high towers and to restore all these at my expense. Moreover, if there is any garrison which is to the advantage of the country of the Jews to have strengthened, this too shall be done at my expense."

(4) These, then, were the promises and favours[a] which Demetrius offered when he wrote to the Jews. Meanwhile King Alexander gathered together a large force of mercenaries and soldiers from Syria who joined him, and marched against Demetrius.[b] And in the battle which took place the left wing of Demetrius put their adversaries to flight, and pursuing them for a great distance, killed a great many of them and plundered their camp; but the right wing, where Demetrius happened to be, was defeated. And though all the others fled, Demetrius fought valiantly and slew not a few of the enemy, but in pursuing the others, he rode his horse into a deep swamp from which it was difficult to get out, and as his horse fell just there, he was unable to escape, and

Demetrius is slain in battle with Alexander Balas. 1 Macc. x. 48.

[a] The following narrative, to § 80, is from a Hellenistic source. The section on the battle between Demetrius and Alexander is paralleled in Justinus xxxv. and Appian, *Syria* 67. Bevan, *H. Sel.* ii. 211, thinks all these accounts are based on Polybius, but T. Reinach and Kolbe point to the chronological discrepancy, see next note.

61 ἀναιρεθῆναι. τὸ γὰρ συμβεβηκὸς περὶ αὐτὸν
ἰδόντες οἱ πολέμιοι ἀνέστρεψαν, καὶ κυκλωσάμενοι
τὸν Δημήτριον πάντες ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἠκόντιζον. ὁ δὲ
πεζὸς ὢν γενναίως ἀπεμάχετο, καὶ τελευταῖον
τραύματα λαβὼν πολλὰ καὶ μηκέτ' ἀντέχειν δυνά-
μενος κατέπεσεν. καὶ τέλος μὲν τοιοῦτον τὸν
Δημήτριον κατέλαβεν, ἔτη βασιλεύσαντα ἕνδεκα,
ὡς καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις[1] δεδηλώκαμεν.

62 (iii. 1) Ὁ δὲ Ὀνίου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως υἱὸς ὁμ-
ώνυμος δὲ ὢν τῷ πατρί, ὃς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ φυγὼν
πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον τὸν ἐπικαλούμενον
Φιλομήτορα διῆγεν, ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἰρήκαμεν,
ἰδὼν τὴν Ἰουδαίαν κακουμένην ὑπὸ τῶν Μακε-
63 δόνων καὶ τῶν βασιλέων αὐτῶν, βουλόμενος αὑτῷ
μνήμην καὶ δόξαν αἰώνιον κατασκευάσαι, διέγνω
πέμψας πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὴν
βασίλισσαν Κλεοπάτραν αἰτήσασθαι παρ' αὐτῶν
ἐξουσίαν, ὅπως οἰκοδομήσειε ναὸν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ
παραπλήσιον τῷ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, καὶ Λευίτας καὶ
64 ἱερεῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου γένους καταστήσῃ.[2] τοῦτο δ'
ἐβούλετο θαρρῶν μάλιστα τῷ προφήτῃ Ἡσαΐᾳ, ὃς
ἔμπροσθεν ἔτεσιν ἑξακοσίοις πλέον[3] γεγονὼς προ-
εῖπεν, ὡς δεῖ πάντως ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ οἰκοδομηθῆναι
ναὸν τῷ μεγίστῳ θεῷ ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς Ἰουδαίου. διὰ

[1] ἄλλοις συντάγμασιν ἡμῶν P. [2] καταστήσειε Naber.
[3] ἑξακοσίων πλείοσι AMWE.

[a] Polybius and Eusebius give him a reign of 12 years. He began to rule in 162 B.C. (*cf. Ant.* xii. 389 note *b*), and his death probably occurred in 150 B.C., *cf.* Kolbe, p. 56. As both Demetrius and Alexander were usurpers, it is difficult to determine just how long their reigns should be considered to have lasted. Usurpers often issued coins before they were generally recognized as kings.

[b] Variant "in other works of ours." There is no such

was slain. For the enemy, seeing what had happened to him, turned round, and encircling Demetrius, all threw their javelins at him. But though he was on foot, he valiantly fought them off, until finally, after receiving many wounds and no longer being able to hold out, he fell. Such was the fate that overtook Demetrius after a reign of eleven years,[a] as we have related elsewhere.[b]

(iii. 1) [c] Now the son of the high priest Onias, who had the same name as his father, having fled to King Ptolemy surnamed Philometor, was living in Alexandria, as we have said before [d]; and seeing that Judaea was being ravaged by the Macedonians and their kings, and desiring to acquire for himself eternal fame and glory, he determined to send to King Ptolemy and Queen Cleopatra and request of them authority to build a temple in Egypt similar to that at Jerusalem, and to appoint Levites and priests of his own race. In this desire he was encouraged chiefly by the words of the prophet Isaiah, who had lived more than six hundred years before and had foretold that a temple to the Most High God was surely to be built in Egypt by a Jew.[e] Being, there-

The high priest Onias seeks a site for a temple in Egypt.

passage in Josephus: probably the formula is taken over from his source, *cf. Ant.* xii. 390 note *g*.

[c] On this story of Onias IV and the parallel account in *B.J.* vii. 423-432, *cf.* literature cited in Appendices E and G.

[d] In *Ant.* xii. 386 ff.

[e] *Cf.* Is. xix. 19, "In that day shall there be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar at the border thereof to the Lord." Many commentators suspect vss. 18-25 of this chapter of having been interpolated by a writer of the Hasmonaean period; in vs. 18 some scholars emend *'ir ha-heres* "city of destruction" to *'ir ha-ḥeres* "city of the sun," supposing this to be an allusion to the name Heliopolis "city of the sun."

ταῦτα οὖν ἐπηρμένος Ὀνίας γράφει Πτολεμαίῳ
65 καὶ Κλεοπάτρᾳ τοιαύτην ἐπιστολήν· "πολλὰς καὶ
μεγάλας ὑμῖν χρείας τετελεκὼς ἐν τοῖς κατὰ πό-
λεμον ἔργοις μετὰ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ βοηθείας, καὶ
γενόμενος ἔν τε τῇ κοίλῃ Συρίᾳ καὶ Φοινίκῃ, καὶ
εἰς Λεόντων δὲ πόλιν τοῦ Ἡλιοπολίτου σὺν τοῖς
Ἰουδαίοις καὶ εἰς ἄλλους τόπους ἀφικόμενος τοῦ
66 ἔθνους, καὶ πλείστους εὑρὼν παρὰ τὸ καθῆκον
ἔχοντας ἱερὰ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δύσνους ἀλλήλοις, ὃ
καὶ Αἰγυπτίοις συμβέβηκε διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν
ἱερῶν καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰς θρησκείας οὐχ ὁμοδοξεῖν,[1]
ἐπιτηδειότατον εὑρὼν τόπον ἐν τῷ προσαγορευο-
μένῳ τῆς ἀγρίας Βουβάστεως ὀχυρώματι, βρύοντα
67 ποικίλης ὕλης καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ζῴων μεστόν, δέομαι
συγχωρῆσαί μοι, τὸ ἀδέσποτον ἀνακαθάραντι ἱερὸν
καὶ συμπεπτωκός, οἰκοδομῆσαι ναὸν τῷ μεγίστῳ
θεῷ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν τοῦ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις τοῖς αὐτοῖς
μέτροις ὑπὲρ σοῦ καὶ τῆς σῆς γυναικὸς καὶ τῶν
τέκνων, ἵν' ἔχωσιν οἱ τὴν Αἴγυπτον κατοικοῦντες
Ἰουδαῖοι, εἰς αὐτὸ συνιόντες κατὰ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλή-
68 λους ὁμόνοιαν, ταῖς σαῖς ἐξυπηρετεῖν χρείαις· καὶ
γὰρ Ἡσαΐας ὁ προφήτης τοῦτο προεῖπεν· ἔσται

[1] ὁμόδοξον FV.

[a] Probably not the war between Antiochus Epiphanes and Ptolemy Philometor, but the war between Philometor and his rival Ptolemy VII Euergetes, in which case Onias is to be identified with the Jewish general Onias mentioned in *Ap.* ii. 49. Büchler conjectures (*Tobiaden*, pp. 246 ff.) that Onias' contemporary Dositheus, a Samaritan, sought to establish a rival temple in Egypt.

[b] Most scholars, following Naville and Flinders Petrie, locate the site at the mod. *Tell el-Yehūdiyeh*, *c.* 30 miles N.E. of Memphis. In *B.J.* vii. 426 Josephus locates it at a

fore, excited by these words, Onias wrote the following letter to Ptolemy and Cleopatra. "Many and great are the services which I have rendered you in the course of the war,[a] with the help of God, when I was in Coele-Syria and Phoenicia, and when I came with the Jews to Leontopolis in the nome of Heliopolis[b] and to other places where our nation is settled; and I found that most of them have temples, contrary to what is proper, and that for this reason they are ill-disposed toward one another, as is also the case with the Egyptians because of the multitude of their temples and their varying opinions about the forms of worship; and I have found a most suitable place in the fortress called after Bubastis-of-the-Fields, which abounds in various kinds of trees and is full of sacred animals, wherefore I beg you to permit me to cleanse this temple, which belongs to no one and is in ruins, and to build a temple[c] to the Most High God in the likeness of that at Jerusalem and with the same dimensions,[d] on behalf of you and your wife and children, in order that the Jewish inhabitants of Egypt may be able to come together there in mutual harmony and serve your interests. For this indeed is what the prophet Isaiah foretold, 'There shall be an altar in Egypt to the

distance of 180 stades (c. 20 miles) from Memphis. For the literature on the topography see Schürer iii. 97 n. 25 and Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, 1906. The temple was probably near the Ἰουδαίων στρατόπεδον "Jews' camp," mentioned in *Ant.* xiv. 133.

[c] Tscherikower, pp. 286 ff., makes the interesting suggestion that the building of the temple was only incidental to the settling of a military colony of Jews by Onias.

[d] In *B.J.* vii. 427 Josephus states merely that the altar of the Onias temple resembled that at Jerusalem.

θυσιαστήριον ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ· καὶ πολλὰ δὲ προεφήτευσεν ἄλλα τοιαῦτα διὰ τὸν τόπον."

69 (2) Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Ὀνίας τῷ βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίῳ γράφει. κατανοήσειε δ' ἄν τις αὐτοῦ τὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ Κλεοπάτρας τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ γυναικὸς ἐξ ἧς ἀντέγραψαν[1] ἐπιστολῆς· τὴν γὰρ ἁμαρτίαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ νόμου παράβασιν εἰς τὴν Ὀνίου κεφαλὴν ἀνέθεσαν· ἀντέγραψαν[2] γὰρ
70 οὕτως· "βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος καὶ βασίλισσα Κλεοπάτρα Ὀνίᾳ χαίρειν. ἀνέγνωμέν σου τὴν παράκλησιν[3] ἀξιοῦντος ἐπιτραπῆναί σοι τὸ ἐν Λεόντων[4] πόλει τοῦ Ἡλιοπολίτου ἱερὸν συμπεπτωκὸς ἀνακαθᾶραι, προσαγορευόμενον δὲ τῆς ἀγρίας Βουβάστεως. διὸ καὶ θαυμάζομεν εἰ ἔσται τῷ θεῷ κεχαρισμένον τὸ καθιδρυθησόμενον ἱερὸν
71 ἐν ἀσελγεῖ τόπῳ καὶ πλήρει ζῴων ἱερῶν.[5] ἐπεὶ δὲ σὺ φῂς Ἡσαΐαν τὸν προφήτην ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου τοῦτο προειρηκέναι, συγχωροῦμέν σοι, εἰ μέλλει[6] τοῦτο ἔσεσθαι κατὰ τὸν νόμον· ὥστε μηδὲν ἡμᾶς δοκεῖν εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἐξημαρτηκέναι."

72 (3) Λαβὼν οὖν τὸν τόπον ὁ Ὀνίας κατεσκεύασεν ἱερὸν καὶ βωμὸν τῷ θεῷ ὅμοιον τῷ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, μικρότερον δὲ καὶ πενιχρότερον. τὰ δὲ μέτρα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ σκεύη νῦν οὐκ ἔδοξέ μοι δηλοῦν· ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἑβδόμῃ μου βίβλῳ τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν πολέμων[7]

[1] ex Lat. Hudson: ἀντέγραψεν codd.
[2] E: ἀντεγράψεν (-ψε FLMV) codd.
[3] ἐπιστολὴν PFLV: petitionem Lat.
[4] E Lat.: λεοντῶ πόλει P: Λεοντοπόλει rell.
[5] ἀνιέρων AMWE: ἱερείων (del. ζῴων) coni. Schlatter.
[6] μέλλοι PLAMW.
[7] πολέμων om. PFV: Iudaicae antiquitatis Lat.

Lord God,' and many other such things did he prophesy concerning this place."

(2) This, then, is what Onias wrote to King Ptolemy. And one may get a notion of the king's piety and that of his sister and wife Cleopatra from the letter which they wrote in reply, for they placed the blame for the sin and transgression against the Law on the head of Onias,[a] writing the following reply. "King Ptolemy and Queen Cleopatra to Onias, greeting. We have read your petition asking that it be permitted you to cleanse the ruined temple in Leontopolis in the nome of Heliopolis, called Bubastis-of-the-Fields. We wonder, therefore, whether it will be pleasing to God that a temple be built in a place so wild[b] and full of sacred[c] animals. But since you say that the prophet Isaiah foretold this long ago, we grant your request if this is to be in accordance with the Law, so that we may not seem to have sinned against God in any way."

Ptolemy Philometor allows Onias to build a temple at Leontopolis.

(3) And so Onias took over the place and built a temple and an altar to God similar to that at Jerusalem, but smaller and poorer. But it has not seemed to me necessary to write about its dimensions and its vessels now, for they have already been described

The temple of Onias.

[a] From what follows it would seem that the only possible sin consisted in choosing a pagan site for the temple. The problem of the validity of a sacrificial site outside Jerusalem, which most scholars believe to have been implicitly forbidden by the legislation of Deuteronomy, is not raised here. The rabbis, however, seem to have accorded the Onias temple some degree of sanctity, *cf.* Mishnah, *Menahoth*, xiii. 10, and the works cited in Appendix K.

[b] Lit. "wanton"; ἀσέλγεια "wantonness" is connected with idolatry in *Wisdom of Solomon*, xiv. 26.

[c] Variant "unholy": if "sacred" is the correct reading, it means "sacred to the Egyptians."

73 ἀναγέγραπται. εὗρε δὲ Ὀνίας καὶ Ἰουδαίους τινὰς ὁμοίους αὐτῷ καὶ ἱερεῖς καὶ Λευίτας τοὺς ἐκεῖ θρησκεύσοντας.[1] ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τοῦ ἱεροῦ τούτου ἀρκούντως ἡμῖν δεδήλωται.

74 (4) Τοὺς δ' ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Ἰουδαίους καὶ Σαμαρεῖς, οἳ τὸ ἐν Γαριζεὶν ὄρει[2] προσεκύνουν ἱερὸν οἰκοδομηθὲν[3] κατὰ τοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου χρόνους, συνέβη στασιάσαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ Πτολεμαίου διεκρίνοντο, τῶν μὲν Ἰουδαίων λεγόντων κατὰ τοὺς Μωυσέος νόμους ᾠκοδομῆσθαι[4] τὸ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, τῶν δὲ Σαμα-
75 ρέων τὸ ἐν Γαριζείν. παρεκάλεσάν τε[5] σὺν τοῖς φίλοις καθίσαντα τὸν βασιλέα τοὺς περὶ τούτων ἀκοῦσαι λόγους καὶ τοὺς ἡττηθέντας θανάτῳ ζημιῶσαι. τὸν μὲν οὖν ὑπὲρ τῶν Σαμαρέων λόγον Σαββαῖος ἐποιήσατο καὶ Θεοδόσιος, τοὺς[6] δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν καὶ Ἰουδαίων Ἀνδρόνικος ὁ
76 Μεσσαλάμου.[7] ὤμοσαν δὲ τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα ἦ μὴν ποιήσεσθαι[8] τὰς ἀποδείξεις κατὰ τὸν νόμον, παρεκάλεσάν τε τὸν Πτολεμαῖον, ὅπως ὃν ἂν λάβῃ παραβαίνοντα τοὺς ὅρκους ἀποκτείνῃ. ὁ μὲν οὖν βασιλεὺς πολλοὺς τῶν φίλων εἰς συμβουλίαν παραλαβὼν ἐκάθισεν ἀκουσόμενος τῶν λεγόν-
77 των. οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τυγχάνοντες Ἰου-

[1] Niese: θρησκεύοντας codd. Lat.
[2] ὄρει om. PFV.
[3] οἰκοδομηθὲν om. PFV.
[4] οἰκοδομεῖσθαι FLV: οἰκοδομηθῆναι AMW.
[5] γοῦν AMW: οὖν E.
[6] τὸν AMW fort. recte.
[7] Μεσσαλάμου P: Μεσσαλόμου AM: cf. Μοσόλλαμος c. Ap. i. 201.
[8] Dindorf: ποιήσασθαι codd.

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[a] Variant "Judaica." The reference is to *B.J.* vii. 426 ff.
[b] Conjectured: mss. "ministering" (present tense).
[c] *Cf. Ant.* xi. 324.

in the seventh book of my *Jewish War*.[a] And Onias found some Jews of his own kind, and priests and Levites to minister[b] there. Concerning this temple, however, we have already said enough.

(4) Now there arose a quarrel between the Jews in Alexandria and the Samaritans who worshipped at the temple on Mount Gerizim, which had been built in the time of Alexander,[c] and they disputed about their respective temples in the presence of Ptolemy himself, the Jews asserting that it was the temple at Jerusalem which had been built in accordance with the laws of Moses, and the Samaritans that it was the temple on Gerizim.[d] And they requested the king to sit in council with his Friends and hear their arguments on these matters, and to punish with death those who were defeated. Accordingly, Sabbaeus and Theodosius made speeches on behalf of the Samaritans, while Andronicus, the son of Messalamus,[e] spoke for the inhabitants of Jerusalem and Judaea. And they swore by God and the king that they would give their proofs in accordance with the Law, and requested Ptolemy to put to death anyone whom he might find violating these oaths. And so the king brought many of his Friends into his council and sat to hear the speakers. And the Jews who were then in Alexandria were in great

Ptolemy Philometor favours the Alexandrian Jews in their dispute with the Samaritans.

[d] For a similar, earlier controversy see *Ant.* xii. 10. Büchler (see note above) believes that the quarrel was not over the rival claims of the temples of Jerusalem and Gerizim but of the Jewish and Samaritan temples in Egypt. It may be noted here that it is extremely difficult to determine how much of this account is historical, and whether it is based on a Palestinian or Hellenistic Egyptian source.

[e] The same name (a Greek form of Heb. *Mᵉšullām*) is written Mosollamos in *Ap.* i. 201.

δαῖοι σφόδρα ἠγωνίων περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν οἷς ἀγανακτεῖν ὑπὲρ[1] τοῦ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις συνέβαινεν ἱεροῦ· χαλεπῶς γὰρ ἔφερον εἰ τοῦτό τινες καταλύσουσιν, οὕτως ἀρχαῖον καὶ διασημότατον τῶν
78 κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ὑπάρχον. τοῦ δὲ Σαββαίου καὶ Θεοδοσίου συγχωρησάντων τῷ Ἀνδρονίκῳ πρώτῳ ποιήσασθαι τοὺς λόγους, ἤρξατο τῶν ἀποδείξεων ἐκ[2] τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν διαδοχῶν τῶν ἀρχιερέων, ὡς ἕκαστος παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τὴν τιμὴν ἐκδεξάμενος ἦρξε τοῦ ναοῦ, καὶ ὅτι πάντες οἱ τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεῖς τὸ ἱερὸν ἐτίμησαν ἀναθήμασιν καὶ λαμπροτάταις δωρεαῖς, τοῦ δ' ἐν[3] Γαριζεὶν ὡς οὐδὲ ὄντος οὐδεὶς λόγον οὐδ' ἐπιστροφὴν ἐποιήσατο.
79 ταῦτα λέγων Ἀνδρόνικος καὶ πολλὰ τούτοις ὅμοια, πείθει τὸν βασιλέα κρῖναι μὲν κατὰ τοὺς Μωυσέος νόμους οἰκοδομηθῆναι τὸ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἱερόν, ἀποκτεῖναι δὲ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Σαββαῖον καὶ Θεοδόσιον. καὶ τὰ μὲν γενόμενα τοῖς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Ἰουδαίοις κατὰ Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Φιλομήτορα ταῦτα ἦν.

80 (iv. 1) Δημητρίου δ' ἀποθανόντος ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, καθὼς ἐπάνω δεδηλώκαμεν, Ἀλέξανδρος τὴν τῆς Συρίας παραλαβὼν βασιλείαν γράφει τῷ Φιλομήτορι Πτολεμαίῳ μνηστευόμενος αὐτοῦ πρὸς γάμον τὴν θυγατέρα, δίκαιον εἶναι λέγων τῷ τὴν πατρῴαν ἀρχὴν κομισαμένῳ καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν εἰς αὐτὴν προαχθέντι καὶ κρατήσαντι Δημητρίου καὶ μηδὲ τἆλλα ἐσομένῳ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν οἰκειότη-
81 τος ἀναξίῳ συνάψαι συγγένειαν. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ προσδεξάμενος ἡδέως τὴν μνηστείαν ἀντιγράφει,

[1] περὶ PFLV.
[2] ἀπό τε AM : om. W.
[3] δ' ἐν FLV : δὲ rell.

anxiety about the men whose task it was to express indignation on behalf[a] of the temple at Jerusalem, for they were resentful that any should seek to destroy this temple which was so ancient and the most celebrated of all those in the world. But as Sabbaeus and Theodosius permitted Andronicus to make the first speech, he began with proofs from the Law and the succession of the high priests, showing how each had become head of the temple by receiving that office from his father, and that all the kings of Asia had honoured the temple with dedicatory-offerings and most splendid gifts, while none had shown any respect or regard for that on Gerizim, as though it were not in existence. By these and many similar arguments Andronicus persuaded the king to decide that the temple at Jerusalem had been built in accordance with the laws of Moses, and to put to death Sabbaeus and Theodosius and their party. These, then, were the things that befell the Jews in Alexandria in the reign of Ptolemy Philometor.

(iv. 1)[b] Now after Demetrius had died in battle, as we have related above,[c] Alexander[d] took over the royal power in Syria, and wrote to Ptolemy Philometor to ask for the hand of his daughter in marriage; for, he said, it was right that Ptolemy should form a connexion with one who had recovered his father's throne and had been restored to it by the providence of God, and had conquered Demetrius, and on other grounds as well would be not unworthy of such an alliance with him. And Ptolemy, who gladly accepted his suit, wrote a reply, saying that he rejoiced

Alexander Balas marries the daughter of Ptolemy Philometor. 1 Macc. x. 51.

[a] Variant "concerning."
[b] Here Josephus resumes his paraphrase of 1 Maccabees.
[c] In § 61.
[d] Surnamed Balas, *cf.* § 119.

χαίρειν τε λέγων ἐπὶ τῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ πατρῴαν οὖσαν ἀπειληφέναι, καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα δώσειν ὑπισχνεῖται, συναντᾶν[1] δ' αὐτὸν εἰς Πτολεμαΐδα τὴν θυγατέρα μέλλοντι ἄγειν ἐκέλευσεν· αὐτὸς γὰρ αὐτὴν μέχρι ταύτης παραπέμψειν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου,
82 κἀκεῖ συνοικίσειν αὐτῷ τὴν παῖδα. καὶ Πτολεμαῖος μὲν ταῦτα γράψας παραγίνεται μετὰ σπουδῆς εἰς Πτολεμαΐδα, Κλεοπάτραν ἄγων τὴν θυγατέρα. εὑρὼν δ' ἐκεῖ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καθὼς ἐπέστειλε προαπηντηκότα, δίδωσιν αὐτῷ τὴν παῖδα καὶ φερνὴν ἄργυρόν τε καὶ χρυσὸν ὅσον εἰκὸς ἦν δοῦναι βασιλέα.

83 (2) Τῶν δὲ γάμων ἐπιτελουμένων Ἀλέξανδρος Ἰωνάθῃ τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ γράψας ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἥκειν εἰς Πτολεμαΐδα. παραγενόμενος δὲ πρὸς τοὺς βασιλέας καὶ δωρησάμενος αὐτοὺς λαμπρῶς,[2] τῆς
84 παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ἀπέλαυσε τιμῆς. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ αὐτὸν ἠνάγκασεν ἀποδυσάμενον[3] τὴν οἰκείαν[4] ἐσθῆτα λαβεῖν πορφύραν, καὶ συγκαθεσθῆναι ποιήσας αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, προσέταξε τοὺς ἡγεμόνας εἰς μέσην μετ' αὐτοῦ προελθόντας τὴν πόλιν κηρῦξαι μηδενὶ κατ' αὐτοῦ λέγειν ἐφεῖσθαι μηδὲ
85 παρέχειν αὐτῷ πράγματα. τοῦτο δὲ ποιησάντων τῶν ἡγεμόνων, ὁρῶντες τὴν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως κεκηρυγμένην Ἰωνάθῃ τιμὴν οἱ κατηγορεῖν παρεσκευασμένοι καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπεχθῶς ἔχοντες ἀπέδρασαν, μὴ καὶ προσλάβωσί τι κακὸν δεδιότες. τοσαύτῃ δὲ σπουδῇ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ὁ βασιλεὺς

[1] ἀπαντᾶν PFV. [2] λαμπρᾶς P.
[3] καὶ pr. PFV. [4] ἰδίαν PF[1]V.

at Alexander's recovery of his father's throne; and he promised to give him his daughter, and told him to meet him at Ptolemais where he would bring his daughter, for, he said, he would himself escort her from Egypt as far as that city, and there he would give him his child in marriage. And so, having written this, Ptolemy came in haste to Ptolemais, bringing his daughter Cleopatra.[a] And finding Alexander waiting to meet him there, as he had instructed him, he gave him his daughter, and, for her dowry, as much silver and gold as a king was expected to give.[b]

Jonathan is honoured by Alexander Balas and Ptolemy Philometor. I Macc. x. 59.

(2) While the wedding ceremonies were being celebrated, Alexander wrote to the high priest Jonathan, asking him to come to Ptolemais. Thereupon he came to the kings, and having made them splendid gifts,[c] was rewarded with honours from both of them.[d] And Alexander compelled him to take off his own garment and put on one of purple, and making him sit with him on the dais, ordered his officers to go with him into the midst of the city and proclaim that no one was permitted to speak against him or to cause him any trouble. When the officers had done this, those men who had been prepared to accuse Jonathan and were hostile to him, seeing the honour that was done him by the king's proclamation, ran away for fear that they might receive some further harm. And so great was the friendly interest

[a] This was, according to I Macc. x. 57, in Sel. yr. 162 = 151/0 B.C.

[b] 1 Macc. says merely that the marriage was celebrated in great splendour. It was Jonathan (see below) who gave gold and silver to the two kings.

[c] *Cf.* previous note.

[d] 1 Macc. x. 60, "he found favour with them."

Ἀλέξανδρος ἐχρῆτο, ὥστε αὐτὸν καὶ πρῶτον ἀναγράψαι τῶν φίλων.

86 (3) Ἔτει δὲ πέμπτῳ καὶ ἑξηκοστῷ πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατὸν Δημήτριος ὁ Δημητρίου μετὰ πολλῶν μισθοφόρων, οὓς παρέσχεν αὐτῷ Λασθένης ὁ Κρής, ἄρας ἀπὸ τῆς Κρήτης κατέπλευσεν εἰς Κιλικίαν.[1]
87 τοῦτο δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀκούσαντα εἰς ἀγωνίαν καὶ ταραχὴν ἐνέβαλε, καὶ παραχρῆμα ἐκ τῆς Φοινίκης εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν ἔσπευσεν, ἵνα τὰ ἐκεῖ πρὶν ἢ Δημή-
88 τριον ἐλθεῖν ἀσφαλῶς θῆται. κατέλιπε δὲ τῆς κοίλης Συρίας Ἀπολλώνιον τὸν Τάον[2] ἡγεμόνα, ὃς μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως εἰς Ἰάμνειαν ἐλθὼν ἔπεμψε πρὸς Ἰωνάθην τὸν ἀρχιερέα, λέγων ἄδικον εἶναι μόνον αὐτὸν ἐπ' ἀδείας ζῆν καὶ μετὰ ἐξουσίας, οὐχ ὑποτασσόμενον τῷ βασιλεῖ· τοῦτο δ' αὐτῷ παρὰ πάντων ὄνειδος φέρειν,[3] ὅτι μὴ ὑποτάξειεν αὑτὸν[4]
89 τῷ βασιλεῖ. "μὴ τοίνυν σαυτὸν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν καθήμενος ἐξαπάτα, νομίζων ἰσχὺν ἔχειν, ἀλλ' εἰ θαρρεῖς τῇ σαυτοῦ δυνάμει, καταβὰς εἰς τὸ πεδίον

[1] Σελεύκειαν coni. Bevan.
[2] PV Lat.: Δάον LAMWE: ὄντα F cum Macc.
[3] φέρει PFLVW.
[4] Naber: αὐτὸν codd.

[a] 1 Macc. x. 65, "inscribed him as one of his First Friends, and made him general and meridarch"—that is, military and civil governor of Judaea, although the Syrian garrison remained in the citadel of Jerusalem, *cf.* below § 121.

[b] The 165th yr. Sel. extended from Oct. 148 to Oct. 147 B.C., or, by Jewish reckoning, from April 147 to April 146 B.C.

[c] Bevan, *H. Sel.* ii. 301, suggests emending "Cilicia" to "Seleucia" (in Pieria, not far from Antioch). 1 Macc. x. 67 has, "to the land of his fathers," presumably meaning Syria. According to Justinus xxxv. 2-1 Demetrius II had been living

in Jonathan shown by King Alexander that he even inscribed him as his First Friend.[a]

(3) But in the hundred and sixty-fifth year[b] Demetrius, the son of Demetrius, embarked from Crete with many mercenaries, with whom Lasthenes the Cretan had furnished him, and sailed to Cilicia.[c] When Alexander heard of this, he was thrown into a state of anxiety and confusion, and at once hastened from Phoenicia to Antioch in order to make his position there secure before Demetrius should arrive. He also left as governor of Coele-Syria Apollonius[d] Taos,[e] who came to Jamneia with a great force and sent to the high priest Jonathan, saying it was unjust that he alone should live in security and with freedom to do as he liked, not being subject to the king; it was, he said, bringing on him the reproach of all men that he did not make himself subject to the king.[f] "Do not, therefore, deceive yourself," he added, "sitting in the mountains and thinking that you are strong; but if you have confidence in your force, come down to the plain and measure your force

Demetrius II opposes Alexander Balas.
1 Macc. x. 67.

at Cnidus (in Caria), in relation to which Cilicia, on the border of Syria, might be considered part of the "land of his fathers," and so interpreted by Josephus, even if he had no Hellenistic source. Moreover Demetrius fell back on Cilicia later, as Josephus tells us in § 145: it may therefore be assumed that he had originally set out from there as from his base of operations.

[d] 1 Macc. correctly states that Apollonius was appointed by Demetrius, not by Alexander; it was on the latter's behalf that Jonathan fought against Apollonius.

[e] Variant "Daos"; 1 Macc. x. 69, "Apollonius, who was over (τὸν ὄντα) Coele-Syria." Some scholars take Josephus' τάον to be a transposition of the two syllables ὄντα in 1 Macc., others take ὄντα to be a corruption of τάον. The point remains unsettled.

[f] These references to the king are added by Josephus.

τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ στρατιᾷ συγκρίθητι, καὶ τὸ τέλος τῆς
90 νίκης ἐπιδείξει τὸν ἀνδρειότατον. ἴσθι μέντοι γε τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐξ ἑκάστης πόλεως ἐμοὶ συστρατεύεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ δὴ τοὺς σοὺς προγόνους οἱ ἀεὶ νικῶντές εἰσιν οὗτοι. ποιήσει[1] δὲ τὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀγῶνα ἐν τοιαύτῃ γῇ, ἐν ᾗ λίθοις οὐκ ἔστιν ἀλλ' ὅπλοις ἀμύνασθαι[2] οὐδὲ τόπος εἰς ὃν ἡττώμενος φεύξῃ."

91 (4) Παροξυνθεὶς δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Ἰωνάθης μυρίους ἐπιλεξάμενος στρατιώτας ὥρμησεν ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων μετὰ καὶ Σίμωνος τἀδελφοῦ, καὶ γενόμενος ἐν Ἰόππῃ στρατοπεδεύεται τῆς πόλεως ἔξω, τῶν Ἰοππηνῶν ἀποκλεισάντων αὐτῷ τὰς πύλας· φρουρὰν γὰρ ἔνδον εἶχον ὑπὸ Ἀπολλωνίου
92 κατασταθεῖσαν. τοῦ δὲ Ἰωνάθου πρὸς πολιορκίαν αὐτῶν παρασκευαζομένου, φοβηθέντες μὴ τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν ἐξέλῃ κατὰ κράτος, ἀνοίγουσιν αὐτῷ τὰς πύλας. ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ἀκούσας τὴν Ἰόππην κατειλημμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰωνάθου, τρισχιλίους ἱππεῖς παραλαβὼν καὶ πεζοὺς ὀκτακισχιλίους[3] εἰς Ἄζωτον ἦλθε, κἀκεῖθεν ἄρας ἠρέμα καὶ βάδην ἐποιεῖτο τὴν πορείαν· ἐλθὼν δ' εἰς τὴν Ἰόππην ὡς ἀναχωρῶν[4] ἕλκει τὸν Ἰωνάθην εἰς τὸ πεδίον, τῇ ἵππῳ καταφρονῶν[5] καὶ τὰς τῆς νίκης ἐλπίδας
93 ἔχων ἐν αὐτῇ. προελθὼν[6] δὲ ὁ Ἰωνάθης ἐδίωκεν εἰς Ἄζωτον τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον. ὁ δέ, ὡς ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ συνέβη γενέσθαι τὸν πολέμιον,[7] ὑποστρέψας

[1] Naber: ποιήσῃ codd.
[2] ἀγωνίσασθαι AMWE.
[3] τετρακισχιλίους E.
[4] ὡς ἀναχωρῶν Naber: ἀναχωρῶν PFV: ὡς ὑπαναχωρῶν LAMWE: tamquam recedens Lat.
[5] μέγα φρονῶν AM.
[6] προσελθὼν LAMW.
[7] πόλεμον LAMW.

against my army, and the final victory will show which is the braver of the two. You should know, however, that the best men of each city are in my army, and these are the very men who have always been victorious over your ancestors. And you shall have a contest with us on ground where one cannot fight with stones, but with arms, and where there is no place to which you can flee when defeated."

(4) Greatly angered by these words, Jonathan collected ten thousand picked soldiers and set out from Jerusalem with his brother Simon, and coming to Joppa, encamped outside the city, for the inhabitants closed their gates against him, having had a garrison stationed within the city by Apollonius. But as Jonathan was preparing to besiege them,[a] they were afraid that he might take their city by storm, and so they opened the gates to him. And when Apollonius heard that Joppa had been occupied by Jonathan, he took three thousand horsemen and eight thousand foot-soldiers [b] and came to Azotus,[c] and departing from there, made an easy and slow march until he came to Joppa; here he retired and drew Jonathan into the plain, for he had sublime confidence [d] in his horsemen, and placed his hopes of victory in them. Thereupon Jonathan advanced and pursued Apollonius to Azotus, and the latter, when once the enemy was in the plain, turned back and

Jonathan defeats Apollonius the general of Alexander Balas. 1 Macc. x. 74.

[a] 1 Macc. x. 76 states that Jonathan had actually begun the siege when the city opened its gates.

[b] The latter number is not given in 1 Macc. at this point, but is based on vs. 85 (see below, § 100), which gives 8000 as the number of the slain in Apollonius' force in the battle of Azotus.

[c] Bibl. Ashdod.

[d] On this meaning of καταφρονεῖν *cf. Ant.* vii. 61 note *b*.

94 εἰς μάχην αὐτῷ συνέβαλεν. τοῦ δ' Ἀπολλωνίου χιλίους ἱππεῖς καθίσαντος εἰς ἐνέδραν ἔν τινι χειμάρρῳ, ὡς ἂν κατόπιν ἐπιφανεῖεν τοῖς πολεμίοις, αἰσθόμενος ὁ Ἰωνάθης οὐ κατεπλάγη· τάξας δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐν πλινθίῳ κατ' ἀμφότερα τοὺς πολεμίους ἀμύνασθαι παρεσκευάσατο,[1] καὶ κατὰ πρόσωπον καὶ τοῖς ὄπισθεν[2] ἐπελευσομένοις αὐτὸν[3] ἀντιτάξας.
95 τῆς δὲ μάχης ἕως ἑσπέρας προβαινούσης, δοὺς Σίμωνι τἀδελφῷ μέρος τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦτον μὲν ἐκέλευσε συμβαλεῖν τῇ φάλαγγι τῶν ἐχθρῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ προσέταξε φραξαμένους τοῖς ὅπλοις ὑποδέχεσθαι[4] τὰ βέλη τὰ παρὰ τῶν ἱππέων.
96 καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐποίησαν τὸ κελευσθέν, οἱ δὲ τῶν πολεμίων ἱππεῖς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἀφέντες τὰ βέλη μέχρι καὶ ἐξεκενώθησαν, οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς ἔβλαπτον· οὐ γὰρ διικνεῖτο τῶν σωμάτων τὰ βαλλόμενα, συμπεφραγμέναις[5] δὲ ταῖς ἀσπίσι[6] καὶ συνηνωμέναις ὑπὸ πυκνότητος ἐπαφιέμενα ῥᾳδίως ἐκρατεῖτο καὶ
97 ἄπρακτα ἐφέρετο. ὡς δὲ παρείθησαν ἀπὸ πρωῒ μέχρι δείλης ὀψίας ἀκοντίζοντες εἰς αὐτοὺς οἱ πολέμιοι, νοήσας Σίμων κεκμηκότας αὐτοὺς συμβάλλει τῇ φάλαγγι, καὶ προθυμίᾳ χρησαμένων πολλῇ τῶν στρατιωτῶν αὐτοῦ τρέπει τοὺς ἐχθροὺς
98 εἰς φυγήν. θεασάμενοι δὲ τοὺς πεζοὺς φεύγοντας οἱ ἱππεῖς οὐδ' αὐτοὶ μένουσιν, ἀλλὰ πάρετοι μὲν ὄντες αὐτοὶ διὰ τὸ μέχρι δείλης μάχεσθαι, τῆς δὲ παρὰ τῶν πεζῶν ἐλπίδος αὐτοῖς ἀπολωλυίας, ἀκόσ-

[1] παρεκελεύσατο FLAMVW: hortatus est Lat.
[2] τοῖς ὄπισθεν AMWE: κατόπισθεν rell.
[3] ἀντίον PFV: αὐτὸν L: ἐν αὐτὸν W: ἑαυτὸν E: ἐναντίον Naber.
[4] Herwerden: ἀποδέχεσθαι aut ἀποδέξασθαι codd. E.
[5] συμπεφραγμένοις P.
[6] καὶ om P.

engaged him in battle. Now Apollonius had placed a thousand horsemen in ambush in a valley [a] to surprise the enemy in the rear, but Jonathan became aware of this and was not dismayed; he drew up his army in a square [b] and prepared [c] to fight the enemy on either line by opposing them whether they attacked his front or his rear. And as the battle continued until the evening, he gave his brother Simon part of his force and commanded them to engage the main body of the foe, while he ordered his own men to make a fence of their shields, and so receive the javelins thrown by the horsemen. Accordingly, they did as they were commanded, while the enemy's horsemen hurled javelins at them until they had no more left, without injuring them at all, for the missiles did not reach their bodies, but glanced off the shields that were joined in a fence and compactly united, and so they were easily turned aside and fell back harmless.[d] And as the enemy were fatigued from throwing javelins at them from early morning until late evening, Simon, who perceived that they were weary, engaged their main body, and through the great ardour which his soldiers showed put the foe to flight. And when their horsemen saw the foot-soldiers fleeing, they no longer stayed, but being fatigued from fighting until evening, and having lost hope of aid from the foot-soldiers,

[a] This valley is not mentioned in 1 Macc.

[b] This is a detail not found in 1 Macc.

[c] Variant "exhorted (his men)."

[d] The preceding is an amplification of the brief statement in 1 Macc. x. 80, "and they surrounded the camp (of Jonathan) and shot darts at his people."

μως καὶ συγκεχυμένως ἔφευγον, ὡς διασχισθέντας αὐτοὺς διὰ παντὸς σκορπισθῆναι τοῦ πεδίου.
99 διώκων δ' αὐτοὺς Ἰωνάθης μέχρι τῆς Ἀζώτου καὶ πολλοὺς ἀναιρῶν, ἀπογνόντας τῆς σωτηρίας ἠνάγκασεν ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Δαγῶνος ναὸν καταφυγεῖν, ὃς ἦν ἐν Ἀζώτῳ. λαβὼν δ' ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς Ἰωνάθης τὴν πόλιν αὐτήν τε ἐνέπρησε καὶ τὰς περὶ αὐτὴν
100 κώμας. ἀπέσχετο δ' οὐδὲ τοῦ Δαγῶνος ἱεροῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτ' ἐνέπρησε καὶ τοὺς εἰς αὐτὸ συμφυγόντας διέφθειρεν. τὸ δὲ πᾶν πλῆθος τῶν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πεσόντων καὶ καταφλεγέντων ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ
101 τῶν πολεμίων ἦσαν ὀκτακισχίλιοι. κρατήσας οὖν τοσαύτης δυνάμεως, ἄρας ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀζώτου εἰς Ἀσκάλωνα παραγίνεται, καὶ καταστρατοπεδεύσαντος ἔξω τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῦ προῆλθον[1] εἰς ἀπάντησιν αὐτοῦ οἱ Ἀσκαλωνῖται, ξένια προσφέροντες αὐτῷ καὶ τιμῶντες. ὁ δὲ ἀποδεξάμενος αὐτοὺς τῆς προαιρέσεως ἀνέστρεψεν ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, πολλὴν ἐπαγόμενος λείαν ἣν ἔλαβεν νικήσας τοὺς
102 πολεμίους. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἀκούσας ἡττημένον τὸν αὐτοῦ στρατηγὸν Ἀπολλώνιον προσεποιεῖτο χαίρειν, ὅτι παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην Ἰωνάθῃ συνέβαλε φίλῳ ὄντι καὶ συμμάχῳ, καὶ πέμπει πρὸς Ἰωνάθην μαρτυρῶν αὐτῷ καὶ γέρα καὶ τιμὰς

[1] Hudson: προσῆλθον codd. E: exierunt Lat.

[a] The old West-Semitic grain-god, adopted by the Philistines, *cf. Ant.* vi. 1 ff. Hill, *Cat. Greek Coins Pal.* p. lxiv, doubts the attribution to Azotus of the 4th century stater representing a bearded fish-like sea-god, who might be meant for Dagon because popular belief associated him with fish (Heb. *dag* = " fish ").

they too fled in disorder and confusion, with the result that their lines were broken and they were scattered all over the plain. And Jonathan pursued them as far as Azotus, slaying many of them, and forced those who despaired of being saved to take refuge in the temple of Dagon[a] which was in Azotus. But Jonathan took the city by a sudden attack, and burnt it and the surrounding villages as well. Nor did he spare the temple of Dagon, but burnt this too and slew those who had taken refuge in it. And the total number of the enemy who fell in battle and were burnt to death in the temple was eight thousand. Then, having conquered so great a force, he marched off from Azotus and came to Ascalon; and as he was encamped outside the city, the inhabitants of Ascalon came out to meet him, bringing him presents to show he was welcome, and honouring him. He therefore expressed approval of their friendly intention,[b] and returned from there to Jerusalem, taking along much booty which he had seized in the victory over his enemies. Now when Alexander heard that his general Apollonius had been defeated, he pretended to be pleased, as if it had been against his will that Apollonius[c] fought with Jonathan who was his friend and ally, and he wrote to Jonathan, testifying to his worth by giving him

[b] Jonathan's approval is not mentioned in 1 Macc.

[c] As was remarked above, § 88 note *d*, Apollonius was fighting for Demetrius II, not for Alexander Balas. The following section is therefore a distortion of 1 Macc. x. 88-89, which tells how Alexander honoured Jonathan for his victory over Apollonius. Josephus' phrase προσεποιεῖτο χαίρειν "pretended to be pleased" is in direct contradiction to the phrase in 1 Macc., προσέθετο ἔτι δοξάζειν τὸν Ἰωνάθην "he continued still further to honour Jonathan."

διδοὺς πόρπην χρυσέαν,[1] ὥς[2] ἐστιν ἔθος δίδοσθαι τοῖς τῶν βασιλέων συγγενέσιν, καὶ τὴν Ἀκκάρωνα καὶ τὴν τοπαρχίαν αὐτῆς εἰς κληρουχίαν ἐπιτρέπει.

103 (5) Ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Φιλομήτωρ ἐπικληθεὶς ναυτικὴν ἄγων δύναμιν καὶ πεζὴν εἰς Συρίαν ἧκε, συμμαχή-
104 σων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ· γαμβρὸς γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῦ. καὶ πᾶσαι προθύμως αὐτὸν αἱ πόλεις Ἀλεξάνδρου κελεύσαντος ἐκδεχόμεναι παρέπεμπον ἕως Ἀζώτου πόλεως, ἔνθα πάντες κατεβόων αὐτοῦ περὶ τοῦ ἐμπεπρησμένου ἱεροῦ αὐτῶν Δαγῶνος, κατηγοροῦντες Ἰωνάθου τοῦτο ἀφανίσαντος καὶ τὴν χώραν πυρπολήσαντος καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀποκτείναντος.
105 καὶ Πτολεμαῖος μὲν ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσας ἡσύχασεν· Ἰωνάθης δὲ εἰς Ἰόππην ἀπαντήσας Πτολεμαίῳ ξενίων τε λαμπρῶν παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ τυγχάνει καὶ τιμῆς ἁπάσης, ἔπειτα προπέμψας αὐτὸν ἕως τοῦ Ἐλευθέρου καλουμένου ποταμοῦ πάλιν ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα.

106 (6) Γενόμενος δ᾽ ἐν Πτολεμαΐδι, παρὰ πᾶσαν προσδοκίαν μικροῦ διεφθάρη Πτολεμαῖος, ἐπι-

[1] πόρπην χρυσέαν secl. Niese. [2] ἃς Niese.

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[a] For similar gifts given to Jonathan by Antiochus VI see § 146.

[b] "Kinsmen" is, of course, an honorary title, *cf. Ant.* xii. 295 note *a*.

[c] Bibl. Ekron (*cf. Ant.* v. 87), mod. *'Aqir*, the northernmost of the Philistine cities, a little E. of Jamneia.

[d] In contrast to Josephus and Diodorus xxxii. 9, 1 Macc. xi. 1 says that Ptolemy came to Syria with treachery toward Alexander. Whatever his original intentions may have

rewards and honours, including a gold brooch,[a] such as are customarily given to kinsmen of kings,[b] and he turned over to him Akkaron[c] and its district as land for settlement.

(5) It was also at about this time that King Ptolemy, surnamed Philometor, came to Syria with a force of ships and foot-soldiers to fight as an ally of Alexander, who was his son-in-law.[d] And all the cities, at Alexander's command, gladly welcomed him, and escorted him as far as the city of Azotus, where all the inhabitants clamorously demanded satisfaction from him for the burning of their temple of Dagon, and accused Jonathan of destroying it and wasting their territory with fire and killing many of their men. And while Ptolemy heard these complaints in silence, Jonathan went to meet him at Joppa, and received from him splendid gifts and all kinds of honours; he then escorted him as far as the river called Eleutherus,[e] and again returned to Jerusalem.

Ptolemy Philometor comes to the aid of Alexander Balas. 1 Macc. xi. 1.

(6) [f] But when he came to Ptolemais,[g] Ptolemy, contrary to all expectation, came near being slain when

Ptolemy Philometor discovers Alexander Balas' plot against him

been, his friendly behaviour toward Jonathan, the ally of Alexander, seems to show that he did not at first manifest hostility toward Alexander, but did so only when he realized the weakness of Alexander's position or, as Diodorus says, *καταγνοὺς δὲ αὐτοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς παντελῆ ἀδυναμίαν*.

[e] The mod. *Nahr el-Kebīr*, N. of Orthosia, on the border between Phoenicia and Seleucid Syria. Reinach thinks it doubtful that Jonathan accompanied Ptolemy further than Ptolemais.

[f] The following section, to § 109, is based on a Hellenistic source, probably Nicolas of Damascus, to judge from the use of *προσκεκρουκώς* in § 108; *cf.* also below, p. 279 note *c*.

[g] Bevan, *H. Sel.* ii. 219, suggests that Ptolemais was the seat of the court of Alexander.

βουλευθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου δι' Ἀμμωνίου, ὃς
107 ἐτύγχανεν αὐτῷ φίλος ὤν. φανερᾶς δὲ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς γενομένης Πτολεμαῖος γράφει τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πρὸς κόλασιν ἐξαιτῶν τὸν Ἀμμώνιον, ἐπιβουλευθῆναι λέγων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ δίκην διὰ τοῦτ' αὐτὸν ὑποσχεῖν ἀξιῶν. οὐκ ἐκδιδόντος[1] δὲ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου, συνεὶς αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον εἶναι τὸν
108 ἐπιβουλεύσαντα, χαλεπῶς πρὸς αὐτόν διετέθη. τοῖς δ' Ἀντιοχεῦσι καὶ πρότερον ἦν προσκεκρουκὼς Ἀλέξανδρος διὰ τὸν Ἀμμώνιον· πολλὰ γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεπόνθεισαν κακά. τιμωρίαν μέντοι τῶν τετολμημένων Ἀμμώνιος ὑπέσχε, κατασφαγεὶς αἰσχρῶς ὡς γυνή, κρύπτειν ἑαυτὸν σπουδάσας στολῇ γυναικείᾳ, καθὼς ἐν ἄλλοις δεδηλώκαμεν.

109 (7) Πτολεμαῖος δὲ μεμψάμενος αὐτὸν τοῦ τε συνοικίσαι τὴν θυγατέρα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῆς τε συμμαχίας τῆς κατὰ Δημητρίου, διαλύεται τὴν πρὸς
110 αὐτὸν συγγένειαν· ἀποσπάσας γὰρ τὴν θυγατέρα πέμπει πρὸς Δημήτριον εὐθὺς περὶ συμμαχίας καὶ φιλίας συντιθέμενος, τήν τε θυγατέρα δώσειν αὐτῷ ὑπισχνούμενος γυναῖκα,[2] καὶ καταστήσειν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν πατρῴαν ἀρχήν. ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος ἡσθεὶς τοῖς

[1] ἐνδιδόντος PFV: concedente Lat.
[2] εἰς γυναῖκα PFV.

[a] This incident appears to be referred to in 1 Macc. xi. 10, in which Ptolemy says, "I regret having given him (Alexander) my daughter, for he has sought to kill me." Ammonius is not mentioned in Diodorus xxxii. 9 c.

[b] There is no such passage in Josephus; he has taken over the formula from his source. The story of Ammonius being disguised as a woman has a curious parallel in Diodorus's account, xxxii. 10, of Herais, the daughter of Diophantus, who lived in Arabia, whither Alexander fled

a plot was formed against him by Alexander through Ammonius, who happened to be his friend. And when the plot was discovered, Ptolemy wrote to Alexander and demanded that Ammonius be given up to him for punishment, saying that a plot had been formed against him by Ammonius, for which he expected him to pay the penalty.[a] But when Alexander refused to give him up, he understood that it was Alexander who had plotted against him, and so he felt very bitter toward him. Now Alexander had earlier offended the Antiochians because of Ammonius, for they had suffered many evils at his hands. Nevertheless Ammonius met with punishment for his reckless crimes, being cut down shamefully as a woman, for he had made an effort to conceal himself in a woman's dress, as we have related elsewhere.[b]

Ptolemy Philometor deserts Alexander Balas for Demetrius II. *Cf.* 1 Macc. xi. 10.

(7) [c] Ptolemy, however, who blamed himself for having given his daughter in marriage to Alexander, and for making an alliance with him against Demetrius, dissolved the connexion with him; and having taken his daughter from him, he promptly sent to Demetrius, proposing a friendly alliance, and promising to give him his daughter to wife, and to restore to him his father's throne. Thereupon De-

(see below § 117). Herais, having suffered a mysterious change of sex, adopted male attire, and as a mounted soldier, accompanied Alexander on his flight.

[c] The following section, to § 121, is based chiefly on a Hellenistic source, though there are some verbal parallels to 1 Macc. xi. 10–20. Here again Nicolas of Damascus appears to be the immediate source, partly because of such words and phrases as ἀγώνισμα in § 111 and ἥδιστον ἄκουσμα καὶ θέαμα in § 118 (*cf. Ant.* v. 125, going back to Xenophon, *Mem.* ii. 1. 31).

πεπρεσβευμένοις δέχεται τὴν συμμαχίαν καὶ τὸν
111 γάμον. ἓν δὲ ἔτι Πτολεμαίῳ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀγώνισμα
ὑπελείπετο, πεῖσαι τοὺς Ἀντιοχεῖς δέξασθαι Δη-
μήτριον, ἀπεχθῶς πρὸς αὐτὸν διακειμένους ὑπὲρ
ὧν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Δημήτριος εἰς αὐτοὺς παρηνό-
112 μησεν. κατεπράξατο δὲ[1] καὶ τοῦτο· μισοῦντες γὰρ
τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον οἱ Ἀντιοχεῖς διὰ τὸν Ἀμμώνιον,
ὡς δεδηλώκαμεν, ῥᾳδίως αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας
ἐξέβαλον. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκπεσὼν τῆς Ἀντιοχείας
113 ἧκεν[2] εἰς Κιλικίαν. ἐλθὼν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀντιοχεῖς
Πτολεμαῖος βασιλεὺς ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν στρατευ-
μάτων ἀναδείκνυται, καὶ ἀναγκασθεὶς δύο περι-
τίθεται διαδήματα, ἓν μὲν τὸ τῆς Ἀσίας, ἕτερον δὲ
114 τὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου. χρηστὸς δὲ ὢν φύσει καὶ δίκαιος
καὶ τῶν λαμπρῶν[3] οὐκ ἐφιέμενος πρὸς δὲ τούτοις
καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα λογίσασθαι[4] συνετός, φείσασθαι
τοῦ μὴ δόξαι εἶναι Ῥωμαίοις ἐπίφθονος ἔκρινε, καὶ
συναγαγὼν τοὺς Ἀντιοχεῖς εἰς ἐκκλησίαν πείθει
115 δέξασθαι τὸν Δημήτριον αὐτούς, λέγων οὐδενὸς
μνησικακήσειν αὐτοῖς περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτὸν εὐ-
εργετηθέντα, διδάσκαλός τε ἀγαθῶν αὐτῷ καὶ
ἡγεμὼν[5] ἔσεσθαι διωμολογήσατο καὶ φαύλοις ἐγ-
χειροῦντι[6] πράγμασιν οὐκ ἐπιτρέψειν ὑπέσχετο.
αὐτῷ δ' ἔφασκεν ἀρκεῖν τὴν τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασι-
λείαν. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν πείθει τοὺς Ἀντιοχεῖς δέξασθαι
τὸν Δημήτριον.
116 (8) Τοῦ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου σὺν στρατεύματι πολλῷ

[1] δὴ LAW: om. E.
[2] ἦλθεν P.
[3] ἀλλοτρίων LAMWE Lat.
[4] συλλογίσασθαι AMW.
[5] διδάσκαλός . . . ἡγεμὼν] διδάσκαλόν τε ἀγαθὸν αὐτῷ (αὐτὸν V. post ἔσεσθαι tr. P) καὶ ἡγεμόνα PFLV.

metrius, being pleased with the offer made through his envoys, accepted the alliance and the marriage. But one difficult task still remained for Ptolemy, which was to persuade the Antiochians to accept Demetrius, toward whom they felt hostility because of the lawless acts committed against them by his father Demetrius. But he accomplished this also, for the Antiochians hated Alexander on account of Ammonius, as we have related,[a] and were ready to drive him out of Antioch. And so, being expelled from Antioch, he came to Cilicia. And Ptolemy, on coming to the Antiochians, was proclaimed king by them and their armies, and was compelled to put on two diadems, one being that of Asia, and the other that of Egypt. However, being a good and upright person by nature, and not being ambitious of dazzling fortune,[b] and, in addition, being skilled in reading the future, he determined to refrain from appearing to give the Romans any reason for disliking him; and bringing together the Antiochians in assembly, he sought to persuade them to accept Demetrius, saying that if Demetrius were well received by them, he would not bear them any grudge on account of his father, and he agreed to be a counseller of good and a guide to Demetrius, and promised that if Demetrius attempted any unworthy acts, he would not permit him to carry them out. For himself, he asserted, the throne of Egypt was enough. And with these words he persuaded the Antiochians to accept Demetrius.

(8) Meanwhile Alexander, who had set out from Death of Ptolemy Philometor and Alexander Balas.

[a] In § 108. [b] Variant "of the possessions of others."

[6] ἐγχειροῦντα PFLVE Lat. (vid.).

καὶ μεγάλῃ παρασκευῇ ὁρμήσαντος ἐκ τῆς Κιλικίας
εἰς τὴν Συρίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀντιοχέων γῆν ἐμ-
πρήσαντος καὶ διαρπάσαντος, ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἐπ᾽
αὐτὸν ἐξεστράτευσε μετὰ τοῦ γαμβροῦ Δημητρίου
(ἤδη γὰρ αὐτῷ πρὸς γάμον ἐδεδώκει τὴν θυγατέρα),
καὶ νικήσαντες εἰς φυγὴν ἐτρέψαντο τὸν Ἀλέξ-
117 ανδρον. οὗτος μὲν οὖν εἰς Ἀραβίαν φεύγει.
συνέβη δὲ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τὸν ἵππον τὸν Πτολεμαίου
φωνῆς ἀκούσαντα ἐλέφαντος ταραχθῆναι καὶ τὸν
Πτολεμαῖον ἀποσεισάμενον καταβαλεῖν, τοὺς δὲ
πολεμίους ἰδόντας ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ὁρμῆσαι καὶ τραύματα
πολλὰ δόντας αὐτῷ κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς εἰς κίνδυνον
τὸν περὶ θανάτου καταστῆσαι· τῶν γὰρ σωματοφυ-
λάκων αὐτὸν ἐξαρπασάντων, χαλεπῶς οὕτως εἶχεν
ὡς ἐφ᾽ ἡμέρας τέσσαρας μήτε συνεῖναί τι μήτε
118 φθέγξασθαι δυνηθῆναι. τοῦ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου τὴν
κεφαλὴν ὁ τῶν Ἀράβων δυνάστης ἀποτεμὼν
Ζάβειλος[1] ἀπέστειλε Πτολεμαίῳ, ὃς τῇ πέμπτῃ
τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀνενεγκὼν[2] ἐκ τῶν τραυμάτων καὶ
φρονήσας ἥδιστον ἄκουσμα καὶ θέαμα, τὴν Ἀλεξ-
άνδρου τελευτὴν ἅμα καὶ τὴν κεφαλήν, ἀκούει καὶ
119 θεᾶται. καὶ μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ πλησθεὶς τῆς ἐπ᾽ Ἀλεξ-
άνδρῳ τεθνηκότι χαρᾶς καὶ αὐτὸς κατέστρεψε τὸν
βίον. ἐβασίλευσε δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ

Cilicia for Syria with a large army[a] and a great supply of arms, burned and plundered the territory of the Antiochians, whereupon Ptolemy marched against him with his son-in-law Demetrius—for he had already given him his daughter in marriage—and they defeated Alexander and put him to flight.[b] And so he fled to Arabia. Now it happened that in the battle Ptolemy's horse was alarmed on hearing the trumpeting of an elephant, and unseating Ptolemy, threw him to the ground; and when the enemy saw this, they rushed upon him and inflicted many wounds on him about the head, so as to bring him to the point of death; and when his bodyguards snatched him from their hands, he was in so serious a condition that for four days he was unable either to understand anything or to utter a word. Meanwhile the Arab chieftain Zabeilus[c] cut off Alexander's head and sent it to Ptolemy, who recovered from his wounds on the fifth day and coming to his senses, at the same time heard the news of Alexander's death and saw his head—most pleasant things to hear and to see. But soon afterwards having his fill of joy at Alexander's death, he himself passed away. Now Alexander,

[a] In 145 B.C.; *cf.* below, § 119 note *b* and Bevan, *Ptol.* p. 305 n. 1.

[b] At the river Oenoparas in the plain of Antioch; *cf.* Strabo xvi. 751.

[c] He is called Zabdiel in 1 Macc. xi. 17. According to Diodorus, xxxii. 9, Alexander was murdered by two of his officers, named Heliades and Casius. Moreover Diodorus calls the Arab chief Diocles.

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[1] *Ζάβιλος* F A corr. M: *Ζάβηλος* LA[1]VW: *Ζάβελος* E: Zabilus Lat.

[2] *ἀνανενευκὼς* PFLV: elevatus Lat.

Βάλας ἐπιλεγόμενος ἔτη πέντε, καθὼς καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δεδηλώκαμεν.[1]

120 (9) Παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν Δημήτριος ὁ Νικάτωρ[2] ἐπιλεγόμενος, ὑπὸ πονηρίας ἤρξατο διαφθείρειν τὸν τοῦ Πτολεμαίου στρατιωτικόν, τῆς τε πρὸς αὐτὸν συμμαχίας ἐκλαθόμενος καὶ ὅτι πενθερὸς ἦν αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ τὸν τῆς Κλεοπάτρας γάμον συγγενής. οἱ μὲν οὖν στρατιῶται φεύγουσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν πεῖραν[3] εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, τῶν δ' ἐλεφάντων

121 Δημήτριος ἐγκρατὴς γίνεται. Ἰωνάθης δὲ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐξ ἁπάσης τῆς Ἰουδαίας στρατιὰν συναγαγών, προσβαλὼν ἐπολιόρκει τὴν ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἄκραν ἔχουσαν Μακεδονικὴν φρουρὰν καὶ τῶν ἀσεβῶν τινας καὶ πεφευγότων τὴν πάτριον

122 συνήθειαν. οὗτοι δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κατεφρόνουν ὧν Ἰωνάθης ἐμηχανᾶτο περὶ τὴν αἵρεσιν, πεπιστευκότες τῇ ὀχυρότητι τοῦ χωρίου, νυκτὸς δέ τινες τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ πονηρῶν ἐξελθόντες ἧκον πρὸς Δημήτριον καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν αὐτῷ τῆς ἄκρας

123 ἐμήνυσαν.[4] ὁ δὲ τοῖς ἠγγελμένοις παροξυνθείς, ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν ἧκεν ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην. γενόμενος δὲ ἐν Πτολεμαΐδι γράφει

[1] δεδήλωται LAMW fort. recte.
[2] Hudson: Νικάνωρ codd. E Lat. Syncellus.
[3] πονηρίαν LAMW.
[4] P: ἐμήνυον rell.

[a] Grimm, on 1 Macc. x. 1, and Schürer, i. 227 n. 11, point out that Strabo, xvi. 251, calls him Balas Alexander; *cf.* Justinus xxxv. 1. 6. Evidently Balas was his given name; it is probably from Aram. *Ba'al*, a hypocoristic theophorous name.

[b] Officially from 150 to 145 B.C., as his coinage indicates.

surnamed Balas,[a] was king of Asia for five years,[b] as we have related elsewhere.[c]

(9) But after assuming the royal power, Demetrius, surnamed Nicator,[d] wickedly began to destroy the troops of Ptolemy, quite forgetting the alliance with him and that Ptolemy was his father-in-law and related to him through his marriage with Cleopatra. Accordingly the soldiers fled from his attack[e] to Alexandria, but Demetrius secured possession of the elephants. Meanwhile[f] the high priest Jonathan gathered together an army from all Judaea, and assaulted and besieged the citadel in Jerusalem which held a Macedonian garrison and some of the godless Jews who had abandoned their native customs. These men at first made light of Jonathan's devices for capturing the citadel, for they had confidence in the strength of the place, but some of the worthless fellows in it went out by night and came to Demetrius to inform him of the siege of the citadel. Being, therefore, greatly angered by this report, he took his force and came against Jonathan from Antioch. And when he reached Ptolemais, he wrote

Accession of Demetrius II Nicator. *Cf.* 1 Macc. xi. 19.

He appeared as a claimant to the throne in 152 B.C., *cf.* § 35 note *f*. 1 Macc. dates the accession of Demetrius II in the 167th year Sel., which extended from Oct. 146 to Oct. 145 B.C.

[c] Variant "has been related elsewhere," which would have to mean in the works of other historians, since there is no such cross-reference in Josephus. If we accept the reading given in the translation, we must assume that Josephus has taken over the phrase from his Hellenistic source.

[d] Conjectured: MSS. Nicanor. His full name was Demetrios Theos Nikator Philadelphos, *cf.* Bevan, *H. Sel.* ii. 223.

[e] Variant (corrupt) "villainy."

[f] Here Josephus resumes his paraphrase of 1 Macc. (xi. 20).

κελεύων αὐτὸν σπεῦσαι πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς Πτολε-
124 μαΐδα. ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν πολιορκίαν οὐκ ἔπαυσε, τοὺς
δὲ πρεσβυτέρους τοῦ λαοῦ παραλαβὼν καὶ τοὺς
ἱερεῖς, καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ ἐσθῆτα καὶ
πλῆθος ξενίων κομίζων, ἧκε πρὸς τὸν Δημήτριον,
καὶ τούτοις δωρησάμενος αὐτὸν θεραπεύει τὴν
ὀργὴν τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ τιμηθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λαμ-
βάνει βεβαίαν[1] ἔχειν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην, καθὼς καὶ
125 παρὰ[2] τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέων ἐκέκτητο. κατ-
ηγορούντων δὲ αὐτοῦ τῶν φυγάδων ὁ Δημήτριος οὐκ
ἐπίστευσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρακαλέσαντος[3] αὐτὸν ὅπως
ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἁπάσης καὶ τῶν τριῶν τοπαρ-
χιῶν Σαμαρείας καὶ Ἰόππης[4] καὶ Γαλιλαίας τρια-
κόσια τελῇ τάλαντα, δίδωσι καὶ[5] περὶ πάντων ἐπι-
126 στολάς, αἳ περιεῖχον τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον· "βασιλεὺς
Δημήτριος Ἰωνάθῃ τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ τῷ ἔθνει τῶν
Ἰουδαίων χαίρειν. τὸ ἀντίγραφον τῆς ἐπιστολῆς
ἧς ἔγραψα Λασθένει τῷ συγγενεῖ ἡμῶν ἀπεστάλ-
127 καμεν ὑμῖν, ἵν' εἰδῆτε. βασιλεὺς Δημήτριος
Λασθένει τῷ πατρὶ χαίρειν. τῷ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνει
ὄντι φίλῳ καὶ τὰ δίκαια τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς φυλάττοντι
τῆς εὐνοίας ἔκρινα χάριν παρασχεῖν καὶ τοὺς τρεῖς

[1] βεβαίως AMWE.
[2] ἐπὶ LAMW.
[3] παρακαλοῦντος LAMWE.
[4] Περαίας Naber, cf. § 50.
[5] καὶ om. AM Lat. (vid.).

and commanded Jonathan to hasten to him there. Thereupon Jonathan, although he did not stop the siege, took with him the elders of the people and the priests, and came to Demetrius, bringing gold and silver and garments and a multitude of presents; and when he presented him with these, he softened the anger of the king; and being honoured by him, he received confirmation of his tenure of the high-priesthood, just as he had obtained it from the kings before him. Nor did Demetrius give credence to the renegades who brought accusations against Jonathan, but when Jonathan requested him to let him pay three hundred talents for all Judaea and the three toparchies of Samaria and Joppa and Galilee,[a] he did so, and gave him a letter concerning all these matters, of which the contents were as follows. "King Demetrius to his brother Jonathan and to the Jewish nation, greeting. We have sent you a copy of the letter which I have written to our Kinsman Lasthenes,[b] in order that you may know what is in it. 'King Demetrius to his father[c] Lasthenes, greeting. Inasmuch as the Jewish nation is friendly to us and justly observes its obligations toward us, I have decided to present to it, in return for its good-

The letter of Demetrius II to Jonathan. 1 Macc. xi. 30.

[a] 1 Macc. xi. 28 reads, "And Jonathan requested the king to make Judaea free of tribute and the three toparchies and Samaritis, and promised him three hundred talents." We should read, as Josephus did, "the three toparchies *of* Samaritis (Samaria)," namely, Aphairema, Lydda and Ramathaim, mentioned in § 127 (1 Macc. xi. 34); *cf.* § 50 note *c*. Joppa (in § 50 Peraea) and Galilee are added by Josephus.

[b] Lasthenes the Cretan (*cf.* above, § 86) was probably governor of Coele-Syria.

[c] For an earlier instance of this honorary title see *Ant.* xii. 148.

νομοὺς Ἀφαίρεμα[1] καὶ Λύδδα καὶ Ῥαμαθαίν,[2] οἳ τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ προσετέθησαν ἀπὸ τῆς Σαμαρείτιδος,
128 καὶ τὰ προσκυροῦντα τούτοις· ἔτι[3] τε ὅσα παρὰ τῶν θυόντων ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐλάμβανον οἱ πρὸ ἐμοῦ βασιλεῖς, καὶ ὅσα ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν τῆς γῆς καὶ τῶν φυτῶν, καὶ τἆλλα τὰ προσήκοντα ἡμῖν, καὶ τὰς λίμνας τῶν ἁλῶν καὶ τοὺς κομιζομένους ἡμῖν στεφάνους ἀφίημι αὐτοῖς, καὶ οὐδὲν παραβιβασθήσεται[4] τούτων ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν οὐδὲ εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα[5] χρόνον. φρόντισον οὖν ἵνα τούτων ἀντίγραφον γένηται καὶ δοθῇ Ἰωνάθῃ καὶ ἐν ἐπισήμῳ
129 τόπῳ τοῦ ἁγίου ἱεροῦ τεθῇ." τὰ μὲν δὴ γραφέντα ταῦτα ἦν. ὁρῶν δὲ ὁ Δημήτριος εἰρήνην οὖσαν καὶ μηδένα κίνδυνον μηδὲ πολέμου φόβον ὑπάρχοντα, διέλυσε τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ τὸν μισθὸν αὐτῶν ἐμείωσε, καὶ μόνοις τοῦτον ἐχορήγει τοῖς ξενολογηθεῖσιν, οἳ συνανέβησαν ἐκ Κρήτης αὐτῷ καὶ
130 ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων νήσων. ἔχθρα τοιγαροῦν αὐτῷ καὶ μῖσος ἐκ τούτου γίνεται παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, οἷς

[1] ἀφίημι ῥεμὰ (ῥεμμὰ M: ῥειμὰ W) LAMW: Ἀφερεμᾶ V.
[2] Ἀρμαθαίμ F: Ῥαμαθά LAMW: Ῥαμαθέμ V: Ramathe Lat.
[3] νῦν AMW Lat.
[4] extorqueatur Lat.: παραβιασθήσεται ed. pr.
[5] ἐπιόντα FVW: ἔπειτα LAM: in posterum Lat.

[a] Previously granted to the Jews by Demetrius I, *cf.* above, § 50.

[b] Probably the mod. *et-Taiyibeh*, *c.* 4 miles N.E. of Bethel, and the same site as the Ephraim of the New Testament, John xi. 54; *cf.* Abel, *GP* ii. 135 and Dalman, p. 217, also Klein, pp. 137-138. The older name of this site was *'Afra*, according to Dalman.

[c] The later Diospolis, mod. *Ludd*, *c.* 10 miles S.E. of

will, the three districts,[a] Aphairema,[b] Lydda[c] and Ramathain,[d] which have been taken from Samaria and annexed to Judaea, together with what appertains to them. And, in addition,[e] whatever the kings before me received from those who offered sacrifice at Jerusalem, and whatever they received of the fruits of the earth and trees, and the other things due to us, as well as the salt marshes and the crowns that were brought to us—all these I remit to them,[f] and none of these things shall be wrongfully taken from them either now or for all time.[g] See to it, therefore, that a copy of these instructions be made and given to Jonathan and set up in a conspicuous place in the holy temple.' " Such were the contents of the letter. And when Demetrius saw that peace obtained and that there was no danger or fear of war, he dismissed his army and reduced their pay,[h] and continued to give their pay only to the mercenaries who had come up with him from Crete[i] and from the other islands. Accordingly, he incurred the enmity and hatred of the soldiers to

Jaffa and 6 miles W. of Modin, the birthplace of the Hasmonaean rulers.

[d] Variants Armathaim, Ramatha. It is the mod. *Rentis*, c. 15 miles N.E. of Lydda, the native place of Joseph of Arimathaea, and perhaps the home of Samuel, *cf. Ant.* v. 342.

[e] Variant "now."

[f] *Cf.* the similar exemptions promised by Demetrius I, § 48. In the last clause, "none of these things," Josephus by a slight alteration, παραβιβασθήσεται for ἀθετήσεται of 1 Macc. xi. 36, covers up the incompleteness of vss. 34-35, where we miss some mention of the payment expected by Demetrius II.

[g] Variant "or in the future." The text adopted agrees with 1 Macc.

[h] The reduction of pay is not mentioned in 1 Macc.

[i] Crete is not specifically mentioned in 1 Macc.

αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν οὐκέτι παρεῖχεν, οἱ δὲ πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλεῖς καὶ ἐπ' εἰρήνης χορηγοῦντες αὐτοῖς ὁμοίως διετέλουν, ἵν' εὐνοοῦντας ἔχωσι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀγῶσιν, εἰ δεήσειέν ποτε, προθύμους.

131 (v. 1) Ἀμέλει ταύτην νοήσας τὴν δύσνοιαν τῶν στρατιωτῶν πρὸς Δημήτριον Ἀλεξάνδρου τις στρατηγός, Ἀπαμεὺς τὸ γένος, Διόδοτος ὁ καὶ Τρύφων ἐπικληθείς, παραγίνεται πρὸς Μάλχον τὸν Ἄραβα, ὃς ἔτρεφε τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου υἱὸν Ἀντίοχον, καὶ δηλώσας αὐτῷ τὴν δυσμένειαν τὴν τῶν στρατευμάτων πρὸς Δημήτριον ἔπειθεν αὐτῷ δοῦναι τὸν Ἀντίοχον· βασιλέα γὰρ αὐτὸν ποιήσειν καὶ τὴν
132 ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀποκαταστήσειν. ὁ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀντεῖχεν ὑπ' ἀπιστίας, ὕστερον δὲ πολλῷ χρόνῳ προσλιπαρήσαντος τοῦ Τρύφωνος ἐκνικᾶται τὴν προαίρεσιν εἰς ἃ Τρύφων παρεκάλει. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τούτου τἀνδρὸς ἐν τούτοις ὑπῆρχεν.

133 (2) Ὁ δ' ἀρχιερεὺς Ἰωνάθης ἐξελθεῖν[1] βουλόμενος τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίων φυγάδας καὶ ἀσεβεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἐν ἁπάσῃ τῇ χώρᾳ φρουρούς,[2] πέμψας πρὸς Δημήτριον δῶρα καὶ πρεσβευτὰς παρεκάλει τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὀχυρώμασι
134 τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐκβαλεῖν. ὁ δὲ οὐ ταῦτα μόνον αὐτῷ

[1] ἐξελεῖν LAMW cod. Bus. E corr.: ἐπεξελθεῖν V[2]: capere Lat.: ὑπεξελεῖν Hudson.

[2] ἁπάσῃ . . . φρουρούς] ἅπασι τοῖς (τοὺς P) ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ φρουρίοις PFV.

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[a] The preceding sentence is an amplification of 1 Macc. xi. 38, "and all the forces of his fathers became hostile to him."

[b] That his given name was Diodotus and his native place Apamea (more exactly Casiana, near Apamea) are facts taken by Josephus from a Hellenistic source; *cf.* Diodorus xxxiii. 4 and Strabo xvi. 752.

whom he no longer gave any money, whereas the kings before him had continued to give them the same pay even in time of peace, in order to keep them loyal and make them zealous to fight for them if there should ever be need.[a]

Tryphon sets up Antiochus VI as a rival to Demetrius II. 1 Macc. xi. 39.

(v. 1) It was natural, therefore, that when this disaffection of the soldiers toward Demetrius was perceived by one of Alexander's generals Diodotus, surnamed Tryphon,[b] who was a native of Apamea, he went to Malchus[c] the Arab, who was bringing up Alexander's son Antiochus,[d] and after revealing to him the army's dissatisfaction with Demetrius, persuaded him to give Antiochus over to him, saying that he would make him king and would restore to him his father's throne. Now Malchus at first opposed this because of distrust, but finally, after Tryphon had pleaded with him a long while, he was won over to the plan which Tryphon was urging him to accept.[e] Such, then, was the state of this man's affairs.

Jonathan aids Demetrius II. 1 Macc. xi. 41.

(2) Meanwhile the high priest Jonathan, who wished the men in the citadel of Jerusalem to leave,[f] as well as the Jewish renegades and godless men and the garrisons in the entire country, sent envoys with gifts to Demetrius,[g] and requested him to expel those who were in the fortresses of Judaea. There-

[c] In 1 Macc. his name is Imalkue. Diodorus has Iamblichus (Ἰάμβλιχος), which is the usual Greek transcription of Arabic or Nabataean *ymlkw*. Perhaps, as Grimm suggests, he was the successor of Zabeilus (variants: Zabdiel, Diocles; *cf.* § 118), who killed Alexander Balas.

[d] Tryphon gave him the official name Antiochos Theos Epiphanes Dionysos.

[e] In mentioning Malchus' mistrust of Tryphon, Josephus amplifies 1 Macc. xi. 40.

[f] Variant "wished to expel the men, etc."

[g] The envoys and gifts are not mentioned in 1 Macc.

παρέξειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μείζω τούτων ὑπισχνεῖται μετὰ τὸν ἐν χερσὶ πόλεμον· τούτῳ γὰρ νῦν ἀσχολεῖν.[1] ἠξίου δ' αὐτὸν καὶ συμμαχίαν πέμψαι, δηλῶν ἀποστῆναι τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ. καὶ Ἰωνάθης μὲν τρισχιλίους ἐπιλεξάμενος στρατιώτας ἔπεμψεν.

135 (3) Ἀντιοχεῖς δὲ μισοῦντες τὸν Δημήτριον ὑπὲρ ὧν πεπόνθεισαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κακῶς, ἀπεχθανόμενοι δ' αὐτῷ καὶ διὰ τὸν πατέρα Δημήτριον πολλὰ εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐξαμαρτόντα, καιρὸν ἐπετήρουν λαβεῖν καθ'
136 ὃν ἐπίθοιντο αὐτῷ. νοήσαντες δὲ συμμαχίαν παροῦσαν παρὰ Ἰωνάθου τῷ Δημητρίῳ καὶ συμφρονήσαντες ὅτι πολλὴν ἀθροίσει δύναμιν, εἰ μὴ φθάσαντες προκαταλάβοιεν αὐτόν, ἁρπάσαντες τὰ ὅπλα καὶ περιστάντες τοῖς βασιλείοις αὐτοῦ τρόπῳ πολιορκίας καὶ τὰς ἐξόδους διαλαβόντες ἐζήτουν
137 χειρώσασθαι τὸν βασιλέα. ὁ δὲ τὸν δῆμον ὁρῶν τὸν τῶν Ἀντιοχέων ἐκπεπολεμωμένον πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἐν ὅπλοις ὄντα, παραλαβὼν τοὺς μισθοφόρους καὶ τοὺς πεμφθέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰωνάθου Ἰουδαίους συμβάλλει τοῖς Ἀντιοχεῦσιν καὶ βιασθεὶς ὑπ'
138 αὐτῶν (πολλαὶ γὰρ ἦσαν μυριάδες) ἡττᾶται. βλέποντες δὲ τοὺς Ἀντιοχεῖς κρατοῦντας οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, ἐπὶ τὰς στέγας τῶν βασιλείων ἀναβάντες ἐκεῖθεν ἔβαλλον τοὺς Ἀντιοχεῖς, καὶ τοῦ μὲν αὐτοί τι πάσχειν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὄντες πορρωτάτω διὰ τὸ ὕψος, ποιοῦντες δ' αὐτοὺς κακῶς διὰ τὸ ἄνωθεν μάχε-

[1] V: εὐσχολεῖν rell. E.

[a] This refers to the revolt of the Antiochenes and Larissans and others, caused by Tryphon.

[b] The following section, to § 144, is based chiefly on a Hellenistic source.

upon Demetrius promised not only to grant this request, but also to do more for him at the end of the war which he had on his hands; for, he said, all his time was just now taken up with this.[a] And he asked Jonathan to send him assistance, informing him that his force had revolted. And so Jonathan sent him three thousand picked soldiers.

(3) [b] But the Antiochians, who hated Demetrius because of the ill-treatment they had received at his hands, and also were hostile to him on account of the many crimes which his father Demetrius had committed against them, were waiting for an opportunity which they might seize to fall upon him. And so, becoming aware that assistance had come to Demetrius from Jonathan, and reflecting that unless they acted quickly to anticipate him, he would collect a great force, they hastily seized their arms, and surrounding his palace as if in a siege, blocked the exits and sought to get the king into their hands. But when he saw that the populace of Antioch was ready to make war on him and was under arms, he took his mercenaries and the Jews sent by Jonathan, and engaged the Antiochians; but he was overpowered by them—for many tens of thousands [c] were there—and was beaten. Now when the Jews saw the Antiochians getting the upper hand, they went up to the roofs of the palace buildings, and from there hurled missiles at the Antiochians [d]; and while they themselves, being high above their opponents, were too far away to be hurt by them, they could inflict much damage on them by fighting from above;

The Jews help Demetrius II subdue Antioch. *Cf.* 1 Macc. xi. 45.

[c] 120,000, according to 1 Macc. xi. 45.

[d] The fighting from the roofs and other details are not mentioned in 1 Macc.

139 σθαι, τῶν σύνεγγυς αὐτοὺς οἰκιῶν ἀπώσαντο· καὶ ταύταις μὲν εὐθὺς πῦρ ἐνῆκαν, ἡ δὲ φλὸξ ἐφ' ὅλην διατείνουσα τὴν πόλιν, πυκνῶν τῶν οἰκιῶν οὐσῶν καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα ἐκ ξύλων ᾠκοδομημένων, πᾶσαν
140 αὐτὴν ἐνέμετο. οἱ δ' Ἀντιοχεῖς μὴ δυνάμενοι βοηθῆσαι μηδὲ κρατῆσαι τοῦ πυρός, εἰς φυγὴν ἐτράπησαν. τῶν δὲ Ἰουδαίων ἀπὸ δώματος ἐπὶ δῶμα διαπηδώντων καὶ τοῦτον αὐτοὺς διωκόντων τὸν τρόπον, παράδοξον συνέβη γενέσθαι τὴν δίωξιν.
141 ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ὁρῶν τοὺς Ἀντιοχεῖς σῶσαι τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐσπουδακότας καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μηκέτι μαχομένους, δι' ἄλλων αὐτοῖς ἐπιτίθεται στενωπῶν, καὶ συμβαλὼν πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινεν, ὡς ἀναγκασθῆναι ῥῖψαι τὰς πανοπλίας καὶ
142 παραδοῦναι αὑτοὺς τῷ Δημητρίῳ. συγγνοὺς δ' αὐτοῖς τῶν τετολμημένων καταπαύει τὴν στάσιν. δωρησάμενος δὲ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ταῖς ἐκ τῶν σκύλων ὠφελείαις, καὶ ὡς αἰτιωτάτοις τῆς νίκης αὐτῷ γεγενημένοις εὐχαριστήσας, ἀπέπεμψεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πρὸς Ἰωνάθην, μαρτυρῶν αὐτῷ τῆς συμ-
143 μαχίας.[1] ὕστερον δὲ πονηρὸς εἰς αὐτὸν ἐγένετο καὶ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις διεψεύσατο, καὶ πόλεμον ἠπείλησεν εἰ μὴ τοὺς φόρους αὐτῷ πάντας ἀποδώσει, οὓς ὤφειλε τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων βασιλέων. καὶ ταῦτα ἐποίησεν ἄν, εἰ μὴ Τρύφων αὐτὸν ἐπέσχε καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην αὐτοῦ παρασκευὴν ἀντιμετέσπασεν εἰς τὰς περὶ αὐτοῦ[2]
144 φροντίδας. ὑποστρέψας γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Ἀραβίας εἰς τὴν Συρίαν μετὰ τοῦ παιδὸς Ἀντιόχου (μειράκιον

[1] τὴν συμμαχίαν coni. Schmidt. [2] αὑτοῦ PFLV.

and so they drove them out of the adjoining houses, which they quickly set on fire; and as the houses were close together and mostly built of wood, the flames spread over the whole city and entirely consumed it. Thereupon the Antiochians, being unable to give help or to control the fire, turned to flight. But the Jews, leaping from roof to roof, pursued them in this manner, and a very strange manner of pursuit it was. Now when the king saw that the Antiochians were striving to save their children and wives, and for that reason were no longer fighting, he set upon them from other narrow streets, and on encountering them, killed many of them, so that they were forced to throw down their full armour and surrender to Demetrius. But he forgave them their acts of defiance, and so put an end to the uprising. He then presented the Jews with the spoils he had gained, and thanked them for having been chiefly responsible for his victory, after which he sent them back to Jerusalem to Jonathan with an acknowledgment of his assistance. Later on, however, he behaved basely toward him and belied his promises, threatening him with war unless he paid him all the kinds of tribute which the Jewish nation was required to pay from the time of the first kings.[a] And this threat he would have carried out, if Tryphon had not kept him from doing so and diverted his preparations against Jonathan into concern for his own interests.[b] For Tryphon had returned to Syria from Arabia with the

Demetrius II's ingratitude toward the Jews. 1 Macc. xi. 53.

[a] The demand of tribute is not mentioned in 1 Macc., which says merely (xi. 53) that "he belied all that he had said, and became estranged from Jonathan, and did not reward him for the loyalty which he had shown him, and oppressed him severely."

[b] Variant "concern about him (Tryphon)."

δ' ἦν οὗτος ἔτι[1] τὴν ἡλικίαν) περιτίθησιν αὐτῷ τὸ διάδημα. καὶ προσχωρήσαντος τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ παντός, ὃ κατελελοίπει τὸν Δημήτριον διὰ τὸ μὴ τυγχάνειν μισθῶν, πόλεμον ἐκφέρει πρὸς τὸν Δημήτριον, καὶ συμβαλὼν αὐτῷ κρατεῖ τῇ μάχῃ, καὶ τούς τε ἐλέφαντας καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀντιοχέων πόλιν λαμβάνει.

145 (4) Δημήτριος μὲν οὖν ἡττηθεὶς ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Κιλικίαν, ὁ δὲ παῖς Ἀντίοχος πέμψας πρὸς Ἰωνάθην πρεσβευτὰς καὶ γράμματα φίλον τε καὶ σύμμαχον αὐτὸν ἐποιεῖτο καὶ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἐβεβαίου καὶ τῶν τεσσάρων παρεχώρει νομῶν οἳ
146 τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Ἰουδαίων προσετέθησαν. ἔτι γε μὴν σκεύη χρυσᾶ καὶ ἐκπώματα καὶ πορφυρᾶν ἐσθῆτα, χρῆσθαι τούτοις ἐπιτρέπων, ἀπέστειλε, καὶ πόρπῃ δ' αὐτὸν δωρεῖται χρυσέᾳ, καὶ τῶν πρώτων[2] αὐτοῦ καλεῖσθαι φίλων.[3] τὸν ἀδελφὸν δ' αὐτοῦ Σίμωνα στρατηγὸν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπὸ κλίμακος[4] τῆς Τυρίων
147 ἕως Αἰγύπτου καθίστησιν. Ἰωνάθης δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς

[1] ἔτι om. PFV.
[2] τῶν πρώτων] τὸν πρῶτον P: πρῶτον LAMW.
[3] φίλον PFLAMW.
[4] ex Macc. Hudson: κλίματος (pr. τοῦ PFV) codd.: regione Lat.

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[a] 1 Macc. xi. 55 says that the troops turned against Demetrius because he had "told them to go to the devil (ἀπεσκοράκισεν)."

[b] The elephants (1 Macc. xi. 56 has "beasts") were probably those brought by Ptolemy Philometor (*cf.* above, § 117) which later came into the possession of Demetrius.

[c] 1 Macc. does not tell where Demetrius fled; Livy, *Epit.* lii., gives Seleucia (on the coast), which is probably the correct reading, if, as stated by Bevan, *H. Sel.* ii. 227, Tryphon "had some footing in Cilicia."

young Antiochus—he was still a mere lad—, and placed the diadem on his head. And as the entire body of soldiers who had deserted Demetrius because they had not received their pay[a] went over to him, he declared war against Demetrius, and engaging him in battle, overcame him and took possession both of the elephants[b] and of the city of Antioch.

(4) Demetrius, therefore, on being beaten, retired to Cilicia,[c] while the young Antiochus sent envoys with letters to Jonathan, proposing to make him his friend and ally, to confirm him as high priest, and to yield to him the four districts which had been added to the territory of the Jews[d]; moreover, he sent him vessels and cups of gold and purple garments, with permission to use them, and presented him with a gold brooch and the right to be called one of his First Friends.[e] He also appointed Jonathan's brother Simon commander of the army from the Ladder[f] of Tyre to Egypt. Thereupon[g] Jonathan, being pleased

Antiochus VI honours Jonathan. 1 Macc. xi. 57.

[d] The clause "which had been added to the territory of the Jews" is not found in 1 Macc. Modern scholars who do not assume that Josephus added it erroneously are divided in opinion concerning the location of the fourth district; some think Ptolemais is meant, some Akkaron (Ekron), given to Jonathan earlier by Alexander Balas (1 Macc. x. 89); Abel, *GP* ii. 135, suggests Acrabattene. Others, rejecting Josephus' interpretation, assume that Judaea itself is meant. The first three districts are, of course, those taken from Samaria, namely Aphairema, Lydda and Ramathain (*cf.* above, § 127).

[e] 1 Macc. xi. 57, "one of the Friends of the king." On the title πρῶτοι φίλοι *cf.* Bikerman, *Inst. Sél.* p. 41.

[f] "Ladder" is conjectured; the MSS. have "region." The Ladder of Tyre was the coastline between Tyre and Ptolemais, including the mod. *Rās el-Abyad* and *Rās en-Nāqūra*.

[g] § 147 is an addition to 1 Macc.

παρ' Ἀντιόχου γεγενημένοις εἰς αὐτὸν ἡσθείς, πέμψας πρὸς αὐτόν τε καὶ Τρύφωνα πρεσβευτάς, εἶναί τε φίλος ὡμολόγει καὶ σύμμαχος καὶ πολεμήσειν σὺν αὐτῷ πρὸς Δημήτριον, διδάσκων ὡς οὐδ' αὐτῷ χάριτας ἀποδοίη[1] πολλῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ χρηστῶν ἐν οἷς ἐδεῖτο τυχών, ἀλλὰ προσαδικήσειεν ἀνθ' ὧν εὖ πάθοι.

148 (5) Συγχωρήσαντος οὖν Ἀντιόχου δύναμιν αὐτῷ συναγαγόντι πολλὴν ἔκ τε Συρίας καὶ Φοινίκης τοῖς Δημητρίου πολεμῆσαι στρατηγοῖς, εὐθὺς ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ[2] τὰς πόλεις. αἱ δὲ λαμπρῶς μὲν αὐτὸν[3] ἐξεδέ-
149 ξαντο, στρατιὰν δ' οὐκ ἔδοσαν. παραγενόμενος δ' ἐκεῖθεν πρὸς[4] Ἀσκάλωνα πόλιν, καὶ τῶν Ἀσκαλωνιτῶν φιλοτίμως αὐτῷ μετὰ δώρων ἀπαντησάντων, αὐτούς τε τούτους παρεκάλει καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ κοίλῃ Συρίᾳ πόλεων ἑκάστην ἀποστᾶσαν Δημητρίου προσθέσθαι μὲν Ἀντιόχῳ, σὺν αὐτῷ δὲ πολεμούσας πειρᾶσθαι παρὰ Δημητρίου δίκην λαμβάνειν ὧν ἁμάρτοι ποτὲ εἰς αὐτάς· εἶναι δ' αὐταῖς βουλομέναις
150 ταῦτα φρονεῖν πολλὰς αἰτίας. πείσας δ' ὁμολογῆσαι[5] πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίοχον συμμαχεῖν τὰς πόλεις, εἰς Γάζαν παρεγένετο, προσαξόμενος καὶ τὴν παρὰ τούτων εὔνοιαν Ἀντιόχῳ. πολὺ δ' εὗρε τῆς προσδοκίας τοὺς Γαζαίους ἀλλοτριώτερον ἔχοντας· ἀπέκλεισαν γὰρ αὐτῷ τὰς πύλας, καὶ τὸν Δημή-

[1] Dindorf: ἀποδώη codd. [2] εἰς PFLV.
[3] αὐτὸν om. PFV. [4] εἰς FLVE.
[5] ὁμολογήσειν LAMW.

[a] In §§ 148-153 Josephus greatly amplifies (from a now lost Hellenistic source) 1 Macc. xi. 60-62.
[b] Phoenicia is not mentioned in 1 Macc., which says, xi. 60,

with the honours conferred upon him by Antiochus, sent envoys both to him and to Tryphon, professing to be his friend and ally, and agreeing to fight with him against Demetrius, for, he explained, Demetrius had shown him no gratitude for the many favours he had received from him in time of need, but had, on the contrary, done him further wrong in return for the kindnesses he had received.

Jonathan rouses the Syrian cities against Demetrius II. 1 Macc. xi. 60.

(5) [a] Accordingly, when Antiochus gave him leave to gather together a large force from Syria and Phoenicia [b] and fight against Demetrius' generals, Jonathan at once set out for the cities thereof. But these, while they received him splendidly, gave him no troops.[c] And so from there he went to the city of Ascalon, where the inhabitants met him with honours and gifts, whereupon he urged them and every one of the cities in Coele-Syria as well to abandon Demetrius and join Antiochus, and to fight together with him in an attempt to exact satisfaction of Demetrius for whatever wrongs he may have done them; for, he said, there were many reasons why they should be willing to take his side.[d] And when he had persuaded the cities to agree to an alliance with Antiochus, he went to Gaza in order to gain for Antiochus their goodwill also. But he found the people of Gaza much more hostile than he had expected, and they shut their gates against him, and

" And Jonathan went out and marched beyond the river (probably through Transjordan, not through Transeuphrates =Syria, as Bévenot supposes) and in the cities, and the whole force of Syria gathered to him as allies."

[c] This last sentence contradicts 1 Macc. xi. 60, quoted in the preceding note.

[d] § 149, from the words, " whereupon he urged them " is an addition to 1 Macc.

τριον ἐγκαταλιπόντες[1] οὐκ ἔγνωσαν Ἀντιόχῳ
151 προσχωρῆσαι. τοῦτο παρώξυνεν εἰς πολιορκίαν τὸν Ἰωνάθην καὶ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν[2] τὴν κάκωσιν· μέρος γὰρ τῆς στρατιᾶς περικαθίσας τῇ Γάζῃ, τῷ λοιπῷ τὴν γῆν αὐτὸς ἐπιὼν διέφθειρε καὶ ἐνεπίμπρα. ταῦτα δὲ πάσχοντας αὐτοὺς ὁρῶντες οἱ Γαζῖται[3] καὶ μηδεμίαν ἀπὸ Δημητρίου βοήθειαν αὐτοῖς γινομένην, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν λυποῦν ἤδη παρόν, τὸ δ' ὠφελῆσον μακρὰν ἔτι καὶ ἄδηλον εἰ παραγένοιτο, σῶφρον ἔκριναν εἶναι τοῦτ' ἀφέντες περι-
152 μένειν[4] ἐκεῖνο[5] θεραπεύειν. πέμψαντες οὖν πρὸς τὸν Ἰωνάθην φιλίαν τε ὡμολόγουν καὶ συμμαχίαν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄνθρωποι πρὸ πείρας τῶν δεινῶν οὐ συνιᾶσιν τὸ συμφέρον, ἀλλ' ὅταν ἔν τινι κακῷ γενόμενοι τύχωσιν, τότε γνωσιμαχήσαντες ἃ μηδ' ὅλως βλαβέντας ἄμεινον ἦν ποιεῖν ταῦτα
153 ὕστερον ζημιωθέντες αἱροῦνται. ὁ δὲ συνθέμενος πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλίαν καὶ λαβὼν ὁμήρους, τούτους μὲν ἀπέστειλεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν ἐπῆλθεν ἄχρι Δαμασκοῦ.

154 (6) Τῶν δὲ Δημητρίου στρατηγῶν[6] ἀκουσθέντων[7] αὐτῷ προελθεῖν[8] εἰς Κέδασαν[9] σὺν πολλῇ στρατιᾷ (μεταξὺ[10] δ' ἐστὶν αὕτη τῆς τε Τυρίων γῆς καὶ τῆς

[1] τὸν . . . ἐγκαταλιπόντες aut post ἔγνωσαν aut post προσχωρῆσαι collocanda esse putat Holwerda.
[2] αὐτῶν om. PFV. [3] Γαζεῖς AMW: Γαζαῖοι VE Lat.
[4] Bekker: παραμένειν codd. [5] ἐκεῖνον AMW.
[6] στρατιωτῶν PFLV. [7] ἀκουσθέντων om. PFLV.
[8] προσελθόντων PFLV: προσελθεῖν E.
[9] + πόλιν PFLV. [10] πλησίον PFLV.

[a] The desertion of Demetrius is a detail not found in 1 Macc.

though they had deserted Demetrius,[a] resolved not to go over to Antiochus. This provoked Jonathan to besiege them and to ravage their territory, and investing Gaza with a part of his army, he himself with the rest of it overran their land, destroying and burning it. When the people of Gaza saw in what a plight they were, and that no help was coming to them from Demetrius, but that, on the contrary, distress was already upon them, while the likelihood of assistance was still remote and it was uncertain whether it would come at all, they decided that it would be wise to give up waiting for assistance, and to remedy their distress.[b] Accordingly, they sent to Jonathan and proposed a friendly alliance. For before they experience misfortune, human beings do not understand what is good for them; only when they find themselves in some difficulty and after stubbornly resisting what they might better have done when they were quite unharmed, do they finally choose to do this when once they have been afflicted.[c] And so Jonathan made a friendly agreement with them and accepted their hostages, and sent these off to Jerusalem, while he himself marched through the whole country as far as Damascus.

(6) But when news came to him that Demetrius' generals were advancing[d] to Kedasa[e] with a great army—this city lies between the land of Tyre and

Jonathan invades Galilee; Simon captures Bethsur. 1 Macc. xi. 63.

[b] This sentence is an addition to 1 Macc.

[c] Similar moralizing additions to biblical passages may be found in the earlier books of *Ant.* As in the present instances they often contain Thucydidean echoes.

[d] Variant "But when Demetrius' soldiers were advancing."

[e] LXX Κάδες (*v.l.* Κήδες), Luc. Κέδες: it is the bibl. Kadesh of Naphtali, N.W. of Lake *Huleh*, *cf. Ant.* v. 63.

Γαλιλαίας· ἀπάξειν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς Συρίας ὑπέλαβον ἐπὶ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ὡς σύμμαχον[1]· τοὺς γὰρ Γαλιλαίους ὄντας αὐτοῦ[2] οὐ περιόψεσθαι πολεμουμένους), ὑπήντησεν[3] αὐτοῖς, τὸν ἀδελφὸν
155 Σίμωνα καταλιπὼν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ ὃς καὶ[4] στρατὸν ἐκ τῆς χώρας συναγαγὼν ὡς ἐνῆν ἱκανώτατον, τὴν Βεθσούραν πολιορκῶν προσεκάθητο, χωρίον τῆς Ἰουδαίας ὀχυρώτατον· κατεῖχε γὰρ αὐτὸ φρουρὰ Δημητρίου. δεδήλωται δὲ ἡμῖν τοῦτο καὶ πρό-
156 τερον. ὡς δὲ χώματα μὲν ἐγείραντος τοῦ Σίμωνος, μηχανήματα[5] δ' ἱστάντος[6] καὶ πολλῇ σπουδῇ χρωμένου περὶ τὴν τῆς Βεθσούρου πολιορκίαν ἔδεισαν οἱ φρουροὶ μὴ κατὰ κράτος ἐξαιρεθέντος τοῦ χωρίου διαφθαρῶσιν, πέμψαντες[7] πρὸς τὸν Σίμωνα ἠξίουν, ὅρκους λαβόντες ὥστε μηδὲν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παθεῖν, καταλιπεῖν τὸ χωρίον καὶ πρὸς Δημήτριον
157 ἀπελθεῖν. ὁ δὲ δοὺς ταύτας αὐτοῖς τὰς πίστεις ἐκβάλλει μὲν ἐκείνους ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, αὐτὸς δὲ φρουρὰν καθίστησιν[8] ἰδίαν.

158 (7) Ἰωνάθης δὲ ἄρας ἐκ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἀπὸ τῶν ὑδάτων τῶν Γεννησάρων λεγομένων (ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἐτύγχανεν ἐστρατοπεδευκώς) εἰς τὸ καλούμενον

[1] Γαλιλαίαν ὡς σύμμαχον] τῶν Γαλιλαίων συμμαχίαν AMW.
[2] τοὺς . . . αὐτοῦ] τῆς γὰρ Γαλιλαίας ὄντας αὐτοὺς PFV.
[3] + οὖν AMWE.
[4] τὸν PFV: om. A.
[5] Hudson: pr. καὶ AMWE: μηχανήματος PFLV.
[6] ἐνστάντος PFLV: constituisse Lat.
[7] Pr. καὶ PFLAM.
[8] ἐγκαθίστησιν Herwerden.

[a] More exactly Kadesh was in the territory of Tyre, north of Galilee; *cf.* Carte VIII in Abel, *GP*, vol. ii.

[b] Variant "to the assistance of the Galilaeans." Josephus here paraphrases 1 Macc. xi. 63, βουλόμενοι μεταστῆσαι αὐτὸν τῆς χρείας, which seems to mean, "wishing to draw him (Jonathan) off from his purpose," *i.e.* of helping Antiochus

Galilee[a]; for they supposed that they could draw him off from Syria to Galilee as an ally of the latter country,[b] and that he would not suffer the Galilaeans, who were of his own people, to be attacked by the enemy—,[c] he went out to meet them, leaving his brother Simon in Judaea; and Simon also gathered together as considerable an army as was possible from this country, and encamped before Bethsur[d] to besiege it, this being a very strong fortress in Judaea, which was held by a garrison of Demetrius. But of this we have spoken before.[e] And when Simon raised earthworks and set up siege-engines and showed much vigour in besieging Bethsur,[f] the garrison were afraid that the place might be taken by storm and they be destroyed; and so they sent to Simon and requested that they might leave the place and go back to Demetrius, on receiving sworn assurances that they should suffer no harm at his hands.[g] He therefore gave them these pledges, and putting them out of the city, stationed his own garrison therein.

(7) Meanwhile Jonathan set out from Galilee from the waters of Gennesar,[h] as they are called—for this was where he was then encamped—, and proceeded

Jonathan defeats Demetrius II in Galilee. 1 Macc. xi. 67.

vs. Demetrius. Moreover for χρείας Josephus, as Grimm remarks, seems to have read χώρας, as do some LXX MSS.

[c] This reference to the kinship of the Galilaeans and Jews is an addition to 1 Macc. It should be noted that at this time Galilee was still chiefly gentile, and was not judaized until the time of Hyrcanus or Aristobulus; *cf.* Schürer i. 276.

[d] *Cf. Ant.* xii. 313 note *d*.

[e] In § 12.

[f] These details are not found in 1 Macc.

[g] 1 Macc. says nothing of these conditions of surrender.

[h] See the detailed description of Gennesar (Gennesareth) in *B.J.* iii. 506-521.

Ἀσὼρ πεδίον προῆλθεν, οὐκ εἰδὼς ὄντας ἐν αὐτῇ
159 τοὺς πολεμίους. μαθόντες δὲ πρὸ μιᾶς ἡμέρας οἱ
τοῦ Δημητρίου μέλλειν Ἰωνάθην ἐπ' αὐτοὺς βαδί-
ζειν, ἐνέδραν αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς λοχήσοντας[1] ἐν τῷ
ὄρει καθίσαντες αὐτοὶ μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπήντων
εἰς τὸ πεδίον· οὓς ἰδὼν ὁ Ἰωνάθης ἑτοίμους πρὸς
μάχην, παρεσκευάζετο καὶ αὐτὸς τοὺς ἰδίους
160 στρατιώτας πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα, ὡς ἠδύνατο. τῶν δὲ
εἰς τὴν ἐνέδραν ὑπὸ τῶν Δημητρίου στρατηγῶν
κατασταθέντων κατὰ νώτου τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις γενο-
μένων, δείσαντες μὴ μέσοι ληφθέντες ἀπόλωνται,
161 φεύγειν ὥρμησαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες τὸν
Ἰωνάθην κατέλιπον, ὀλίγοι δέ τινες ὡς περὶ πεντή-
κοντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὑπέμειναν, καὶ Ματθίας ὁ
Ἀψαλώμου καὶ Ἰούδας ὁ Χαψαίου, τῆς ἁπάσης
δυνάμεως ἡγεμόνες ὄντες, οἳ τολμηρῶς[2] καὶ μετὰ
ἀπογνώσεως εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους ὠσάμενοι τῷ τε
θάρσει κατέπληξαν αὐτοὺς καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν ἀπ-
162 έστρεψαν εἰς φυγήν. οἱ δ' ἀναχωρήσαντες τῶν
Ἰωνάθου στρατιωτῶν ὡς εἶδον τοὺς πολεμίους
τραπέντας, ἐπισυλλεγέντες ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς ὥρμησαν
αὐτοὺς διώκειν, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐποίησαν μέχρι Κεδασῶν,
οὗ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἦν τοῖς πολεμίοις.[3]

[1] λοχήσαντας PFMV.
[2] οἳ τολμηρῶς] τολμηρῶς δὲ PFV.
[3] τῶν πολεμίων FLV Lat.

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[a] Bibl. Hazor, S.W. of Lake *Huleh*; *cf. Ant.* v. 199 note *d*.

[b] Jonathan's ignorance of the enemy's position is implied but not stated in 1 Macc. xi. 68, "And behold, the host of foreigners met him in the plain."

[c] That the enemy knew the day before of Jonathan's

to the plain of Asor,[a] not knowing that the enemy were there.[b] But as Demetrius' men had learned the day before[c] that Jonathan was coming against them, they set an ambush of men to lie in wait for him in the mountains, while they with the main army went to meet him in the plain. And when Jonathan saw them ready for battle, he too prepared his own soldiers for the contest as well as he could. Thereupon the men placed in ambush by Demetrius' generals appeared on the rear of the Jews, and they, fearing that they would be caught between two fires and be lost, made haste to flee. And so they all abandoned Jonathan, except a few, some fifty in number,[d] who stood their ground, among them Matthias, the son of Absalom, and Judas, the son of Chapsaios,[e] who were the commanders of the entire force; and these with recklessness and despair pushed back the enemy, and dismaying them by their courage and strength, made them turn and flee.[f] And when those of Jonathan's soldiers who had retreated saw the enemy in rout, they rallied after their flight and hastened to pursue them, which they did as far as Kedasa,[g] where the enemy had their camp.

coming is a detail not found in 1 Macc., but possibly based on Josephus' mistaken reading of the clause in 1 Macc. xi. 67, "and they (Jonathan's men) got up early in the morning (ὤρθρισαν τὸ πρωί) to go to the plain of Asor."

[d] 1 Macc. gives no number, and mentions only Matthias and Judas.

[e] 1 Macc. Χαλφί or Χαλφεί.

[f] Josephus slightly amplifies the account of the two heroes' deed; on the other hand he omits the detail of Jonathan's rending his garments and praying, with earth on his head, in distress at the rout of his men.

[g] *Cf.* § 154 note *e*.

163 (8) Κρατήσας οὖν Ἰωνάθης τῇ μάχῃ λαμπρῶς καὶ δισχιλίους τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀποκτείνας ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. ὁρῶν δὲ[1] ὅτι πάντ' αὐτῷ κατὰ νοῦν προνοίᾳ θεοῦ χωρεῖ, πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πρεσβευτὰς ἀπέστειλεν, ἀνανεώσασθαι βουλόμενος τὴν γενομένην τῷ ἔθνει πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔμπροσθεν φιλίαν.
164 τοῖς δ' αὐτοῖς[2] πρεσβευταῖς ἐπέστειλεν ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀναστρέφουσι πρὸς τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας ἀφικέσθαι καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὑπομνῆσαι φιλίαν καὶ συγγένειαν. οἱ δ' ὡς ἦλθον εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, παρελθόντες εἰς τὴν βουλὴν αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ παρὰ Ἰωνάθου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως εἰπόντες, ὡς πέμψειεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ
165 τῇ τῆς συμμαχίας βεβαιώσει,[3] τῆς βουλῆς ἐπικυρωσάσης τὰ πρότερον αὐτῇ περὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίων φιλίας ἐγνωσμένα, καὶ δούσης ἐπιστολὰς πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς βασιλεῖς τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ Εὐρώπης καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἄρχοντας αὐτοῖς κομίζειν, ὅπως ἀσφαλοῦς τῆς εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν κομιδῆς δι' αὐτῶν τύχωσιν, ἀναστρέφοντες εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην παρεγένοντο, καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἃς ἔλαβον παρὰ Ἰω-
166 νάθου αὐτοῖς ἀπέδοσαν. τὸ δ' ἀντίγραφον ἦν τόδε· "ἀρχιερεὺς Ἰωνάθης τοῦ ἔθνους τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ ἡ γερουσία καὶ τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἱερέων[4] Λακεδαι-

[1] οὖν P: om. E Exc. [2] αὐτοῦ AMVE Lat. Exc.
[3] τὴν . . . βεβαίωσιν PFV. [4] Ἰουδαίων V.

[a] 3000, according to 1 Macc.

[b] 1 Macc. xii. 1, "And Jonathan saw that the occasion aided him" (ὅτι ὁ καιρὸς αὐτῷ συνεργεῖ). 1 Macc. is notably sparing in allusions to divine intervention.

[c] In the time of Judas; *cf. Ant.* xii. 415 ff. (1 Macc. viii. 1 ff.).

(8) Having, therefore, won a brilliant victory, in which he killed two thousand[a] of his foes, Jonathan returned to Jerusalem. And when he saw that by God's providence all his affairs were going to his liking,[b] he sent envoys to the Romans, for he wished to renew the friendship which his nation had formerly had with them.[c] These same[d] envoys he instructed to visit the Spartans on their return from Rome, and to remind them of the Jews' friendship and kinship with them.[e] Accordingly, when they came to Rome, they appeared before the Senate and delivered the message of the high priest Jonathan, saying that he had sent them to confirm the alliance, whereupon the Senate ratified its former decrees concerning friendship with the Jews, and gave them letters to take to all the kings of Asia and Europe and to the magistrates of the cities,[f] in order that through them they might obtain safe-conduct to their own country; and on their return they came to Sparta and delivered to them the letter which they had received from Jonathan, of which the following is a copy. "Jonathan, high priest of the Jewish nation, and the senate and council of priests[g] to their brothers, the ephors

Jonathan renews the treaty with Rome. 1 Macc. xi. 74.

The Jews' letter to the Spartans. 1 Macc. xii. 6.

[d] Variant "And his."

[e] On Jews and Spartans see works cited in Appendix F.

[f] Here Josephus expands and clarifies the obscure statement in 1 Macc. xii. 4, "And they (the Romans) gave them letters to those in every place."

[g] Variant "community (*κοινόν*) of Jews." 1 Macc. xii. 6 reads, "Jonathan, high priest, and the senate of the nation and the priests and the rest of the people (*δῆμος*) of the Jews." The variant, *κοινὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων*, would seem to correspond closely to the expression *heber ḥa-Yᵉhûdîm* found on coins of John Hyrcanus, *cf.* Schürer i. 269 n. 25; for examples of the narrower meaning of *κοινόν* (=council) see Schalit, p. 117 n. 14.

μονίων ἐφόροις καὶ γερουσίᾳ καὶ δήμῳ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς χαίρειν. εἰ ἐρρωμένοις ὑμῖν καὶ τὰ κοινὰ καὶ τὰ ἴδια χωρεῖ κατὰ νοῦν, οὕτως ἂν ἔχοι ὡς
167 βουλόμεθα· ἐρρώμεθα δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς. ἐπειδὴ τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις κομισθείσης Ὀνίᾳ τῷ γενομένῳ παρ' ἡμῖν[1] ἀρχιερεῖ παρὰ Ἀρείου[2] τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος ὑμῶν ἐπιστολῆς διὰ Δημοτέλους περὶ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ἡμῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς[3] συγγενείας, ἧς ὑποτέτακται τὸ ἀντίγραφον, τήν τε ἐπιστολὴν ἐδεξάμεθα προθύμως καὶ τῷ Δημοτέλει καὶ τῷ Ἀρείῳ εὐνοϊκῶς διετέθημεν, οὐ δεόμενοι τῆς τοιαύτης ἀποδείξεως διὰ τὸ ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν ἡμῶν πεπιστεῦ-
168 σθαι[4] γραμμάτων· τὸ μὲν οὖν[5] προκατάρχειν τῆς ἀναγνωρίσεως οὐκ ἐδοκιμάζομεν[6] μὴ καὶ προαρπάζειν δοκῶμεν τὴν παρ' ὑμῶν διδομένην δόξαν, πολλῶν δὲ χρόνων διαγεγενημένων ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀναπολήθείσης[7] ἡμῖν οἰκειότητος, ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς καὶ ἐπωνύμοις ἡμέραις θυσίας τῷ θεῷ προσφέροντες καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμετέρας σωτηρίας τε
169 καὶ νίκης αὐτὸν παρακαλοῦμεν. πολλῶν δ' ἡμᾶς

[1] παρ' ἡμῖν om. PF.
[2] Ἄρεως P: Ἄρεος FV et sim. mox infra.
[3] ὑμῖν πρὸς ἡμᾶς P.
[4] πεπεῖσθαι AMW: credidimus Lat.
[5] οὖν om. PF. [6] οὐδὲ δοκιμάζομεν PFV.
[7] ἀναπληρωθείσης LAMW.

[a] 1 Macc. has merely, "to the Spartiates, their brothers." Some commentators take "brothers" here to connote ethnic relations. [b] This formula is not found in 1 Macc.

[c] Demoteles is not mentioned in 1 Macc.; *cf. Ant.* xii. 227 note *i*.

[d] Gr. Areios, variant Areus (the more correct form); 1 Macc. Dareios, *cf. Ant.* xii. 226 note *e*.

[e] The letter of the Spartans, 1 Macc. xii. 19-23, is given

and senate and people of Lacedaemon,[a] greeting. If you are well, and your public and private affairs are proceeding satisfactorily, it would be as we wish; we are also well.[b] When in former times there was brought by Demoteles[c] to Onias, who was our high priest, from Areius,[d] your king, a letter, of which a copy is appended,[e] concerning the kinship which exists between us and you, we gladly received the letter and showed ourselves kindly disposed toward both Demoteles and Areius, although we needed no such evidence since the kinship had been made certain through our sacred writings; nor did[f] we see fit to be beforehand in recognizing the relation, lest we might seem to be greedy in seeking the honour conferred by you[g]; and though a long time has passed since our kinship was first discussed,[h] yet, when we offer sacrifices to God on the holy days and memorial days,[i] we continue to entreat Him for your well-being and victory. And though we have been involved

earlier, in *Ant.* xii. 225 ff., by Josephus, who assumes that the Onias meant is Onias III.

[f] Variant "do."

[g] The preceding (from "although we needed no such evidence") is an amplification, based on a misunderstanding or different reading of 1 Macc. xii. 9, "We, therefore, although we have no need of these things (*i.e.* the alliances with Sparta), since we find comfort in the holy writings which we possess."

[h] Variant "was first completed." 1 Macc. xii. 10 has, "Much time has elapsed since you sent to us."

[i] 1 Macc. xii. 11 reads, "both on our festivals and on the other appropriate days we remember, etc." Possibly the "memorial" (or "eponymous") days refer to the Jewish New Year on the 1st of Tishri, called a "memorial of blowing of trumpets" in Lev. xxiii. 24. There may also be a connexion with the usage of "eponymous" in *archon eponymos*, whose accession marked the new year in several Greek states.

πολέμων περιστάντων διὰ τὴν τῶν γειτνιώντων πλεονεξίαν, οὔθ' ὑμῖν οὔτ' ἄλλῳ[1] τῶν προσηκόντων ἡμῖν[2] ἐνοχλεῖν ἐκρίναμεν. καταγωνισάμενοι δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους, πέμποντες πρὸς Ῥωμαίους Νουμήνιον τὸν Ἀντιόχου[3] καὶ Ἀντίπατρον τὸν Ἰάσονος τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς γερουσίας ὄντων παρ' ἡμῖν ἐν τιμῇ, ἐδώκαμεν αὐτοῖς καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπιστολάς, ὅπως ἀνανεώσωνται τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς[4] ἡμῖν συγγέ-
170 νειαν.[5] καλῶς οὖν ποιήσετε καὶ αὐτοὶ γράφοντες ἡμῖν, καὶ περὶ ὧν ἂν δέησθε ἐπιστέλλοντες ὡς εἰς ἅπαντα προθυμησομένοις ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμετέρας προαιρέσεως." οἱ δὲ[6] Λακεδαιμόνιοι τούς τε πρεσβευτὰς φιλοφρόνως ὑπεδέξαντο, καὶ ψήφισμα ποιησάμενοι περὶ φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπέστειλαν.

171 (9) Κατὰ δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον τρεῖς αἱρέσεις τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἦσαν, αἳ περὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων διαφόρως ὑπελάμβανον, ὧν ἡ μὲν Φαρισαίων ἐλέγετο, ἡ δὲ Σαδδουκαίων, ἡ τρίτη δὲ
172 Ἐσσηνῶν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Φαρισαῖοι τινὰ καὶ οὐ πάντα τῆς εἱμαρμένης ἔργον εἶναι λέγουσι, τινὰ δ' ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς[7] ὑπάρχειν συμβαίνειν τε καὶ μὴ γίνεσθαι. τὸ δὲ τῶν Ἐσσηνῶν γένος πάντων τὴν

[1] ἄλλοις LAMW Lat.
[2] ὑμῖν PFLV.
[3] Ἀντιμάχου FLAMVW.
[4] πρὸς ὑμᾶς] ὑπάρχουσαν AMW.
[5] φιλίαν AMW.
[6] μὲν οὖν PFVL.
[7] ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς LAMWE.

[a] 1 Macc. does not mention the covetousness of the neighbours of the Jews.
[b] Variant Antimachus.
[c] This clause is added by Josephus.
[d] Variant "may renew the friendship that exists between us."

in many wars through the covetousness[a] of our neighbours, we resolved not to trouble you or any other people connected with us. But having overcome our enemies, we have sent to the Romans Numenius, the son of Antiochus,[b] and Antipater, the son of Jason, who belong to our senate and are held in honour by us,[c] and have given them a letter to you also, in order that they may renew our ties with you.[d] You will do well, therefore, also to write us and instruct us concerning anything you may need, being assured that we shall be eager to carry out your wishes in all respects."[e] And the Lacedaemonians received the envoys in a friendly manner, and after making a decree concerning a friendly alliance with the Jews, sent them on their way.

(9) [f] Now at this time there were three schools of thought among the Jews, which held different opinions concerning human affairs; the first being that of the Pharisees, the second that of the Sadducees, and the third that of the Essenes. As for the Pharisees, they say that certain events are the work of Fate,[g] but not all; as to other events, it depends upon ourselves whether they shall take place or not. The sect of Essenes, however, declares that

The three Jewish schools of thought.

[e] The last sentence amplifies 1 Macc. xii. 18.

[f] The following passage on the Jewish sects will be discussed, together with related passages, in an appendix in the last volume of this translation. Here it may suffice to note that Josephus (or his source—probably Nicolas of Damascus) presents the varying religions and social philosophies of the three groups in such a way that they will be more intelligible to Greek readers.

[g] Fate is here, of course, the Greek equivalent of what we should call Providence. *Cf.* further G. F. Moore, "Fate and Free Will in the Jewish Philosophies according to Josephus," *HTR* xxii. (1929), 371-389.

εἱμαρμένην κυρίαν ἀποφαίνεται, καὶ μηδὲν ὃ μὴ
173 κατ' ἐκείνης ψῆφον ἀνθρώποις ἀπαντᾷ. Σαδδουκαῖοι δὲ τὴν μὲν εἱμαρμένην ἀναιροῦσιν, οὐδὲν εἶναι ταύτην ἀξιοῦντες, οὐδὲ[1] κατ' αὐτὴν τὰ ἀνθρώπινα τέλος λαμβάνειν, ἅπαντα δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς κεῖσθαι,[2] ὡς καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν αἰτίους ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς[3] γινομένους καὶ τὰ χείρω παρὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀβουλίαν λαμβάνοντας. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἀκριβεστέραν πεποίημαι δήλωσιν ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ βίβλῳ τῆς Ἰουδαϊκῆς πραγματείας.

174 (10) Οἱ δὲ τοῦ Δημητρίου στρατηγοὶ τὴν γεγενημένην ἧτταν ἀναμαχέσασθαι βουλόμενοι, πλείω τῆς προτέρας δύναμιν συναγαγόντες ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην. ὁ δὲ ἐπιόντας πυθόμενος ὀξέως ἀπήντησεν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν Ἀμαθῖτιν· οὐ γὰρ ἔγνω σχολὴν αὐτοῖς παρασχεῖν, ὥστ' εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν
175 ἐμβαλεῖν. στρατοπεδευσάμενος δὲ τῶν πολεμίων ἄπωθεν σταδίοις πεντήκοντα, πέμπει τοὺς κατοψομένους αὐτῶν τὴν παρεμβολὴν καὶ πῶς εἶεν ἐστρατοπεδευκότες. τῶν δὲ κατασκόπων πάντ' αὐτῷ φρασάντων καί τινας συλλαβόντων νυκτός, οἳ αὐτῷ μέλλειν ἐπιτίθεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐμήνυον,
176 προγνοὺς ἠσφαλίσατο, προφύλακάς τε ποιησάμενος ἔξω τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ τὴν δύναμιν δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἔχων ἅπασαν, καὶ παρηγγελ-

[1] Dindorf: οὔτε codd. E.
[2] P: τίθενται rell. E: supponunt Lat.
[3] αὐτοὺς om. P.

[a] *B.J.* ii. 119-166.

[b] Gr. Amathitis, elsewhere in Josephus (*e.g. Ant.* i. 138, vii. 107) called Amathūs or Amathē; it is the mod. *Hamā*. The city of Hamath, in the Hellenistic period called Epiphania, lay on the Orontes river, *c.* 50 miles N.E. of the

Fate is mistress of all things, and that nothing befalls men unless it be in accordance with her decree. But the Sadducees do away with Fate, holding that there is no such thing and that human actions are not achieved in accordance with her decree, but that all things lie within our own power, so that we ourselves are responsible for our well-being, while we suffer misfortune through our own thoughtlessness. Of these matters, however, I have given a more detailed account in the second book of the *Jewish History*.[a]

Jonathan's further victories over Demetrius II. 1 Macc. xii. 24.

(10) Now Demetrius' generals, wishing to make good the defeat they had sustained, gathered together a force larger than their former one, and came against Jonathan. But he had learned of their advance, and went quickly to meet them in the region of Hamath,[b] for he determined not to allow them time enough to invade Judaea. And he encamped at a distance of fifty stades[c] from the enemy, and sent men to spy on their camp and see how it was laid out. When the scouts had reported all these things to him, and by night[d] had captured some men, who revealed to him that the enemy were about to set upon him, he, being forewarned, took measures for his safety by placing outposts outside the camp and keeping his force under arms throughout the entire night; and

Eleutherus river mentioned below in § 179. In "the region of Hamath" Josephus must include territory considerably south of the city of Hamath; otherwise we fail to understand why the Syrians should have retreated across (*i.e.* to the north of) the Eleutherus.

[c] *C.* 6 miles. No distance is mentioned in 1 Macc.

[d] Perhaps the word νυκτός "by night" should be placed after the relative pronoun οἵ, to agree with 1 Macc. xii. 26, which says that the scouts reported that the enemy intended to attack by night.

κῶς αὐτοῖς τὰς ψυχὰς ἐρρωμένους εἶναι καὶ ταῖς διανοίαις οὕτως ἔχειν, ὡς καὶ διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς εἰ δεήσειε μαχουμένους,[1] ὥστε μὴ λαθεῖν αὐτῶν τὴν
177 προαίρεσιν. οἱ δὲ τοῦ Δημητρίου στρατηγοὶ πυθόμενοι τὸν Ἰωνάθην ἐγνωκότα,[2] οὐκέτι τὴν γνώμην ἦσαν ὑγιεῖς, ἀλλ' ἐτάραττεν αὐτοὺς τὸ καταφώρους τοῖς ἐχθροῖς γεγονέναι, καὶ μηδενὶ προσδοκᾶν[3] αὐτῶν ἐπικρατήσειν[4] ἑτέρῳ, τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς διημαρτημένης· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ φανεροῦ διακινδυνεύοντες
178 οὐκ ἐνόμιζον εἶναι τοῖς Ἰωνάθου ἀξιόμαχοι. φυγὴν οὖν ἐβουλεύσαντο, καὶ πυρὰ καύσαντες πολλά, ὡς[5] ὁρῶντες οἱ πολέμιοι μένειν αὐτοὺς ὑπολάβοιεν,[6] ἀνεχώρησαν. ὁ δὲ Ἰωνάθης ἕωθεν προσμίξας αὐτῶν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ καταλαβὼν ἔρημον αὐτό,
179 συνεὶς ὅτι πεφεύγασιν, ἐδίωκεν. οὐ μέντοι φθάνει καταλαβεῖν· ἤδη γὰρ τὸν Ἐλεύθερον διαβεβηκότες ποταμὸν ἦσαν ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ. ποιησάμενος οὖν ἐκεῖθεν τὴν ὑποστροφὴν εἰς τὴν Ἀραβίαν, καὶ πολεμήσας τοὺς Ναβατηνοὺς καὶ πολλὴν αὐτῶν λείαν ἀπελάσας καὶ λαβὼν αἰχμαλώτους, ἐλθὼν εἰς
180 Δαμασκὸν ἐκεῖ πάντα ἀπέδοτο. ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν

[1] edd.: μαχομένους aut μαχησομένους codd.
[2] μεμαθηκότα AMWE: cognovisse Lat.
[3] προσδοκώντων LAMW: προσδοκοῦντας ed. pr.
[4] ἔτι κρατήσειν AMW: ἔτι ἐπικρατήσειν L.
[5] P: ὡς ἂν rell. E.
[6] P: ὑπολάβωσιν L: ὑπολαμβάνωσιν rell. E.

[a] In the preceding two sentences Josephus amplifies 1 Macc. xii. 27-28.

[b] The mod. *Nahr el-Kebīr*, mentioned earlier in § 105 (*cf.* note there).

[c] The phrase "were on safe ground" is Thucydidean, *cf.* Thuc. viii. 39. 4.

[d] 1 Macc. xii. 31-32, "And Jonathan turned aside against

he exhorted them to keep their spirits high and their senses alert enough to fight even at night if necessary, that their enemy's plan might not take them unaware. But when Demetrius' generals discovered that Jonathan knew their plan, they were no longer able to use sound judgment, and were disturbed at having been found out by their foes; nor could they expect to overcome them by any other means, now that their stratagem had failed, for they did not consider themselves a match for Jonathan's men, if they were to fight in the open. They therefore resolved on flight, and after lighting many fires in order that, when the enemy saw them, they might believe they were still there, they retreated.[a] And when Jonathan came close to their camp at dawn and found it deserted, he realized that they had fled, and went in pursuit of them, but was not quick enough to overtake them, for they had already crossed the Eleutherus river[b] and were on safe ground.[c] He therefore turned back from there to Arabia and made war on the Nabataeans, driving off many of their cattle and taking captives, and then went to Damascus, where he sold them all.[d] About the same time his

the Arabs called Zabadaeans, and defeated them and took their spoil. And removing thence he came to Damascus and marched through the whole country." Perhaps Josephus connects the Zabadaeans of 1 Macc. with the Nabataean Arabs, who then lived considerably further south, because he associates them with "Zabdiel the Arab," who cut off the head of Alexander Balas (§ 118 = 1 Macc. xi. 17). Some older commentators, however, (*ap.* Grimm) mention Zabdini, a district N.W. of Damascus, near the Eleutherus. Whence Josephus derived the detail of Jonathan's sale of the cattle in Damascus is more difficult to explain. Possibly for διώδευσε "he marched through" Josephus read διέδωκε "he distributed" or the like.

καιρὸν καὶ Σίμων ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἅπασαν ἐπελθὼν καὶ τὴν Παλαιστίνην ἕως Ἀσκάλωνος, ἠσφαλίσατο τὰ φρούρια[1] καὶ ποιήσας ταῦτα καὶ τοῖς οἰκοδομήμασιν ὀχυρώτατα καὶ ταῖς φυλακαῖς, ἦλθεν εἰς Ἰόππην, καὶ καταλαβόμενος αὐτὴν εἰσήγαγεν μεγάλην φρουράν· ἤκουσε γὰρ τοὺς Ἰοππηνοὺς βουλομένους τοῖς Δημητρίου στρατηγοῖς παραδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν.

181 (11) Ταῦτ' οὖν διοικησάμενοι ὅ τε Σίμων καὶ Ἰωνάθης ἦλθον[2] εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. συναγαγὼν δὲ τὸν λαὸν ἅπαντα εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν Ἰωνάθης συνεβουλεύετο τά τε τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπισκευάσαι[3] τείχη, καὶ τὸ καθῃρημένον τοῦ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν περιβόλου πάλιν ἀναστῆσαι καὶ πύργοις ὑψηλοῖς ἐξοχυρῶσαι
182 τὰ περὶ αὐτό, πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ μέσον τῆς πόλεως ἄλλο τεῖχος ἀνοικοδομησαμένους ἀποφράξαι τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ φρουροῖς τὴν πόλιν,[4] καὶ τῆς εὐπορίας αὐτοὺς τῶν σιτίων τοῦτον ἀποκλεῖσαι τὸν τρόπον, ἔτι γε μὴν καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ φρούρια ποιῆσαι πολὺ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλείας
183 ἰσχυρότερα. τῆς δὲ γνώμης καὶ τῷ πλήθει δοκιμασθείσης καλῶς ἔχειν, αὐτὸς μὲν τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ᾠκοδόμει, Σίμωνα δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν

[1] τὰ φρούρια AMWE: φρουρίοις rell.
[2] ὑπέστρεψαν AMWE Lat.
[3] ἐπικατασκευάσαι P: ἐπικατασκευάσασθαι AMWE.
[4] ἀγορὰν AMWE.

[a] Palestine here = Philistia. The two countries are not mentioned in 1 Macc.
[b] Variant "making them secure with fortresses (or garrisons)."
[c] 1 Macc. xii. 33 says merely that Simon "marched

brother Simon went through all Judaea and Palestine[a] as far as Ascalon, making their fortresses secure[b] and strengthening them with works and guards,[c] and then went to Joppa, occupied it and introduced a large garrison into it[d]; for he had heard that the inhabitants of Joppa were ready to deliver up their city to Demetrius' generals.

(11) And so, having regulated these matters, both Simon and Jonathan came[e] to Jerusalem. Here Jonathan gathered all the people together in the temple[f] and advised them to repair the walls of Jerusalem, and to set up again the part of the wall round the temple which had been thrown down, and to fortify the temple precincts by high towers,[g] and, in addition, to build still another wall in the midst of the city to keep the garrison in the citadel from reaching the city,[h] and in this way cut off their large supply of provisions; he further advised them to make the fortresses throughout the country far stronger than they were in their present state of security. And so, when this plan was approved by the people, Jonathan himself began the building in the city, and sent out Simon to make the fortresses

Jonathan fortifies Jerusalem. 1 Macc. xii. 35.

through the country as far as Ascalon and the neighbouring fortresses."

[d] The introduction of the large garrison is not mentioned in 1 Macc. Joppa had earlier been taken by the Jews, *cf.* §§ 92 ff. (1 Macc. x. 76 ff.).

[e] Variant "returned."

[f] The temple is not mentioned in 1 Macc.

[g] 1 Macc. does not mention the temple wall (and towers), destroyed earlier by Antiochus Eupator, *cf. Ant.* xii. 383 (1 Macc. vi. 62). On the text of 1 Macc. here see C. Torrey *JBL* liii. (1934), 32-33.

[h] Variant "the market-place" (*agora*). The "city" is the western part of Jerusalem or "Upper City."

184 ἐξέπεμψεν ἀσφαλισόμενον. ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος διαβὰς[1] εἰς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν ἧκε, ταύτην τε βουλό-
185 μενος καὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα κατασχεῖν, καὶ τῶν ἄνω σατραπειῶν ἐγκρατὴς γενόμενος ἐντεῦθεν ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ὅλης τῆς βασιλείας ἀφορμάς· καὶ γὰρ οἱ ταύτῃ κατοικοῦντες Ἕλληνες καὶ Μακεδόνες συνεχῶς ἐπρεσβεύοντο πρὸς αὐτόν, εἰ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀφίκοιτο, παραδώσειν μὲν αὐτοὺς ὑπισχνούμενοι, συγκαταπολεμήσειν δὲ Ἀρσάκην τὸν Πάρθων βασιλέα.
186 ταύταις ἐπαρθεὶς ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ὥρμησεν πρὸς αὐτούς, εἰ καταστρέψαιτο τοὺς Πάρθους καὶ γένοιτ' αὐτῷ δύναμις, τὸν Τρύφωνα πολεμῆσαι διεγνωκὼς καὶ τῆς Συρίας ἐκβαλεῖν. δεξαμένων δὲ αὐτὸν προθύμως τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, συναγαγὼν δύναμιν ἐπολέμησε πρὸς τὸν Ἀρσάκην, καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν πᾶσαν ἀποβαλὼν αὐτὸς ζῶν ἐλήφθη, καθὼς καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δεδήλωται.[2]

187 (vi. 1) Τρύφων δὲ ἐπειδὴ τὰ περὶ τὸν Δημήτριον ἔγνω τοιοῦτο λαβόντα τέλος, οὐκέτ' ἦν Ἀντιόχῳ βέβαιος, ἀλλ' ἐπεβούλευεν ὥστ' αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνας τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτὸς κατασχεῖν. ἐνεπόδιζέ γε μὴν

[1] καταβὰς PFL: ἀναβὰς coni. Niese.
[2] δεδηλώκαμεν AMW Lat.

[a] Josephus omits the statements in 1 Macc. xii. 37-38 about the condition of part of the city wall, and Simon's capture of Adida in the Shephelah.

[b] The following section, to § 187, is based on a Hellenistic source, probably Nicolas of Damascus.

[c] The countries E. of the Euphrates. Demetrius invaded Parthia *c.* 140 B.C. According to 1 Macc. xiv. 1 it was in the Sel. yr. 172 = 141/0 B.C.; according to Porphyry it was

in the country secure.[a] Meanwhile[b] Demetrius crossed into Mesopotamia, wishing to occupy both that country and Babylon, and, by taking possession of the Upper Satrapies,[c] to make these his base for an attempt to control the entire kingdom. For the Greeks and Macedonians living in this region were in fact continually sending envoys to him, promising to go over to him, if he would come to them, and to join him in making war on Arsaces, the king of the Parthians.[d] Elated by these hopes, he set out for their country, being determined that, if he should subdue the Parthians and acquire a force of his own, he would make war on Tryphon and drive him out of Syria. And as the people of the country received him gladly, he gathered a force together and made war on Arsaces, but lost his entire army and was himself taken alive,[e] as has been related elsewhere.[f]

Demetrius II is captured by the Parthians.

(vi. 1) As for Tryphon, when he learned that Demetrius' undertaking had come to such an end, he ceased to support Antiochus, but, instead, plotted to kill him and seize the throne himself.[g] There was,

Tryphon's designs on the throne and his plot against Jonathan. 1 Macc. xii. 39.

in Olymp. 160, 2 = 139/8 B.C. For a discussion of the chronology of the campaigns, partly based on cuneiform records, see Debevoise, pp. 22-25.

[d] This was Arsaces VI, Mithridates I, who ruled from 171 to 138 B.C.

[e] In 138 B.C. He was treated honourably and given the daughter of Mithridates in marriage.

[f] Not in Josephus' works. The formula is taken over from his source, unless it means "in the works of others."

[g] Josephus, in amplifying 1 Macc. xii. 39, agrees with Appian, *Syr.* 67-68 and Justinus xxxvi. 1 in placing Tryphon's usurpation after the capture of Demetrius by the Parthians. But, as the coins show and as is indicated by 1 Macc. xiii. 31, 41, Tryphon's reign is to be dated from 142 or 141 B.C.; *cf.* Schürer i. 172 and Bevan in *CAH* viii. 527.

αὐτοῦ τὴν προαίρεσιν ταύτην ὁ παρὰ Ἰωνάθου φόβος φίλου τυγχάνοντος Ἀντιόχῳ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἐκποδὼν ποιήσασθαι τὸν Ἰωνάθην πρῶτον ἔγνω,
188 καὶ τότε τοῖς περὶ[1] τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἐγχειρεῖν. ἀπάτῃ δ' αὐτὸν καὶ δόλῳ κρίνας ἀνελεῖν, εἰς Βεθσὰν ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας παραγίνεται τὴν καλουμένην ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων Σκυθόπολιν, εἰς ἣν μετὰ τεσσάρων αὐτῷ μυριάδων Ἰωνάθης ἀπήντησεν ἐπιλέκτου στρατοῦ·
189 πολεμήσοντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ἥκειν ὑπέλαβεν.[2] ὁ δ' ἕτοιμον εἰς μάχην γνοὺς τὸν Ἰωνάθην[3] ὑπέρχεται δώροις αὐτὸν καὶ φιλοφρονήσει, καὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν αὐτοῦ πειθαρχεῖν Ἰωνάθῃ προσέταξε, τούτοις πιστώσασθαι βουλόμενος εὔνοιαν καὶ πᾶσαν ὑπόνοιαν ἐξελεῖν εἰς τὸ καταφρονήσαντα λαβεῖν ἀφύ-
190 λακτον, οὐδὲν προορώμενον. τήν τε στρατιὰν συνεβούλευεν ἀπολῦσαι· καὶ γὰρ νῦν οὐ δεόντως αὐτὴν ἐπάγεσθαι, πολέμου μὲν οὐκ ὄντος, εἰρήνης δὲ ἐχούσης τὰ πράγματα· κατασχόντα μέντοι γε περὶ αὐτὸν ὀλίγους εἰς Πτολεμαΐδα συνελθεῖν παρεκάλει· παραδώσειν γὰρ αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν τά τε ἄλλα πάνθ' ὅσα κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐστὶν ὀχυρώματα ποιήσειν ὑπ'[4] αὐτῷ· καὶ γὰρ τούτων ἕνεκα παρεῖναι.

191 (2) Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἰωνάθης οὐδὲν τούτων ὑπονοήσας, ἀλλ' ὑπ' εὐνοίας καὶ γνώμης ἀληθοῦς τὸν Τρύφωνα συμβουλεῦσαι ταῦτα πιστεύσας, τὴν μὲν στρατιὰν ἀπέλυσε, τρισχιλίους δὲ κατασχὼν μόνους τοὺς μὲν δισχιλίους ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ κατέλιπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῶν χιλίων ἧκεν εἰς
192 Πτολεμαΐδα σὺν τῷ Τρύφωνι. τῶν δ' ἐν τῇ

[1] P: ἐπὶ rell.
[2] ὑπελάμβανεν P.
[3] γνοὺς τὸν Ἰωνάθην] Ἰωνάθην ἰδὼν AMWE Lat.

however, an obstacle to this plan, namely his fear of Jonathan, who was Antiochus' friend, and for that reason he determined first to get rid of Jonathan, and then make the attempt on Antiochus. And deciding to make an end of him by deceit and treachery, he went from Antioch to Bethsan,[a] called Scythopolis by the Greeks, where Jonathan met him with an army of forty thousand picked men, for he suspected that Trypho had come to attack him. Accordingly, when Trypho discovered that Jonathan was ready for battle, he flattered him with presents and friendliness, and ordered his officers to obey Jonathan, for he hoped by these means to convince him of his goodwill and to remove all his suspicions, in order that Jonathan might make light of these and be taken off his guard, foreseeing nothing.[b] He also advised him to dismiss his army, for now, he said, there was no need to bring it with him, since there was no war, and peace reigned over all; he invited him, however, to keep a few men about him and go with him to Ptolemais, saying that he would deliver up that city to him and give into his power all the other strongholds that were in the country; it was for this reason, he said, that he had come there.

(2) And so, having no suspicion of these things, but believing that Trypho had given him this advice out of goodwill and in sincerity, Jonathan dismissed his army and kept only three thousand men, of whom he left two thousand in Galilee, while he himself with a thousand went to Ptolemais with Trypho. Trypho captures Jonathan by treachery. 1 Macc. xii. 46.

[a] Mod. *Beisān*, *cf.* *Ant.* v. 83 note *h*.
[b] Trypho's motives are not stated at this point in 1 Macc.

[1] ἐπ' AMW.

Πτολεμαΐδι κλεισάντων τὰς πύλας (τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Τρύφωνος προστεταγμένον), τὸν μὲν Ἰωνάθην ἐζώγρησε, τοὺς δὲ σὺν αὐτῷ πάντας ἀπέκτεινεν. ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ καταλειφθέντας δισχιλίους, ὅπως ἂν καὶ
193 τούτους ἀπολέσωσιν· ἀλλ' οὗτοι μὲν ὑπὸ φήμης τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην συμβεβηκότων ἔφθησαν, πρὶν ἢ τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ Τρύφωνος ἀπεσταλμένους ἀφικέσθαι, φραξάμενοι τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀπελθεῖν. οἱ δ' ἐπ' αὐτοὺς πεμφθέντες ἰδόντες ἑτοίμους ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν ἀγωνίζεσθαι, μηδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐνοχλήσαντες πρὸς τὸν Τρύφωνα ὑπέστρεψαν.

194 (3) Οἱ δ' ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀκούσαντες τὴν Ἰωνάθου σύλληψιν καὶ τὴν τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ στρατιωτῶν ἀπώλειαν, αὐτόν τε ἐκεῖνον ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβεβηκόσιν ὠλοφύροντο καὶ δεινὴ τἀνδρὸς ἐπι-
195 ζήτησις παρὰ πᾶσιν ἦν, δέος τε μέγα καὶ κατὰ λόγον αὐτοῖς ἐμπεσὸν ἐλύπει, μὴ τῆς Ἰωνάθου ἀνδρείας ἅμα καὶ προνοίας ἀφῃρημένων τὰ πέριξ ἔθνη, χαλεπῶς ἔχοντα πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ διὰ Ἰωνάθην ἠρεμοῦντα, νῦν αὐτοῖς ἐπισυστῇ, καὶ πολεμοῦντες εἰς τοὺς περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων κινδύνους
196 ἀναγκάζωνται καθίστασθαι. καὶ δὴ τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς ὡς ὑπενόουν συνέπεσε· τὸν γὰρ Ἰωνάθου ἀκούσαντες θάνατον οἱ ἐκ τῶν ἐθνῶν πολεμεῖν ἤρξαντο τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ὡς ἀποροῦντας ἡγεμόνος. αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Τρύφων δύναμιν συναγαγὼν[1] γνώμην εἶχεν ἀναβὰς εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν πολεμεῖν τοὺς ἐν

[1] συλλέγων AMW.

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[a] This important detail is omitted by 1 Macc.

But the inhabitants of Ptolemais shut their gates—this they had been ordered to do by Tryphon—,[a] and he[b] took Jonathan alive and killed all the men with him. He also sent troops against the two thousand men who had been left in Galilee,[c] in order to destroy them as well, but they, at the rumour of what had befallen Jonathan and his men, protected themselves with their arms and succeeded in getting out of the country before the arrival of the men dispatched by Tryphon: and when the troops sent against them by Tryphon saw that they were ready to fight for their lives, they returned to Tryphon without molesting them in any way.

The Jews are dismayed by Jonathan's capture 1 Macc. xii. 52.

(3) But when the inhabitants of Jerusalem heard of the capture of Jonathan and of the destruction of the soldiers with him, they lamented the fate that had befallen him above all, and sorely did they all miss the hero; at the same time, as was natural, a great fear fell upon them and troubled them that now, when they were deprived of both the courage and foresight of Jonathan, the surrounding nations, who were hostile to them and had remained quiet only because of Jonathan, might rise up against them, and that they might be forced to do battle and undergo the most extreme dangers. And what they suspected did in fact befall them, for when the foreign nations heard of Jonathan's death, they began to make war on the Jews, thinking them to be without a leader. As for Tryphon, he too gathered a force together with the intention of going up to Judaea and making war on its inhabitants. There-

[b] 1 Macc. "they" (the inhabitants of Ptolemais).
[c] 1 Macc. xii. 49 adds, "and the great plain" (of Esdraelon).

197 αὐτῇ. Σίμων δὲ ὁρῶν πρὸς ταῦτα τοὺς Ἱεροσολυ-
μίτας καταπεπληγότας, βουλόμενος αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ
ὑποστῆναι προθύμως ἐπιόντα τὸν Τρύφωνα θαρ-
ραλεωτέρους ποιῆσαι τῷ λόγῳ, συγκαλέσας τὸν
δῆμον εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἐντεῦθεν αὐτοὺς παρακαλεῖν
198 ἤρξατο· "τὸ[1] μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐλευθερίας,
ὁμόφυλοι,[2] μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐγώ τε καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί
μου ὡς ἐτολμήσαμεν ἀσμένως[3] ἀποθανεῖν οὐκέτ'
ἀγνοεῖτε. παραδειγμάτων δὲ τοιούτων εὐποροῦντός
μου, κἀκ τοῦ θνήσκειν ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς
θρησκείας τοὺς[4] ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας οἰκίας γενομένους[5]
ἡγησαμένου[6] φόβος οὐδὲ εἷς ἔσται τηλικοῦτος, ὃς
ταύτην ἡμῶν[7] τὴν διάνοιαν ἐκβαλεῖ τῆς ψυχῆς,
ἀντεισάξει δ' εἰς αὐτὴν φιλοζωΐαν καὶ δόξης κατα-
199 φρόνησιν. ὅθεν ὡς[8] οὐκ ἀποροῦντες ἡγεμόνος οἵου
τε καὶ πάσχειν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν τὰ μέγιστα καὶ δρᾶν,
ἕπεσθέ μοι προθύμως ἐφ' οὓς ἂν ἡγῶμαι. οὔτε γὰρ
κρείττων ἐγὼ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῶν ἐμῶν, ἵνα φείδωμαι
τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ ψυχῆς, οὔτε χείρων, ἵν' ὃ κάλλιστον
ἐκείνοις ἔδοξε, τὸ τελευτᾶν ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων καὶ
τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ θρησκείας ὑμῶν, τοῦτ' ἐγὼ φύγω καὶ
200 καταλίπω. οἷς δέ με δεῖ γνήσιον ἐκείνων ἀδελφὸν
φανῆναι, τούτοις ἐμαυτὸν[9] ἐπιδείξω· θαρρῶ γὰρ ὡς
καὶ δίκην ληψόμενος παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ πάν-
τας ὑμᾶς μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων τῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν
ὕβρεως ῥυσόμενος, καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀπόρθητον μετὰ
τοῦ θεοῦ διαφυλάξων· τὰ γὰρ ἔθνη βλέπω κατα-

[1] ὅσα LAMWE. [2] ἄνδρες ὁμόφυλοι LAMWE.
[3] ὡς ἐτολμήσαμεν ἀσμένως] ἐτολμήσαμεν ὡς LAMW: ἐτολμήσαμεν E. [4] τοῖς LA: τῆς MW: om. FV.
[5] δεδογμένου AMW: δεδομένου E.
[6] Bekker: ἡγησαμένους PFLV: om. AMWE.
[7] ὑμῶν PV. [8] ὡς om. FLV.

upon Simon, seeing that the people of Jerusalem were dismayed at these happenings,[a] and wishing by his words to make them more courageous and resolute in opposing Tryphon who was advancing against them, called the people together in the temple[b] and there began to exhort them as follows. "It was for your liberty, my countrymen, that I and my brothers together with our father have gladly[c] dared death, as you cannot fail to know by now. And having such good examples before me, and believing[d] that the men of my house were born to die on behalf of our laws and our religion, I know not any fear great enough to drive this thought from my[e] mind or to introduce in its place a love of life and contempt for glory. Wherefore, as you are not without a leader who is able to suffer and do the greatest things on your behalf, follow me eagerly against whomsoever I may lead you. For neither am I better than my brothers, that I should spare my own life, nor am I worse, that I should flee from or reject what seemed to them the noblest thing of all, that is, to die for the laws and the worship of your God. But in whatever way I must show myself to be a true brother of theirs, in that way I will show it. For I am confident that I shall take vengeance on the enemy, and that I shall deliver you all with your wives and children from their violence, and that with God's help I shall preserve the temple inviolate; for I see that the

Simon encourages the Jews. 1 Macc. viii. 1.

[a] The phrase "seeing that . . . were dismayed at these happenings" is reminiscent of Thucydides ii. 59. 3.

[b] 1 Macc. does not mention the temple: *cf.* § 181 note *f*.

[c] Variant omits "gladly."

[d] Text slightly emended.

[e] Variant (corrupt) "your."

[9] ἀδελφὸν ἐμαυτὸν P.

φρονήσαντα ὑμῶν ὡς οὐκ ἐχόντων ἡγεμόνα πρὸς τὸ πολεμεῖν ὡρμηκέναι."

201 (4) Τούτους ποιησαμένου τοῦ Σίμωνος τοὺς λόγους ἀνεθάρσησε τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐνδεδωκὸς ὑπὸ δειλίας ἀνηγέρθη[1] πρὸς τὴν ἀμείνω καὶ ἀγαθὴν ἐλπίδα, ὡς ἀθρόως πάντα τὸν λαὸν ἐκβοῆσαι τὸν Σίμωνα αὐτῶν ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ ἀντὶ Ἰούδου καὶ Ἰωνάθου τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ τὴν προστασίαν ἔχειν· ἔσεσθαι γὰρ πρὸς ὅ τι κελεύσει

202 πειθηνίους. συναθροίσας δ' εὐθὺς πᾶν[2] ὅσον ἦν τὸ πολεμικὸν τῆς οἰκείας ἰσχύος, ἔσπευδε τὰ τείχη τῆς πόλεως ἀνοικοδομῆσαι, καὶ πύργοις αὐτὴν ὑψηλοτάτοις καὶ καρτεροῖς ἀσφαλισάμενος ἀπέστειλε μὲν Ἰωνάθην τινὰ φίλον Ἀψαλώμου παῖδα μετὰ στρατιᾶς εἰς Ἰόππην, προστάξας αὐτῷ τοὺς οἰκήτορας ἐκβαλεῖν· ἐδεδίει γὰρ μὴ παραδῶσιν οὗτοι τὴν πόλιν τῷ Τρύφωνι. αὐτὸς δ' ὑπομείνας ἐφύλαττε τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα.

203 (5) Ὁ δὲ Τρύφων ἄρας ἐκ Πτολεμαΐδος μετὰ στρατιᾶς πολλῆς εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν παραγίνεται,[3] καὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην δέσμιον ἄγων. ἀπήντησε δ' αὐτῷ καὶ Σίμων μετὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως εἰς Ἄδδιδα πόλιν, ἥτις ἐπ' ὄρους κειμένη τυγχάνει ὑφ'[4] ἧς

204 ὑπόκειται τὰ τῆς Ἰουδαίας πεδία. γνοὺς δὲ Τρύφων ἡγεμόνα τὸν Σίμωνα ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων

[1] ἀνήρθη AMWE. [2] P: πᾶν εὐθὺς tr. rell.
[3] παρεγένετο AMWE. [4] ed. pr.: ἀφ' aut ἐφ' codd.

[a] Josephus, as is his wont, rhetorically embellishes Simon's speech as given in 1 Macc. xiii. 3-6.

[b] Simon's election as leader of the Jews is dated in Sel.

nations hold you in contempt as being without a leader, and are eager to make war." [a]

(4) By making this speech Simon restored courage to the multitude, and from having been crushed in spirit through timidity they were now raised to a better spirit and good hope, so that all the people cried out with one voice that Simon should be their leader and have authority over them, and so take the place of his brothers Judas and Jonathan, saying they would be obedient to whatever commands he would give them.[b] Thereupon he quickly collected all those of his own force who were able to fight, and made haste to rebuild the walls of the city; and when he had made it secure with very high and strong towers, he sent one of his friends, Jonathan, the son of Absalom,[c] with an army to Joppa, ordering him to drive out its inhabitants, for he was afraid that they might deliver up the city to Tryphon.[d] He himself remained to guard Jerusalem.[e]

The Jews elect Simon their leader. 1 Macc. xiii. 7.

(5) Meanwhile Tryphon set out from Ptolemais with a great army and came to Judaea, bringing also Jonathan as his prisoner. And Simon with his force met him at the city of Addida,[f] which is situated on a hill, with the plains of Judaea lying below it. But when Tryphon learned that Simon had been

Tryphon's further treachery toward the Jews. 1 Macc. xiii. 12.

yr. 170 = 143/2 B.C. by 1 Macc. xiii. 41 f., xiv. 27. *Cf.* also § 212 note *b*.

[c] Some commentators identify him with the Absalom whose son Mattathias was one of Jonathan's trusted officers, *cf.* above § 161 (1 Macc. xi. 70).

[d] This motive is not stated in 1 Macc.

[e] So Josephus understands 1 Macc. xiii. 11, which reads, "and he (Jonathan the son of Absalom) remained there (at Joppa) in the city."

[f] Mod. *el-Hadîthe*, *c.* 4 miles N.E. of Lydda, according to Abel, *GP* ii. 340.

καθεσταμένον, ἔπεμψε πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ τοῦτον ἀπάτῃ καὶ δόλῳ περιελθεῖν βουλόμενος, κελεύων αὐτόν, εἰ θέλει λυθῆναι τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰωνάθην, πέμψαι τάλαντα ἑκατὸν ἀργυρίου καὶ δύο τῶν παίδων τῶν Ἰωνάθου ὁμήρους, ὅπως μὴ ἀφεθεὶς ἀποστήσῃ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν βασιλέως· ἄρτι γὰρ αὐτὸν διὰ τὸ ἀργύριον, ὃ τῷ βασιλεῖ χρησάμενος ὤφειλε,
205 φυλάττεσθαι δεδεμένον. ὁ δὲ Σίμων τὴν τέχνην τὴν τοῦ Τρύφωνος οὐκ ἠγνόησεν, ἀλλὰ συνεὶς ὅτι καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον ἀπολέσει δοὺς καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν οὐ λύσει, μετ' αὐτοῦ δὲ καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐκδώσει τῷ πολεμίῳ, φοβούμενος δὲ μὴ διαβληθῇ πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος ὡς αἴτιος αὐτὸς τἀδελφῷ θανάτου γενόμενος, ὅτι μήτε τὰ χρήματα μήτε τοὺς υἱοὺς ἔδωκεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, συναγαγὼν τὴν στρατιὰν ἐδήλωσεν
206 αὐτῇ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Τρύφωνος, εἰπὼν ὅτι ταῦτα καὶ ἐνέδραν καὶ ἐπιβουλὴν ἔχει· ὅμως αἱρετώτερον εἶναι πέμψαι τὰ χρήματα αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς ἢ τοῖς ὑπὸ Τρύφωνος προβαλλομένοις μὴ ὑπακούσαντα λαβεῖν αἰτίαν ὡς τὸν ἀδελφὸν σῶσαι μὴ θελήσας. καὶ Σίμων μὲν τούς τε Ἰωνάθου παῖδας ἐξέπεμψε[1]
207 καὶ τὰ χρήματα. λαβὼν δὲ ὁ Τρύφων οὐκ ἐτήρησε τὴν πίστιν οὐδὲ ἀπέλυσε τὸν Ἰωνάθην, ἀλλὰ τὴν στρατιὰν ἀναλαβὼν ἐκπεριῆλθε τὴν χώραν καὶ διὰ τῆς Ἰδουμαίας ἀναβαίνειν διεγνώκει τὸ λοιπὸν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ παραγενόμενος ἧκεν εἰς

[1] ἔπεμψε LAMWE.

[a] 1 Macc. xiii. 15 reads, "because of the money which your brother Jonathan owes the royal treasury through the office he holds (δι' ἃς χρείας), we are keeping him under

appointed by the Jews as their leader, he sent to him with the intention of getting the better of him by deceit and treachery, and told him, if he wished his brother Jonathan to be released, to send a hundred talents of silver and the two sons of Jonathan as hostages, to ensure that when he was set free, he would not cause Judaea to revolt from the king: at the moment, he said, he was being kept in chains on account of the money which he had borrowed from the king and still owed him.[a] Now Simon was not unaware of Tryphon's artfulness, but clearly saw that he would lose any money he might give him, and still not free his brother, and along with him would be giving over his sons to the enemy; fearing however, that he might be denounced to the people as being the cause of his brother's death if he gave neither the money nor his sons for him, he gathered his army together and informed them of Tryphon's offer, adding that it held a snare and a plot, but that, in spite of this, it was better to send him the money and Jonathan's sons than to refuse to listen to Tryphon's proposals, and so incur blame, as if he were unwilling to save his brother.[b] Simon therefore sent off Jonathan's sons and the money as well. But Tryphon, on receiving them, did not keep his pledge nor release Jonathan, but, instead, took his army and marched all through the country; and deciding to go up to Jerusalem through Idumaea

guard." Josephus takes χρείας "office" in another sense, "debts." The allusion in 1 Macc. is to tribute demanded from Jonathan as a vassal of the Seleucid king, *cf.* above § 125 (1 Macc. xi. 28).

[b] Josephus invents the detail of Simon's consulting his army, and greatly amplifies the two verses, 1 Macc. xiii. 17-18, which describe Simon's suspicions of Tryphon.

[b]Ἄδωρα[1] πόλιν τῆς Ἰδουμαίας. ἀντιπαρῆγε δ' ὁ
Σίμων μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς, ἀεὶ καταστρατοπεδευό-
μενος ἐξ ἐναντίας αὐτοῦ.
208 (6) Τῶν δ' ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ πεμψάντων πρὸς Τρύφωνα
καὶ παρακαλούντων σπεῦσαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ
τροφὰς αὐτοῖς πέμψαι, παρεσκεύασε τὴν ἵππον ὡς
διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκείνης ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐσόμενος.
ἀλλὰ χιὼν διὰ νυκτὸς πολλὴ πεσοῦσα καὶ τάς
τε ὁδοὺς καλύψασα καὶ ἄπορον ἵπποις μάλιστα
πεζεύειν[2] ὑπὸ βάθους τὴν πορείαν παρασχοῦσα[3] δι-
209 εκώλυσεν αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα. διόπερ
ἐκεῖθεν ἄρας ὁ Τρύφων εἰς τὴν κοίλην ἀφικνεῖται
Συρίαν, σπουδῇ τε εἰς τὴν Γαλααδῖτιν ἐμβαλών,
τόν τε Ἰωνάθην ἀποκτείνας αὐτόθι καὶ ταφῆναι
κελεύσας, αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ὑπέστρεψεν.
210 ὁ δὲ Σίμων πέμψας εἰς Βασκὰ πόλιν μετακομίζει
τὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ὀστᾶ, καὶ κηδεύει μὲν ταῦτα ἐν
Μωδεεῖ τῇ πατρίδι, πένθος δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ μέγα πᾶς ὁ
211 λαὸς ἐποιήσατο. Σίμων δὲ καὶ μνημεῖον μέγιστον
ᾠκοδόμησε τῷ τε πατρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐκ λίθου
λευκοῦ καὶ ἀνεξεσμένου. εἰς πολὺ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ
περίοπτον ἀναγαγὼν ὕψος στοὰς περὶ αὐτὸ βάλ-
λεται, καὶ στύλους μονολίθους, θαυμαστὸν ἰδεῖν

[1] ex Macc. Hudson: Δῶρα codd. Lat.
[2] ὁδεύειν FLV, om. E.
[3] παρέχουσα FLV: κατασχοῦσα AMW.

[a] Tryphon's design on Jerusalem is inferred by Josephus from the words ἐκύκλωσαν ὁδόν in 1 Macc. xiii. 20.

[b] Conjectured from 1 Macc. for Dora in the MSS. of Josephus (who criticizes Mnaseas, cited by Apion, for a similar mistake, *cf. Ap.* ii. 116). Adora is bibl. Adoraim, mod. *Dūra*, 5 miles S.W. of Hebron, near the border between Judaea and Idumaea.

thereafter,[a] he finally came to Adora,[b] a city in Idumaea. Simon, however, with his army marched in the same direction, always encamping opposite him.

(6) But when those in the citadel[c] sent to Tryphon and urged him to hasten to them and send them provisions, he made ready his cavalry in the expectation of being in Jerusalem that very night. A heavy snow, however, fell during the night, which covered the roads and lay so deep that it made the way impassable, especially for the feet of horses, and so prevented his coming to Jerusalem.[d] For this reason Tryphon set out from Adora, and reaching Coele-Syria,[e] hurriedly invaded Galaaditis, where he killed Jonathan[f] and ordered that he be buried, and then returned to Antioch. But Simon sent to the city of Basca[g] and brought back the bones of his brother, which he buried in Modeei,[h] his birthplace, while all the people made great lamentation over him. And Simon also built for his father and brothers a very great monument of polished white marble, and raising it to a great and conspicuous height, made porticoes round it, and erected monolithic pillars, a

Jonathan is killed by Tryphon. I Macc. xiii. 21.

[c] The Syrian garrison and Jewish renegades in the *Akra* of Jerusalem.

[d] The picturesque details of the snowstorm are added by Josephus.

[e] Here "Coele-Syria" includes Transjordan, *cf. Ant.* xi. 25 note *a*.

[f] In the city of Bascama, see next note.

[g] Bascama (Βασκαμά) in 1 Macc.: it is identified by Bévenot with mod. *Tell Bāzūk*, N.E. of the lake of Galilee; this identification is questioned by Abel, *GP* ii. 261, who suggests *el-Gummeize* ("the sycamore") in the same region, on the basis of the supposed etymology of Bascama.

[h] Bibl. Modin, *cf. Ant.* xii. 265 note *e*.

χρῆμα, ἀνίστησι· πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ πυραμίδας ἑπτά, τοῖς τε γονεῦσιν καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἑκάστῳ μίαν, ᾠκοδόμησεν, εἰς ἔκπληξιν μεγέθους τε ἕνεκα
212 καὶ κάλλους πεποιημένας, αἳ καὶ μέχρι δεῦρο σώζονται. καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς Ἰωνάθου ταφῆς καὶ τῆς τῶν μνημείων οἰκοδομίας τοῖς οἰκείοις Σίμωνος τοσαύτην σπουδὴν οἴδαμεν γενομένην. ἀπέθανε δὲ Ἰωνάθης ἀρχιερατεύων,[1] ἔτη τέσσαρα προστὰς τοῦ γένους.[2] καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τῆς τούτου τελευτῆς ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

213 (7) Σίμων δὲ κατασταθεὶς ἀρχιερεὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους, τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης ἔτει τῆς ὑπὸ[3] Μακεδόσι δουλείας τὸν λαὸν ἠλευθέρωσεν ὡς μηκέτι φόρους αὐτοῖς τελεῖν· ἡ δὲ ἐλευθερία καὶ τὸ ἀνείσφορον τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις μετὰ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἔτη τῶν Συρίας[4] βασιλέων[5], ἐξ οὗ χρόνου Σέλευκος ὁ Νικάτωρ[6] ἐπικληθεὶς κατέσχε Συρίαν,
214 ὑπῆρξεν. τοσαύτη δ' ἦν ἡ τοῦ πλήθους περὶ τὸν Σίμωνα φιλοτιμία, ὥστ' ἔν τε τοῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους

[1] ἀρχιερατεύσας LWE.
[2] Iudaeorum Lat.: ἔθνους coni. Herwerden: post γένους suppl. Scaliger τὰ πάντα ὀκτωκαίδεκα.
[3] ἐπὶ τοῖς P.
[4] Ἀσσυρίων PFLV.
[5] τῶν Συρίας βασιλέων secl. Niese: τῆς Ἀσσυρίων βασιλείας leg. Naber cum V.
[6] Spanheim: Νικάνωρ codd.

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[a] 1 Macc. does not mention the porticoes; Josephus, on the other hand, omits the panoply and carved ships of the monument. On the architecture see Watzinger, *Denkmäler*, ii. 22; see also W. W. Tarn in *JHS* 59 (1939), 125-126.

[b] In *Ant.* xx. 238 Josephus gives 7 years for Jonathan's term as high priest. The correct figure is 10 years; Jonathan

wonderful thing to see.[a] In addition to these he built for his parents and his brothers seven pyramids, one for each, so made as to excite wonder by their size and beauty; and these have been preserved to this day. Such was the zeal which we know to have been shown by Simon in burying Jonathan and building monuments to his family. Now when Jonathan died as high priest, he had been ruler of the nation for four years.[b] These, then, were the circumstances of his death.

(7) And Simon, after being chosen high priest by the populace, in the first year of his high-priesthood liberated the people from servitude to the Macedonians, so that they no longer had to pay tribute to them. This liberation and exemption from tribute came to the Jews in the hundred and seventieth year of the Syrian[c] kingdom, reckoned from the time when Seleucus, surnamed Nicator,[d] occupied Syria.[e] And so great was the respect of the people for Simon that in their contracts with one another, as well as

Simon liberates Judaea from Seleucid rule. *Cf.* 1 Macc. xiii. 36.

died in 143/2 B.C. (*cf.* § 201 note *b*), and was officially recognized as high priest by Alexander Balas in 152 B.C. (*cf.* § 46 = 1 Macc. x. 21), thus ruling 10 years. Either Josephus is careless here, as in *Ant.* xx., or there is a scribal error. Perhaps, as Reinach suggests, the τέσσαρας is an expansion of the numeral letter δ', which in turn was an abbreviation of an original δέκα "ten."

[c] Variant "Assyrian."

[d] Correction of MS. "Nicanor," a scribal error also found in *Ant.* xii. 119 and xviii. 372.

[e] The 170th yr. Sel., by Jewish reckoning (*cf. Ant.* xii. 240 note *a*), began in April 142 B.C. 1 Macc. xiii. 34-40 gives in some detail the concessions made by Demetrius II to the Jews before his Parthian expedition (*cf.* below, § 218 note *b*): these constituted recognition of their political independence. On the Jewish coins supposedly coined under Simon see the works cited in Appendix M.

συμβολαίοις καὶ τοῖς δημοσίοις γράμμασιν ἀπὸ τοῦ[1] πρώτου ἔτους γράφειν Σίμωνος τοῦ[2] εὐεργέτου Ἰουδαίων καὶ ἐθνάρχου[3]· εὐτύχησαν γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ σφόδρα καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν[4] τῶν περιοίκων ἐκράτησαν.
215 κατεστρέψατο γὰρ Σίμων Γάζαρά[5] τε πόλιν καὶ Ἰόππην καὶ Ἰάμνειαν, ἐκπολιορκήσας δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἄκραν εἰς ἔδαφος αὐτὴν καθεῖλεν, ὡς ἂν μὴ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὁρμητήριον ᾖ καταλαμβανομένοις αὐτὴν τοῦ κακῶς ποιεῖν ὡς καὶ τότε. καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσας ἄριστον ἐδόκει καὶ συμφέρον καὶ τὸ ὄρος ἐφ' οὗ τὴν ἄκραν εἶναι συνέβαινε καθελεῖν, ὅπως ὑψηλότερον[6] ᾖ τὸ ἱερόν.
216 καὶ δὴ τοῦτο ἔπειθεν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καλέσας τὸ πλῆθος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γίνεσθαι, ὧν τε ἔπαθον ὑπὸ τῶν φρουρῶν καὶ τῶν φυγάδων Ἰουδαίων ὑπομιμνήσκων, ἅ τε πάθοιεν ἄν, εἰ πάλιν κατάσχοι τὴν βασιλείαν ἀλλόφυλος, φρουρᾶς ἐν αὐτῇ καταστα-
217 θείσης. ταῦτα λέγων πείθει τὸ πλῆθος, παραινῶν

[1] ἀπὸ τοῦ Naber: ἐπὶ τοῦ (τοῦ om. P) codd.
[2] τοῦ LV: τοῦ καὶ F: καὶ rell.
[3] ἐπάρχου AMWE.
[4] ἐθνῶν LA marg. M marg.
[5] Γάζαν PFLV.
[6] ὑψηλὸν PAMWE.

[a] Conjectured for ms. "in."

[b] *Cf.* 1 Macc. xiii. 42, "Simon, the high priest and general (στρατηγοῦ) and leader (ἡγουμένου) of the Jews." "Ethnarch" was the title given to later Hasmonaean rulers by the Romans, *cf. Ant.* xiv. 151, 191 *et al.*

[c] Variant "nations."

[d] Here, with 1 Macc. xiii. 42, ends Josephus' paraphrase (though not necessarily his use) of the apocryphal book, although it contains three and a half more chapters covering the rule of Simon. For this and the following periods Josephus relies on Hellenistic sources (chiefly Nicolas of Damascus), which he had earlier used for his account of the later Hasmonaean and Herodian periods in his *Jewish*

in public documents, they dated them "from[a] the first year of Simon, the benefactor and ethnarch of the Jews"[b]; for under his rule they prospered exceedingly and overcame the foes[c] that surrounded them.[d] For Simon subdued the city of Gazara[e] and Joppa and Jamneia, and also took the citadel at Jerusalem by siege, razing it to the ground that it might not serve his foes as a base to occupy and do mischief from it, as they were then doing.[f] Having done this, he thought it would be an excellent thing and to his advantage to level also the hill on which the citadel stood, in order that the temple might be higher than this. Accordingly, he called the people to an assembly and sought to persuade them to have this done, reminding them how they had suffered at the hands of the garrison and the Jewish renegades, and also warning them of what they would suffer if a foreign ruler should again occupy their realm, and a garrison should be placed therein. With these words he persuaded the people,

War (*cf.* § 225 note *c*). Various explanations have been given of Josephus' abandonment of 1 Macc. at this point; some scholars hold that the last three and a half chapters of 1 Macc. were a late addition, not known to Josephus (*cf.* the discussions in Thackeray, *Josephus*, p. 86 and Ricciotti, *Introduzione*, pp. 140-143). It is more likely that Josephus found it more convenient to use only his Hellenistic sources for Simon's period than to continue excerpting from them to fill out the narrative of 1 Macc.

[e] Variant "Gaza" as in 1 Macc. xiii. 43 (but Gazara in xiii. 53); *B.J.* i. 50 has Gazara, which is correct. On the site *cf. Ant.* xii. 308 note *a*. 1 Macc. xiii. 53 tells us further that Simon left his son John (Hyrcanus) as governor of Gazara.

[f] The expulsion of the Syrian garrison is dated the 23rd of Iyyar (roughly May) in 1 Macc. xiii. 51 and *Megillath Ta'anith.*

αὐτῷ τὰ συμφέροντα. καὶ πάντες προσβαλόντες
καθῄρουν τὸ ὄρος, καὶ μήτε νυκτὸς μήτε ἡμέρας
ἀπολυόμενοι τοῦ ἔργου τρισὶν αὐτὸ τοῖς πᾶσιν
ἔτεσιν κατήγαγον εἰς ἔδαφος καὶ πεδινὴν λειότητα.
καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐξεῖχεν ἁπάντων τὸ ἱερόν, τῆς ἄκρας
καὶ τοῦ ὄρους ἐφ' ᾧ ἦν καθῃρημένων.[1] καὶ τὰ μὲν
ἐπὶ Σίμωνος πραχθέντα τοῦτον εἶχε τὸν τρόπον.
218 (vii. 1) Μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας τῆς
Δημητρίου τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου υἱὸν Ἀντίοχον, ὃς καὶ
Θεὸς ἐπεκλήθη, Τρύφων διέφθειρεν ἐπιτροπεύων
αὐτοῦ, τέσσαρα βασιλεύσαντα ἔτη. καὶ τὸν μέν,
219 ὡς χειριζόμενος[2] ἀποθάνοι, διήγγειλεν· τοὺς δὲ
φίλους καὶ τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους διέπεμπε πρὸς τοὺς
στρατιώτας, ἐπαγγελλόμενος αὐτοῖς χρήματα πολλὰ
δώσειν, εἰ βασιλέα χειροτονήσουσιν αὐτόν, Δημή-
τριον μὲν ὑπὸ Πάρθων αἰχμάλωτον γεγονέναι μη-
νύων, τὸν δ' ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Ἀντίοχον παρελθόντα
εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν πολλὰ ποιήσειν αὐτοῖς κακά, τῆς
220 ἀποστάσεως ἀμυνόμενον. οἱ δ' ἐλπίσαντες εὐπο-
ρίαν ἐκ τῆς Τρύφωνι δοθησομένης[3] βασιλείας ἀπο-
δεικνύουσιν αὐτὸν ἄρχοντα. γενόμενος δὲ τῶν
πραγμάτων ἐγκρατὴς ὁ Τρύφων διέδειξε τὴν αὐτοῦ

[1] ἀνῃρημένων (-ον LVW) LAMVW: κατηριπωμένων A marg. M marg.

[2] ὡς χειριζόμενος] προσχαριζόμενος ὡς AMWE: ὡς σχαζόμενος Naber.

[3] δοθείσης P.

[a] Josephus' statements here and in *B.J.* i. 50 that Simon levelled the (S.E.) hill, on which the citadel (*Akra*) stood, are in contradiction to 1 Macc. xiv. 37, which says that Simon fortified the citadel. More correct is Josephus' statement in *B.J.* v. 139 that the Hasmonaeans (*i.e.* one of Simon's successors—probably John Hyrcanus) levelled the citadel hill, *cf.* Dr. Thackeray's note on the last passage.

since he was recommending what was to their advantage. And so they all set to and began to level the hill, and without stopping work night or day, after three whole years brought it down to the ground and the surface of the plain. And thereafter the temple stood high above everything else, once the citadel and the hill on which it stood had been demolished. Such was the nature of the things accomplished in the time of Simon.[a]

Tryphon kills Antiochus VI and claims the throne.

(vii. 1) Not long after Demetrius had been taken captive,[b] Tryphon, acting as the guardian of Alexander's son Antiochus, surnamed Theos,[c] put him to death after he had reigned four years.[d] And while he gave out that Antiochus had died under the hands of the surgeon,[e] he sent his friends and intimates to go among the soldiers, promising to give them large sums of money if they would elect him king, pointing out that Demetrius had been made captive by the Parthians, and that if his brother Antiochus[f] came to the throne, he would make them suffer severely, in taking revenge for their revolt. And so, hoping for an easy living if the throne were given to Tryphon, they made him their ruler. But on becoming the master of the state, Tryphon revealed his rascally

[b] Tryphon's usurpation preceded Demetrius' captivity, *cf.* above § 187 note *e*.

[c] For his full regnal title see § 131 note *d*.

[d] From 145 to 142 B.C. He was about seven years old at his death, *cf.* Bevan, *H. Sel.* ii. 230 note 4.

[e] Variant "died of excessive indulgence"; conjectured variant "died while being bled." A similar story is told in Livy, *Epit.* lv. The other sources, 1 Macc. xiii. 31, Diodorus xxxiii. 28, Appian, *Syr.* 68, Justinus xxxvi. 1. 7, do not tell how Antiochus was killed.

[f] Antiochus VII (Sidetes), *cf.* § 222 note.

φύσιν οὖσαν πονηράν· ἰδιώτης μὲν γὰρ ὢν ἐθεράπευε τὸ πλῆθος καὶ μετριότητα ὑπεκρίνετο, δελεάζων αὐτὸ τούτοις εἰς ἅπερ ἐβούλετο, τὴν δὲ[1] βασιλείαν λαβὼν ἀπεδύσατο τὴν ὑπόκρισιν καὶ ὁ
221 ἀληθὴς Τρύφων ἦν. τοὺς οὖν ἐχθροὺς διὰ ταῦτ' ἐποίει κρείττονας· τὸ μὲν γὰρ στρατιωτικὸν αὐτὸν μισοῦν ἀφίστατο πρὸς Κλεοπάτραν τὴν Δημητρίου γυναῖκα, τότε ἐν Σελευκείᾳ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων
222 ἐγκεκλεισμένην. ἀλωμένου δὲ καὶ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Δημητρίου ἀδελφοῦ, ὃς ἐπεκαλεῖτο Σωτήρ, καὶ μηδεμιᾶς αὐτὸν πόλεως δεχομένης διὰ Τρύφωνα, πέμπει πρὸς αὐτὸν Κλεοπάτρα, καλοῦσα πρὸς αὑτὴν ἐπί τε γάμῳ καὶ βασιλείᾳ. ἐκάλει δὲ τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἐπὶ τούτοις ἅμα μὲν τῶν φίλων αὐτὴν ἀναπεισάντων, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκδιδόντας τινὰς[2] ἐκ τῆς Σελευκείας τῷ Τρύφωνι δείσασα.

223 (2) Γενόμενος δ' ἐν τῇ Σελευκείᾳ ὁ Ἀντίοχος καὶ τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτῷ καθ' ἡμέραν αὐξανομένης ὥρμησε πολεμήσων τὸν Τρύφωνα, καὶ κρατήσας αὐτοῦ τῇ μάχῃ, τῆς ἄνω Συρίας ἐξέβαλεν εἰς τὴν Φοινίκην, διώξας ἄχρι ταύτης, εἴς τε Δώραν φρούριόν τι δυσάλωτον ἐπολιόρκει συμφυγόντα. πέμπει δὲ καὶ πρὸς Σίμωνα τὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερέα
224 περὶ φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας πρέσβεις. ὁ δὲ προσδέχεται προθύμως αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀξίωσιν, καὶ χρήματά

[1] μέντοι AMW.
[2] ἐκδιδόντας τινὰς coni.: ἐκδιδόντων (ἐνδιδόντων P: διδόντων FV) τινῶν codd.

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[a] Daughter of Ptolemy Philometor and former wife of Alexander Balas, *cf.* § 80.
[b] *Cf.* below, § 244 and *Ant.* vii. 393 where Josephus calls him Antiochus Eusebes. Neither Eusebes nor Soter (the

nature; for while he was a private person he had courted the multitude and assumed a character of mildness, thus leading them on to do as he wished, but once he had obtained the royal power, he threw off all pretence and became the Tryphon he really was. Now by this course he strengthened his foes, for the army, which hated him, revolted and went over to Cleopatra,[a] the wife of Demetrius, who with her children was at that time shut up in Seleucia. And as Demetrius' brother Antiochus, surnamed Soter,[b] was wandering about, for at Tryphon's instance no city admitted him, Cleopatra sent to him, inviting him to come and marry her and take the throne.[c] The reason why she invited Antiochus on these terms was partly that her friends persuaded her to do so, and partly that she feared that some of the people of Seleucia might deliver up the city to Tryphon.

Demetrius II's brother Antiochus Sidetes forms an alliance with Simon.

(2) Antiochus, therefore, came to Seleucia, and as his strength increased daily, he set out to make war on Tryphon; and having defeated him in battle, he drove him out of Upper Syria into Phoenicia, where he pursued him, and when he took refuge in Dora, a fortress difficult to take, besieged him there. He also sent envoys to Simon, the high priest of the Jews, to propose a friendly alliance.[d] And Simon gladly accepted his offer, and lavishly supplied the

latter was the surname of Demetrius I) appears elsewhere as a surname of Antiochus VII, whose official surname was Euergetes, and whose popular name was Sidetes (from the city of Side in Pamphylia, where he was brought up).

[c] Thus Antiochus VII became the third husband of Cleopatra, *cf.* above, § 221 note *a*.

[d] Antiochus's letter to Simon is quoted in 1 Macc. xv. 1-9. Tryphon's flight to Dora is mentioned in vs. 11.

τε πολλὰ καὶ τροφὴν τοῖς τὴν Δώραν πολιορκοῦσι στρατιώταις, πέμψας πρὸς[1] Ἀντίοχον, ἀφθόνως ἐχορήγησεν, ὡς τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων αὐτῷ πρὸς ὀλίγον καιρὸν κριθῆναι φίλων. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Τρύφων ἐκ τῆς Δώρας φυγὼν εἰς Ἀπάμειαν καὶ ληφθεὶς ἐν αὐτῇ πολιορκίᾳ διεφθάρη, βασιλεύσας ἔτη τρία.

225 (3) Ὁ δ' Ἀντίοχος ὑπὸ πλεονεξίας καὶ φαυλότητος λήθην τῶν ἐκ Σίμωνος αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰς χρείας ὑπηρετηθέντων ἐποιήσατο, καὶ δύναμιν στρατιωτικὴν Κενδεβαίῳ τινὶ παραδοὺς τῶν φίλων ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς Ἰουδαίας πόρθησιν καὶ τὴν Σίμωνος

226 ἅλωσιν ἐξαπέστειλεν. Σίμων δὲ ἀκούσας τὴν Ἀντιόχου παρανομίαν, καίτοι[2] πρεσβύτερος ὢν ἤδη, ὅμως ὑπὸ τοῦ μὴ δικαίων τῶν παρ' Ἀντιόχου γινομένων τυγχάνειν παρορμηθείς, καὶ τῆς ἡλικίας φρόνημα κρεῖττον λαβών, νεανικῶς ἐστρατήγει τοῦ

227 πολέμου. καὶ τοὺς μὲν υἱεῖς μετὰ τῶν μαχιμωτέρων προεκπέμπει[3] στρατιωτῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ κατ' ἄλλο μέρος προήει[4] μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, καὶ πολ-

[1] τὸν PV.
[2] AM: καὶ rell.: καίπερ coni. Niese.
[3] ἐκπέμπει FAMWE.
[4] προσήει LAMWE fort. recte.

[a] According to 1 Macc. xv. 26-31 Antiochus VII refused to accept help from Simon, and broke off their alliance, demanding the return of Joppa and Gazara, or indemnity and tribute.

[b] More exactly 4 years, from 142 to 138 B.C., according to the coinage, *cf.* Bevan in *CAH* viii. 527.

[c] The war between Antiochus VII and Simon is described in greater detail in 1 Macc. xv. 38-xvi. 10.

At about this point in *Ant.* begins the parallelism between

soldiers who were besieging Dora with great sums of money and provisions, which he sent to Antiochus, so that for a short while he was considered one of his closest friends.[a] As for Tryphon, he fled from Dora to Apamea, and on being besieged and captured there, was put to death, after reigning three years.[b]

(3) [c] Antiochus, however, through covetousness and dishonesty forgot the services which Simon had rendered him in his necessity, and giving a force of soldiers to Cendebaeus, one of his Friends, sent him off to plunder Judaea and seize Simon. But Simon heard of Antiochus' lawless conduct, and though he was now an old man, nevertheless was aroused by the unjust treatment he had received from Antiochus, and being filled with a spirit stronger than his years, took command in the war like a young man.[d] And so he sent his sons [e] on ahead [f] with the soldiers who were the best fighters, while he himself advanced [g]

Antiochus Sidetes turns against the Jews.

Ant. and *B.J.* Josephus in writing this portion of *Ant.* made use of the same sources (chiefly Nicolas of Damascus and Strabo) which he had before him earlier in writing *B.J.* i. and ii., but with variations in wording, some corrections and considerable additions. Moreover, as Dr. Thackeray has succinctly formulated the relation between the parallel accounts (in an unpublished note), "*Ant.* besides reverting to and making fuller use of the original sources, has had *B.J.* before him (*sic*) and aimed at avoiding repetition. The greater freedom with which *B.J.* had treated the source left *Ant.* at liberty to adhere more closely to its language." See further the Appendix on Josephus' sources, in the last volume of this translation.

[d] According to 1 Macc. xvi. 3 Simon took no part in the war and gave the command to his sons; but the wording of vss. 4-7 might easily lead one to suppose that the pronominal subject is Simon (Luc. supplies the name Joannes = John).

[e] Judas and John, *cf.* 1 Macc. xvi. 2.

[f] Variant "sent his sons out."

[g] Variant "came near."

λοὺς ἐν τοῖς φαραγγώδεσι τῶν ὀρῶν τόποις[1] εἰς ἐνέδραν καταστήσας διαμαρτάνει μὲν οὐδεμιᾶς τῶν ἐπιχειρήσεων, κρατήσας δὲ διὰ πάσης τῶν πολεμίων ἐν εἰρήνῃ τὸν λοιπὸν διήγαγε χρόνον, ποιησάμενος καὶ αὐτὸς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους συμμαχίαν.

228 (4) Ἦρξε μὲν οὖν ὀκτὼ τὰ πάντα τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔτη, τελευτᾷ δὲ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ἐν συμποσίῳ, Πτολεμαίου τοῦ γαμβροῦ ταύτην ἐπ' αὐτὸν συστησαμένου, ὃς καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς δύο παῖδας συλλαβὼν καὶ δεδεμένους ἔχων ἔπεμψε καὶ ἐπὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν τρίτον (τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Ὑρκανὸς
229 ἦν ὄνομα) τοὺς διαφθεροῦντας. αἰσθόμενος δὲ τοὺς ἐλθόντας ὁ νεανίσκος, διαφυγὼν[2] τὸν ἐξ αὐτῶν κίνδυνον εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἠπείγετο, θαρρῶν τῷ πλήθει διὰ τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς εὐεργεσίας καὶ διὰ τὸ Πτολεμαίου τοῖς ὄχλοις μῖσος. σπουδάσαντα δὲ καὶ Πτολεμαῖον εἰσελθεῖν δι' ἄλλης πύλης ὁ δῆμος ἀπεώσατο, τὸν Ὑρκανὸν ἤδη προσδεδεγμένος.

230 (viii. 1) Καὶ ὁ μὲν εἰς ἕν[3] τι τῶν ὑπὲρ Ἱεριχοῦντος ἐρυμάτων ἀνεχώρησε, Δαγὼν λεγόμενον. ἀπολαβὼν δὲ τὴν πάτριον ἀρχιερωσύνην Ὑρκανὸς καὶ τὸν θεὸν πρῶτα ταῖς[4] θυσίαις παραστησάμενος,[5] ἐπὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἐξεστράτευσε, καὶ προσβαλὼν

[1] Niese: τούτους aut τούτων codd.
[2] διαφεύγων FV: καὶ διαφυγῶν AMWE.
[3] ἕν om. LAMW.
[4] πρῶτα ταῖς Niese: πρῶτα LAMWE: πρώταις rell.
[5] παραιτησάμενος LAMVWE: placauit Lat.

[a] The chief engagement took place near Cedron, mod. *Qatra*, c. 6 miles N.E. of Azotus.
[b] The details of the alliance are given in 1 Macc. xv. 16-24.
[c] From 142 to 135 B.C. According to 1 Macc. xvi. 14

with his force in another direction, and posting many of his men in ambush in the defiles of the mountains, came through without losing a single engagement[a]; and after defeating the enemy everywhere, he passed the rest of his life in peace. He also made an alliance with the Romans.[b]

Simon is treacherously slain by his son-in-law Ptolemy.

(4) Now he ruled over the Jews for eight years in all,[c] and died while at a banquet, as a result of the plot formed against him by his son-in-law Ptolemy, who then seized and imprisoned his wife and two sons,[d] and also sent men to put to death his third son John, also called Hyrcanus.[e] But the youth, being aware of their coming, escaped danger at their hands and hastened to the city,[f] trusting in the people to help him because of his father's good deeds and the masses' hatred of Ptolemy. When, therefore, Ptolemy also made an effort to enter through another gate, the populace drove him away, for they had already admitted Hyrcanus.

Hyrcanus succeeds his father Simon.

(viii. 1) And so Ptolemy withdrew to one of the fortresses above Jericho, which was called Dagon.[g] But Hyrcanus, having assumed the high-priestly office of his father, first propitiated God with sacrifices, and then marched out against Ptolemy and attacked his stronghold; and though in all other

Simon was killed in the eleventh month, Shebat, of the 177th yr. Sel. = February 135 B.C. (This date is brought down a year by Kolbe, *Beiträge*, p. 27.)

[d] Mattathias and Judas. They and their mother were killed, *cf.* below, § 235. 1 Macc. xvi. 16, in reporting the death of the sons, fails to mention their mother.

[e] He was at Gazara, according to 1 Macc. xvi. 19, which ends its account of John Hyrcanus here.

[f] Jerusalem is meant.

[g] A corruption of Dok (1 Macc. xvi. 15), the mod. *'Ain Duq*, *c.* 3 miles N.W. of Jericho.

τῷ χωρίῳ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις περιῆν αὐτοῦ, ἡττᾶτο δὲ μόνῳ τῷ πρὸς τὴν μητέρα καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς
231 οἴκτῳ. τούτους γὰρ ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἀνάγων ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐξ ἀπόπτου ᾐκίζετο, καὶ κατακρημνίσειν οὐκ ἀφισταμένου τῆς πολιορκίας ἠπείλει. ὁ δ' ὅσον ἐνδοίη[1] τῆς περὶ τὴν αἵρεσιν τοῦ χωρίου σπουδῆς, τοσοῦτο χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς φιλτάτοις ἡγούμενος πρὸς τὸ μὴ κακῶς πάσχειν, ἐξέλυε τὸ πρόθυμον.
232 ἡ μέντοι μήτηρ ὀρέγουσα τὰς χεῖρας ἱκέτευε μὴ μαλακίζεσθαι δι' αὐτήν, ἀλλὰ πολὺ πλέον ὀργῇ χρώμενον ἑλεῖν[2] σπουδάσαι τὸ χωρίον, καὶ τὸν ἐχθρὸν ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ[3] ποιήσαντα τιμωρῆσαι τοῖς φιλτάτοις· ἡδὺν γὰρ αὐτῇ τὸν μετ' αἰκίας εἶναι θάνατον, εἰ δίκην ὑπόσχοι τῆς εἰς αὐτοὺς
233 παρανομίας ὁ ταῦτα ποιῶν πολέμιος.[4] τὸν δὲ Ὑρκανὸν ταῦτα μὲν λεγούσης τῆς μητρὸς ὁρμή τις ἐλάμβανε πρὸς τὴν αἵρεσιν τοῦ φρουρίου, ἡνίκα δὲ αὐτὴν ἴδοι τυπτομένην καὶ σπαραττομένην, ἐξελύετο καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰς τὴν μητέρα πραττομένοις
234 συμπαθείας ἥττων ἐγίνετο. ἑλκομένης δὲ οὕτως εἰς χρόνον τῆς πολιορκίας ἐνίσταται τὸ ἔτος ἐκεῖνο καθ' ὃ συμβαίνει τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀργεῖν· κατὰ δὲ ἑπτὰ ἔτη τοῦτο παρατηροῦσιν, ὡς ἐν ταῖς ἑβδο-
235 μάσιν ἡμέραις. καὶ Πτολεμαῖος, ὑπὸ ταύτης ἀνεθεὶς τοῦ πολέμου τῆς αἰτίας ἀποκτείνει τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς τοῦ Ὑρκανοῦ καὶ τὴν μητέρα, καὶ τοῦτο

[1] ὅσον ἐνδοίη Niese duce Dindorf: ὅσον ἂν ἐνδώῃ (ἐνδῶν P) codd. E.
[2] ἔχειν PF.
[3] Naber: ὑπ' αὐτῷ codd.: ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν E.

respects he was superior to him, in one thing he was at a disadvantage, that is, in feeling pity for his mother and brothers. For Ptolemy had brought them up on to the wall and maltreated them in the sight of all, threatening to hurl them down headlong if Hyrcanus did not give up the siege. And so, reflecting that the more he slackened his efforts to capture the place, the greater was the kindness he would show those dearest to him by sparing them suffering, Hyrcanus relaxed his eagerness. His mother, however, stretched out her hands, beseeching him not to weaken on her account, but to give way to his anger so much the more, and make every effort to take the place and get his foe into his power and avenge those dearest to him. For, she said, it would be pleasant for her to die in torment if the enemy,[a] who was doing these things to them, paid the penalty for his crimes against them. Now when his mother said these things, Hyrcanus was seized with a powerful desire to capture the fortress, but when he saw her being beaten and torn apart, he became unnerved and was overcome with compassion at the way in which his mother was being treated. But while the siege was being protracted in this manner, there came round the year in which the Jews are wont to remain inactive, for they observe this custom every seventh year, just as on the seventh day.[b] And Ptolemy, being relieved from the war for this reason, killed the brothers and mother of Hyrcanus, and

[a] Variant " Ptolemy " (who is named at this point in the parallel, *B.J.* i. 58).

[b] This sabbatical year extended from Oct. 135 to Oct. 134 B.C., *cf. Ant.* xii. 378 note *a* and xiv. 475 note *a*.

[4] Πτολεμαῖος A[1]M.

δράσας πρὸς Ζήνωνα φεύγει τὸν ἐπικληθέντα Κοτύλαν, τυραννεύοντα τῆς Φιλαδελφέων πόλεως.

236 (2) Ἀντίοχος δὲ χαλεπῶς ἔχων ἐφ' οἷς ὑπὸ Σίμωνος ἔπαθεν, εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐνέβαλε τετάρτῳ μὲν ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ, πρώτῳ δὲ τῆς Ὑρκανοῦ ἀρχῆς, ὀλυμπιάδι ἑκατοστῇ καὶ ἑξηκοστῇ
237 καὶ δευτέρᾳ. δῃώσας δὲ τὴν χώραν, τὸν Ὑρκανὸν εἰς αὐτὴν ἐνέκλεισε τὴν πόλιν, ἣν ἑπτὰ στρατοπέδοις περιλαβὼν ἤνυε μὲν οὐδὲν ὅλως τὸ πρῶτον διά τε τὴν τῶν τειχῶν ὀχυρότητα καὶ δι' ἀρετὴν τῶν ἐμπολιορκουμένων, ἔτι γε μὴν ὕδατος ἀπορίαν, ἧς αὐτοὺς ἀπέλυσεν ὄμβρος κατενεχθεὶς πολὺς
238 δυομένης πλειάδος. κατὰ δὲ τὸ βόρειον μέρος τοῦ τείχους, καθ' ὃ συνέβαινεν αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπίπεδον εἶναι, πύργους ἀναστήσας ἑκατὸν τριωρόφους, ἀνεβίβασεν
239 ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατιωτικὰ τάγματα. καὶ προσβολὰς ὁσημέραι ποιησάμενος, τάφρον τε βαθεῖαν καὶ πολλὴν τὸ εὖρος καὶ διπλῆν τεμόμενος,[1] ἀπετείχισε τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας. οἱ δὲ πολλὰς ἐκδρομὰς ἀντεπινοοῦντες, εἰ μὲν ἀφυλάκτοις που προσπέσοιεν

[1] διπλῆν τεμόμενος] διπλῆν τετμωμένος P: διὰ πλειόνων θέμενος AMW: θέμενος E: construens Lat.

[a] τύραννος "tyrant" and τυραννεύειν are applied by Josephus to native rulers of small territories.

[b] Bibl. Rabbath Ammon, mod. *'Ammān* in Transjordan.

[c] The several dates here given do not synchronize. The fourth year of Antiochus' reign and the first of Hyrcanus' was 135/4 B.C., while the 162nd Olympiad began in July 132 B.C. Although Porphyry (*ap.* Eusebius, *Chron.* ed. Schoene i. 255) also places Antiochus' siege of Jerusalem

after doing so, fled to Zenon, surnamed Cotylas, who was ruler[a] of the city of Philadelphia.[b]

(2) But Antiochus, being resentful of the injuries he had received from Simon, invaded Judaea in the fourth year of his reign and the first of Hyrcanus' rule, in the hundred and sixty-second Olympiad.[c] And after ravaging the country, he shut Hyrcanus up in the city itself, which he surrounded with seven camps, but at first he accomplished nothing whatever because of the strength of the walls and the valour of the besieged, and also, indeed, because of the lack of water, although of this they were relieved by a great downpour of rain which came with the setting of the Pleiades. Thereupon on the north side of the wall, where the ground happened to be level, he erected a hundred towers, each three stories high, on which he mounted companies of soldiers. And every day he made an attack, and by cutting a deep double[d] ditch of great width, shut the inhabitants up within the walls. They, however, contrived to make frequent sallies against the enemy, and whenever they took them off their guard, inflicted much

Antiochus Sidetes invades Judaea.

in the (third year of the) 162nd Olympiad, Schürer, i. 259 note 5, suspects the text of Eusebius; he partially reconciles the contradictions by suggesting that the war lasted from 134 to 132 B.C. That the siege lasted more than a year is indicated, as Schürer points out, by the fact that near its beginning occurred the November rains (δυομένης πλειάδος, § 237) and that it was still going on the following October, when the festival of Tabernacles came round (§ 241). Moreover, if Josephus' source here used the so-called Macedonian Olympiad era which preceded the Attic by a year (according to Bickermann, *cf. Ant.* xii. 321 note *d*), the discrepancy becomes still less. No dates or details of the siege are given in the parallel, *B.J.* i. 61.

[d] The variants make no reference to the ditch being double.

τοῖς πολεμίοις, πολλὰ ἕδρων αὐτούς, αἰσθομένων[1]
240 δὲ ἀνεχώρουν εὐμαρῶς.[2] ἐπεὶ δὲ βλαβερὰν κατενόησεν Ὑρκανὸς τὴν πολυανθρωπίαν, ἀναλισκομένων τε τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τάχιον ὑπ' αὐτῆς, καὶ μηδενὸς οἷον εἰκὸς ἐκ πολυχειρίας ἔργου γινομένου, τὸ μὲν ἀχρεῖον αὐτῆς ἀποκρίνας ἐξέβαλεν, ὅσον δ' ἦν ἀκμαῖον καὶ μάχιμον, τοῦτο μόνον κατέσχεν.
241 Ἀντίοχος μὲν οὖν τοὺς ἀπολεχθέντας ἐξελθεῖν ἐκώλυεν, οἱ δ' ἐν τοῖς μεταξὺ τείχεσι πλανώμενοι καὶ προαναλούμενοι[3] ταῖς βασάνοις[4] ἀπέθνησκον οἰκτρῶς. ἐνστάσης[5] γε μὴν τῆς σκηνοπηγίας ἑορτῆς, ἐλεοῦντες αὐτοὺς οἱ ἐντὸς πάλιν εἰσεδέξαντο.
242 πέμψαντος δ' Ὑρκανοῦ πρὸς Ἀντίοχον καὶ σπονδὰς ἡμερῶν ἑπτὰ διὰ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἀξιώσαντος γενέσθαι, τῇ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβείᾳ εἴκων σπένδεται, καὶ προσέτι θυσίαν εἰσέπεμψε μεγαλοπρεπῆ, ταύρους χρυσοκέρωτας[6] καὶ μεστὰ παντοίων ἀρωμάτων
243 ἐκπώματα χρυσᾶ τε καὶ ἀργυρᾶ. καὶ τὴν μὲν θυσίαν δεξάμενοι παρὰ τῶν κομιζόντων οἱ πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις ὄντες ἄγουσιν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, Ἀντίοχος δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν εἱστία, πλεῖστον Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Ἐπιφανοῦς διενέγκας, ὃς τὴν πόλιν ἑλὼν ὗς μὲν κατέθυσεν ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν,[7] τὸν νεὼν δὲ τῷ ζωμῷ τούτων περιέρρανε, συγχέας τὰ Ἰουδαίων νόμιμα καὶ τὴν πάτριον αὐτῶν εὐσέβειαν, ἐφ' οἷς ἐξεπολε-

[1] Cocceji: αἰσθομένους codd.: αἰσθομένους δ' εἰ καταμάθοιεν ex Lat. Holwerda: αἰσθομένοις Hudson.
[2] εὐχερῶς PFLV: innocui Lat.
[3] πλανώμενοι καὶ προαναλούμενοι] κακούμενοι P.
[4] ταῖς βασάνοις] τῷ λιμῷ V: om. E.
[5] Niese: ἐπιστάσης codd.
[6] ταῦρον χρυσοκέρωτα LAMWE Lat. Exc.
[7] τῶν βωμῶν Niese: τὸν βωμὸν codd.

damage on them, and if the enemy perceived them, they easily retired. When, however, Hyrcanus observed that his great numbers were a disadvantage because of the rapid consumption of provisions by them, and that the work which was being accomplished in no way corresponded to the number of hands, he separated from the rest those who were useless, and drove them out, and retained only those who were in the prime of life and able to fight.[a] But Antiochus, on his side, prevented those who had been rejected from going out, and so, wandering about the walls between the lines, they were the first to be exhausted by their cruel sufferings and were on the point of perishing miserably. Just then, however, the festival of Tabernacles came round, and those within the city took pity on them and admitted them again. And Hyrcanus sent to Antiochus, requesting a truce of seven days on account of the festival, which Antiochus, deferring to his piety toward the Deity, granted and moreover sent a magnificent sacrifice, consisting of bulls with gilded horns and cups of gold and silver filled with all kinds of spices. And those who were at the gates received the sacrifice from the men who brought it, and took it to the sanctuary, while Antiochus feasted his army, being very different from Antiochus Epiphanes who, when he captured the city, sacrificed swine upon the altars and bespattered the temple with their grease, thus perverting the rites of the Jews and the piety of their fathers, by which acts the nation was driven

The chivalry of Antiochus Sidetes.

[a] There are several Thucydidean reminiscences in the preceding description of the siege: *προσβολὰς ποιησάμενος* and *ἀφυλάκτοις προσπέσοιεν* in § 239, *ἐκ πολυχειρίας* and *τὸ ἀχρεῖον* in § 240; *cf.* Thuc. iv. 31. 1 and ii. 77 f. *Cf.* also below, § 245 note.

244 μώθη τὸ ἔθνος καὶ ἀκαταλλάκτως εἶχεν. τοῦτον μέντοι τὸν Ἀντίοχον δι' ὑπερβολὴν τῆς θρησκείας Εὐσεβῆ πάντες ἐκάλεσαν.

245 (3) Ἀποδεξάμενος δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπιείκειαν Ὑρκανός, καὶ μαθὼν τὴν περὶ τὸ θεῖον σπουδήν, ἐπρεσβεύσατο πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀξιῶν τὴν πάτριον αὐτοῖς πολιτείαν ἀποδοῦναι. ὁ δ' οὐκ[1] ἀπωσάμενος τὴν ἐπιστολήν,[2] τῶν μὲν παραινούντων ἐξελεῖν τὸ ἔθνος διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἄλλους[3] αὐτῶν τῆς διαίτης ἀμιξίαν
246 οὐκ ἐφρόντιζε, πειθόμενος δὲ κατ' εὐσέβειαν πάντα ποιεῖν τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς ἀπεκρίνατο παραδοῦναι μὲν τὰ ὅπλα τοὺς πολιορκουμένους καὶ δασμὸν αὐτῷ τελεῖν Ἰόππης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων τῶν πέριξ[4] τῆς Ἰουδαίας, φρουρὰν δὲ δεξαμένους ἐπὶ τούτοις
247 ἀπηλλάχθαι τοῦ πολέμου. οἱ δὲ τἆλλα μὲν ὑπέμενον,[5] τὴν δὲ φρουρὰν οὐχ ὡμολόγουν, διὰ τὴν ἀμιξίαν οὐκ ἐφικνούμενοι[6] πρὸς ἄλλους.[7] ἀντὶ μέν-

[1] δ' οὐκ Niese: δ' aut δὲ codd.
[2] Niese: ἐπιβουλήν PFLVW: συμβουλήν AM: βουλήν Exc.
[3] Exc. Hudson: ἀλλήλους codd.
[4] τῶν πέριξ] πάρεξ FVE Exc.
[5] ὑπομένειν P: ὑπέμειναν FV.
[6] ἐπιμιγνύμενοι AMWE Exc.
[7] E Exc.: ἀλλήλους codd.

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[a] *Cf. Ant.* xii. 253 ff.

[b] So Josephus calls him in *Ant.* vii. 393, although this surname is not found elsewhere, *cf.* above, § 222 note *b*.

[c] Similar charges of separateness are made against the Jews by the advisers of Antiochus VII in the parallel account in Diodorus xxxiv. 1, of which most scholars, following C. Müller, consider Posidonius to be the source. Josephus probably knew Posidonius at second hand through Nicolas of Damascus (whom he quotes below, § 251). The phrase used of the Jews in Diodorus is μόνους γὰρ ἁπάντων

to war and became his implacable enemy.[a] This Antiochus, on the other hand, because of his exaggerated devoutness was by all men called *Eusebes* (the Pious).[b]

(3) Now Hyrcanus, being favourably impressed by his affability, and learning of his reverence for the Deity, sent envoys to him with the request that he restore to the Jews their native form of government. And Antiochus did not thrust his letter aside, nor did he take note of those who urged him to extirpate this nation because of the separateness of their way of life,[c] but, as he believed that in all things they had acted with piety, he replied to the envoys that the besieged should hand over their arms, pay tribute to him for Joppa and the other cities bordering on Judaea, and receive a garrison, and that on these terms they might be freed of the war. But the Jews, while they were ready to accept the other terms, would not agree to the garrison, since they did not come into contact with other peoples because of their separateness. In place of the garrison, however,

Hyrcanus comes to terms with Antiochus Sidetes.

ἐθνῶν ἀκοινωνήτους εἶναι τῆς πρὸς ἄλλο ἔθνος ἐπιμιξίας καὶ πολεμίους ὑπολαμβάνειν πάντας, "they alone of all nations do not take part in social intercourse with other nations, and regard them all as enemies." The charge of *ἀμιξία* "separateness" appears elsewhere in pagan writers on Judaism, *cf.* the summary in Juster i. 46. Classic expression is given to this accusation by Haman (Est. iii. 8), *cf. Ant.* xi. 212, where Josephus supplies the adjective *ἄμικτον* "unfriendly" or "clannish." Incidentally, much is to be said for the view of Derenbourg, pp. 76-78, that *ἀμιξία* is the translation (better, the equivalent) of Heb. p^{e}*rîšûth*, *i.e.* separatism from paganism, whence the name Pharisees "separatists," applied to this group by their priestly and militarist opponents (the Sadducees); see further the Appendix on the Jewish sects in the last volume of this translation.

τοι γε τῆς φρουρᾶς ὁμήρους ἐδίδοσαν καὶ τάλαντα ἀργυρίου πεντακόσια, ὧν εὐθὺς τὰ τριακόσια καὶ τοὺς ὁμήρους προσδεξαμένου τοῦ βασιλέως ἔδοσαν, ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ Ὑρκανοῦ ἀδελφός, καθεῖλε δὲ καὶ
248 τὴν στεφάνην τῆς πόλεως. ἐπὶ τούτοις μὲν οὖν Ἀντίοχος τὴν πολιορκίαν λύσας ἀνεχώρησεν.

249 (4) Ὑρκανὸς δὲ τὸν Δαυίδου τάφον ἀνοίξας, ὃς πλούτῳ τοὺς πώποτε βασιλεῖς ὑπερέβαλε, τρισχίλια μὲν ἀργυρίου τάλαντα ἐξεκόμισεν, ὁρμώμενος δὲ ἀπὸ[1] τούτων πρῶτος Ἰουδαίων ξενοτροφεῖν ἤρξατο. γίνεται δ' αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς Ἀντίοχον φιλία καὶ συμμαχία, καὶ δεξάμενος αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἀφθόνως πάντα τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ φιλοτίμως παρέσχεν. καὶ ποιουμένῳ τὴν ἐπὶ Πάρθους αὐτῷ στρατείαν συνεξώρμησεν Ὑρκανός. μάρτυς δὲ τούτων ἡμῖν ἐστιν καὶ Νικόλαος ὁ Δαμασκηνός, οὕτως ἱστορῶν·
251 "τρόπαιον δὲ στήσας Ἀντίοχος ἐπὶ τῷ Λύκῳ ποταμῷ, νικήσας Ἰνδάτην[2] τὸν Πάρθων στρατηγόν, αὐτόθι ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας δύο, δεηθέντος Ὑρκανοῦ τοῦ Ἰουδαίου διά τινα ἑορτὴν πάτριον, ἐν ᾗ τοῖς
252 Ἰουδαίοις οὐκ ἦν νόμιμον ἐξοδεύειν." καὶ ταῦτα

[1] Cocceji: ὑπὸ codd. E.
[2] Σινδάτην PFV: Σίνδαν τινὰ Syncellus.

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[a] This brother's name is unknown. Two of Hyrcanus' brothers had recently been killed (*cf.* § 235) and, as Reinach notes, Josephus in § 228 seems to imply that they were his only brothers.

[b] Some historians take this to mean that only the battlements of the walls (στεφάνην = "crown") were destroyed. But, as Schürer points out, the other ancient sources speak of the destruction of the walls themselves (later rebuilt by Hyrcanus, *cf.* 1 Macc. xvi. 23); *cf.* Diodorus xxxiv. 1 and Porphyry (*ap.* Eusebius, *Chron.* ed. Schoene i. 255).

they offered hostages and five hundred talents of silver, three hundred of which and the hostages they gave at once among them being Hyrcanus' own brother[a]; and these the king accepted, and pulled down the walls encircling the city.[b] And so, on these conditions, Antiochus raised the siege and withdrew.[c]

Hyrcanus assists Antiochus Sidetes in his Parthian campaign; the death of Antiochus and return of Demetrius II.

(4) Hyrcanus also opened the tomb of David, who surpassed all other kings in wealth, and took out three thousand talents of silver, and drawing on this sum, became the first Jewish king to support foreign troops.[d] And[e] he made a friendly alliance with Antiochus, and admitting him into the city, lavishly and generously supplied his army with all they needed. And when Antiochus undertook an expedition against the Parthians, Hyrcanus set out with him.[f] On this we have the testimony of Nicolas of Damascus, who writes as follows. "After defeating Indates, the Parthian general, and setting up a trophy at the Lycus river,[g] Antiochus remained there two days at the request of the Jew Hyrcanus because of a festival of his nation on which it was not customary for the Jews to march out." Nor does he speak

[c] Possibly this event is referred to in *Megillath Ta'anith* under date of 28th of Shebat (Feb.-March), "Antiochus departed from Jerusalem"; *cf.* Lichtenstein, *Fastenrolle*, pp. 287-288 and *Ant.* xii. 383 note *d*.

[d] According to *Ant.* vii. 393 Hyrcanus gave part of this money to Antiochus to raise the siege. It was probably on this occasion that Hyrcanus appealed for help to Rome, *cf. Ant.* xiii. 260-265, xiv. 247-255.

[e] §§ 250-253 have no parallel in *B.J.*

[f] In 130 B.C. The campaign is described in Diodorus xxxiv. 15-17, Justinus xxxviii. 10, Livy, *Epit.* lix., Appian, *Syr.* 68, Porphyry (*ap.* Eusebius, *Chron.* i. 255). The ruler of Parthia was Phraates II; *cf.* Debevoise, pp. 31-34.

[g] The Greater Zab in Assyria.

μὲν οὐ ψεύδεται λέγων· ἐνέστη γὰρ ἡ πεντηκοστὴ ἑορτὴ μετὰ τὸ σάββατον, οὐκ ἔξεστι δ' ἡμῖν οὔτε
253 ἐν τοῖς σαββάτοις οὔτε ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ ὁδεύειν. συμβαλὼν δὲ Ἀντίοχος Ἀρσάκῃ τῷ Πάρθῳ πολλήν τε τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπέβαλε καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπόλλυται, τὴν δὲ τῶν Σύρων βασιλείαν ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ διαδέχεται Δημήτριος, Ἀρσάκου αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ἀπολύσαντος καθ' ὃν χρόνον Ἀντίοχος εἰς τὴν Παρθυηνὴν ἐνέβαλεν, ὡς καὶ πρότερον ἐν ἄλλοις δεδήλωται.[1]

254 (ix. 1) Ὑρκανὸς δὲ ἀκούσας τὸν Ἀντιόχου θάνατον εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὰς ἐν Συρίᾳ πόλεις ἐξεστράτευσεν, οἰόμενος αὐτὰς εὑρήσειν, ὅπερ ἦν, ἐρήμους
255 τῶν μαχίμων καὶ ῥύεσθαι δυναμένων. Μήδαβαν μὲν οὖν, πολλὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς αὐτῷ ταλαιπωρηθείσης, ἕκτῳ μηνὶ εἷλεν, ἔπειτα καὶ Σαμόγαν[2] καὶ τὰ πλησίον εὐθὺς αἱρεῖ, Σίκιμά τε πρὸς τούτοις
256 καὶ Γαριζεὶν τό τε Χουθαίων γένος, ὃ περιοικεῖ[3] τὸν εἰκασθέντα τῷ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἱερῷ ναόν, ὃν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπέτρεψεν οἰκοδομῆσαι Σαναβαλλέτῃ τῷ στρατηγῷ διὰ τὸν γαμβρὸν Μανασσῆν τὸν

[1] δεδήλωται] ἡμῶν δεδήλωται συγγράμμασιν P.
[2] Σαμωγαν L: Σαμέγαν V.
[3] Niese: ὃ περιοίκει P: ὅπερ οἰκεῖ F: ὅπερ ᾤκει rell.: quae possidebat Lat.: ὃ παρῴκει Naber.

[a] This passage, as Reinach notes, may have a bearing on the relations of Hyrcanus with the Pharisees and Sadducees (see below, §§ 288 ff.), if we assume that Pentecost fell on the first day of the week (Sunday) not by accident, as it might in the Pharisaic system of the calendar, but by intention, as in the Saddueaean system, based on a literal interpretation of Leviticus xxiii. 11 ff.

falsely in saying this; for the festival of Pentecost had come round, following the Sabbath,[a] and we are not permitted to march either on the Sabbath or on a festival. But on engaging Arsaces the Parthian in battle, Antiochus lost a great part of his army and was himself slain[b]; thereupon his brother Demetrius[c] succeeded to the throne of Syria, after Arsaces had released him from captivity at the time when Antiochus invaded Parthia, as has already been related elsewhere.[d]

(ix. 1) So soon as he heard of the death of Antiochus,[e] Hyrcanus marched out against the cities of Syria, thinking to find them, as indeed they were, empty of fighting men and of any able to deliver them. And he captured Medaba[f] after six months, during which his army suffered great hardships; next he captured Samoga[g] and its environs, and, in addition to these, Shechem and Garizein and the Cuthaean nation, which lives near the temple built after the model of the sanctuary at Jerusalem, which Alexander permitted their governor Sanaballetes to build for the sake of his son-in-law Manasses, the

Hyrcanus destroys the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim and judaizes Idumaea.

[b] On the confusion in some ancient sources between the deaths of Antiochus IV and of Antiochus VII *cf. Ant.* xii. 355 note *d* and Otto in *ABAW*, Phil.-Hist. Abt., *N.F.M.* 11 (1934), p. 85 n. 3.

[c] Demetrius II, *cf.* §§ 184 ff.

[d] Variant "related elsewhere in our writings." The formula is taken over from Josephus' source, unless, of course, "elsewhere" means the writings of other historians.

[e] In 129 B.C.; the parallel in *B.J.* i. 62 says that Hyrcanus marched out immediately after Antiochus' invasion of Parthia, at least half a year earlier.

[f] The ancient Moabite city, mod. *Mādabā*, at this time in Nabataean hands, *cf.* § 11.

[g] Variant "Samega"; identified by Abel, *GP* ii. 443, with mod. *Samak*, *c.* 8 miles N.E. of Medaba.

Ἰαδδοῦ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἀδελφόν, ὡς πρότερον δεδηλώκαμεν. συνέβη δὲ τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον ἔρημον
257 γενέσθαι μετὰ ἔτη διακόσια. Ὑρκανὸς δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἰδουμαίας αἱρεῖ πόλεις Ἄδωρα καὶ Μάρισαν, καὶ ἅπαντας τοὺς Ἰδουμαίους ὑποχειρίους ποιησάμενος ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτοῖς μένειν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, εἰ περιτέμνοιντο τὰ αἰδοῖα καὶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίων νόμοις[1]
258 χρῆσθαι θέλοιεν. οἱ δὲ πόθῳ τῆς πατρίου γῆς καὶ τὴν περιτομὴν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τοῦ βίου δίαιταν ὑπέμειναν τὴν αὐτὴν Ἰουδαίοις ποιήσασθαι. κἀκεῖνος[2] αὐτοῖς ὁ[3] χρόνος ἦρχεν[4] ὥστε εἶναι τὸ λοιπὸν Ἰουδαίους.

259 (2) Ὑρκανὸς δὲ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἀνανεώσασθαι τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους φιλίαν βουλόμενος πέμπει πρὸς αὐτοὺς πρεσβείαν. καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος δεξαμένη τὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ γράμματα ποιεῖται πρὸς αὐτὸν φιλίαν
260 τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ· " Φάννιος Μάρκου υἱὸς στρατηγὸς βουλὴν συνήγαγε[5] πρὸ ὀκτὼ εἰδῶν Φεβρουαρίων ἐν Κομιτίῳ[6] παρόντος Λουκίου Μαλλίου[7] Λουκίου υἱοῦ Μεννηνία[8] καὶ Γαΐου Σεμπρωνίου

[1] νομίμοις AMWE. [2] V: κἀκείνοις rell.
[3] ὁ χρόνος Herwerden: χρόνος PFV: χρόνοις rell.
[4] ὑπῆρχεν PFV. [5] ἤγαγε PFV.
[6] Brissonius: Κόππῳ P: Κόμπῳ F: Κομπίῳ rell.: campo Lat.: πομπίῳ Exc.
[7] ex Lat. Niese: Μαννίου aut Μανίου (om. P) codd.
[8] Manutius: Mentina codd.: Τρομεντίνα Ritschl.

[a] In *Ant.* xi. 322-324.
[b] This would place the building of the temple *c.* 330 B.C., *cf.* vol. vi. Appendix B, p. 509. The destruction of the Samaritan temple by Hyrcanus is probably alluded to in *Megillath Ta'anith*, under date of 21st of Kislew (December), as " the day of Mount Gerizim."
[c] *Cf.* above, § 207 note *e*.

brother of the high priest Jaddua, as we have related before.[a] Now it was two hundred years later that this temple was laid waste.[b] Hyrcanus also captured the Idumaean cities of Adora[c] and Marisa,[d] and after subduing all the Idumaeans, permitted them to remain in their country so long as they had themselves circumcised and were willing to observe the laws[e] of the Jews. And so, out of attachment to the land of their fathers, they submitted to circumcision and to making their manner of life conform in all other respects to that of the Jews. And from that time on they have continued to be Jews.[f]

(2) [g] Now as the high priest Hyrcanus wished to renew the friendship with the Romans, he sent an embassy to them. And the Senate received his letter, and made an alliance of friendship with him in the following terms. "Fannius, the son of Marcus, the praetor,[h] convened the Senate on the eighth day before the Ides of February in the Comitium[i] in the presence of Lucius Mallius,[j] the son of Lucius, of the Menenian[k] tribe, and of Gaius Sempronius,[l] the

Hyrcanus renews the treaty with Rome.

[d] Bibl. Mareshah, mod. *Tell Sandahanna*, *cf. Ant.* viii. 246 note *i*.

[e] Variant "customs" or "ordinances."

[f] The remarks on the building of the Samaritan temple and the judaizing of the Idumaeans have no parallel in *B.J.* i. 62-63.

[g] On the problem whether the following document is to be dated in the reign of Antiochus VII Sidetes (*c.* 132 B.C.) or in the reign of his son, Antiochus IX Cyzicenus (*c.* 105 B.C.), see the works cited in Appendix J.

[h] στρατηγός is the translation of Lat. *praetor*, *cf.* Magie, pp. 6, 11.

[i] Conj. for corrupt readings of MSS.

[j] Conj. for MSS. "Man(n)ius."

[k] Conj. for MSS. "Mentinan."

[l] G. Fannius and G. Sempronius were praetors in 132 B.C., *cf.* Münzer in *PW* 6. 1988 and II A. 1441.

Γαίου[1] υἱοῦ Φαλέρνα, περὶ ὧν ἐπρέσβευσε Σίμων Δοσιθέου καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Διόδωρος Ἰάσονος, ἄνδρες καλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ πεμφ-
261 θέντες ὑπὸ δήμου τοῦ Ἰουδαίων, οἳ καὶ διελέχθησαν περὶ φιλίας τῆς ὑπαρχούσης τούτοις καὶ συμμαχίας πρὸς Ῥωμαίους καὶ τῶν δημοσίων πραγμάτων, ὅπως τε Ἰόππη καὶ λιμένες καὶ Γάζαρα[2] καὶ Πηγαὶ καὶ ὅσας πόλεις αὐτῶν ἄλλας καὶ χωρία πολεμῶν ἔλαβεν Ἀντίοχος παρὰ τὸ τῆς συγκλήτου δόγμα,[3]
262 ταῦτα ἀποκατασταθῇ, ἵνα τε τοῖς στρατιώταις τοῖς βασιλικοῖς μὴ ἐξῇ διὰ τῆς χώρας τῆς αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν[4] ὑπηκόων αὐτῶν[5] διέρχεσθαι, καὶ ὅπως τὰ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐκεῖνον ψηφισθέντα[6] ὑπὸ Ἀντιόχου παρὰ τὸ τῆς συγκλήτου δόγμα ἄκυρα
263 γένηται, ἵνα τε πρέσβεις πέμψαντες ἀποδοθῆναί τε αὐτοῖς ποιήσωσι τὰ ὑπ' Ἀντιόχου ἀφαιρεθέντα, καὶ τὴν χώραν διατιμήσωνται τὴν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ διεφθαρμένην, ὅπως τε αὐτοῖς πρός τε βασιλεῖς καὶ δήμους ἐλευθέρους γράμματα δῶσιν εἰς ἀσφάλειαν
264 τῆς εἰς οἶκον ἐπανόδου. ἔδοξεν οὖν περὶ τούτων ταῦτα· ἀνανεώσασθαι φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν πρὸς ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς καὶ ὑπὸ δήμου πεμφθέντας ἀγαθοῦ

[1] ed. pr.: Πενναίου aut Πεννέου codd.: Γναίου Cobet.
[2] Γάζωρα PFAV¹W. Zora Lat.
[3] δόγμα ἀφείλετο LAMW (quae post πολεμῶν om. ἔλαβεν).
[4] καὶ τῶν om. LAMW Exc. Lat.
[5] ὄντων LAMW Lat.: om. Exc.
[6] ψηλαφηθέντα FLV: gesta Lat.: λεηλατηθέντα Naber.

[a] So ed. pr.: mss. "Pennaeus."

son of Gaius,[a] of the Falernian tribe, to discuss the matters presented by the envoys Simon, the son of Dositheus, and Apollonius, the son of Alexander, and Diodorus, the son of Jason, worthy and excellent men sent by the Jewish people, who also spoke of the friendship and alliance existing between their people and the Romans, and of public affairs such as their request that Joppa and its harbours and Gazara and Pegae[b] and whatever other cities and territories Antiochus took from them in war,[c] contrary to the decree[d] of the Senate, be restored to them, and that the soldiers of the king be not permitted to march through their country or those of their subjects, and that the laws made[e] by Antiochus during this same war contrary to the decree of the Senate be annulled, and that the Romans send envoys to bring about the restitution of the places taken from the Jews by Antiochus and to estimate the value of the territory ruined during the war, and also that they give the Jewish envoys letters to the kings and free cities to assure their safe return homeward. Concerning these matters, therefore, it has been decreed that the alliance of friendship be renewed with the worthy men who have been sent by a worthy and friendly

[b] Mod. *Rās el 'Ain*, c. 10 miles N.E. of Joppa, *cf.* *BASOR* 11 (Oct. 1923), pp. 6 ff.

[c] If this decree was passed in the time of Antiochus VII, the reference is probably to his recapture of the cities and harbours (on the Philistine coast) for which he had earlier demanded tribute from the Jews, *cf.* above, § 246.

[d] δόγμα is usually the translation of Lat. *senatus consultum*, sometimes of *senatus decretum*, *cf.* A. A. Schiller, *Textbook of Roman Law*, p. 112.

[e] Variant "things attempted" (lit. "groped after"); conjectured variant "spoil taken."

265 καὶ φίλου." περὶ μέντοι τῶν γραμμάτων[1] ἀπεκρίναντο βουλεύσεσθαι,[2] ὅταν ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων ἡ σύγκλητος εὐσχολήσῃ, σπουδάσειν τε τοῦ λοιποῦ μηδὲν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀδίκημα τοιοῦτο γενήσεσθαι, δοῦναί τε αὐτοῖς τὸν στρατηγὸν Φάννιον χρήματα ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου, ὅπως[3] εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἐπανέλθοιεν.
266 Φάννιος μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἀποπέμπει τοὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων πρέσβεις, χρήματα[4] δοὺς αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου καὶ δόγμα συγκλήτου πρὸς τοὺς διαπέμψοντας[5] καὶ ἀσφαλῆ παρεξομένους τὴν οἴκαδε παρουσίαν.

267 (3) Τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ Ὑρκανὸν τὸν ἀρχιερέα ἐν τούτοις ὑπῆρχεν. Δημητρίῳ δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ προθυμουμένῳ στρατεύειν ἐπὶ Ὑρκανὸν οὐκ ἐξεγένετο καιρὸς οὐδ' ἀφορμή, τῶν τε Σύρων καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπεχθανομένων (πονηρὸς γὰρ ἦν) καὶ πεμψάντων πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Φύσκωνα ἐπικληθέντα πρέσβεις, ὅπως τινὰ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Σελεύκου γένους παραδῷ αὐτοῖς ἀποληψόμενον[6]
268 τὴν βασιλείαν. τοῦ δὲ Πτολεμαίου πέμψαντος Ἀλέξανδρον μετὰ στρατιᾶς τὸν Ζεβινᾶν[7] ἐπιλεγόμενον, καὶ μάχης πρὸς τὸν Δημήτριον γενομένης, ὁ μὲν ἡττηθεὶς τῇ μάχῃ φεύγει πρὸς Κλεοπάτραν

[1] πραγμάτων AMW Exc.: rebus ablatis Lat.
[2] Hudson: βουλεύεσθαι V: βουλεύσασθαι rell.
[3] Naber: ὅπως ἂν codd.
[4] + τε AMW Exc. [5] διαπέμψαντας PFLV Exc.
[6] ἀποληψόμενος V: ληψόμενον LAME: λειψόμενον W.
[7] Ζεβίναν PW: Zebenna Lat., cf. § 273.

[a] Variant "matters." As Reinach notes, the reference is probably to the Jewish appeal to Rome to intervene in their quarrel with Antiochus, which the Senate politely tabled.

people." Concerning the letters,[a] however, they replied that they would deliberate when the Senate should have leisure from its own affairs, and that they would take care that no similar injustice should be done them in future, and also that the praetor Fannius should give them money from the public treasury for their return home. Accordingly Fannius dismissed the Jewish envoys in this manner, giving them money from the public treasury and a decree of the Senate to those who were to conduct them on their way and furnish them a safe return home.

Alexander Zebinas seizes the throne from Demetrius II.

(3) [b] Such, then, was the situation under the high priest Hyrcanus. As for King Demetrius, who was eager to march against Hyrcanus, he found neither the time nor the occasion for doing so, as both the Syrians and his soldiers were hostile to him—for he was a scoundrel—and sent envoys to Ptolemy, surnamed Physcon,[c] asking him to give them someone of the family of Seleucus to occupy the throne. Ptolemy therefore sent Alexander, also called Zebinas,[d] with an army, and a battle with Demetrius took place,[e] in which Demetrius was defeated; he then fled to

[b] The following section, chiefly on Seleucid history, to § 275, like the Roman decree preceding, has no parallel in *B.J.*

[c] Ptolemy VII Energetes II, nicknamed Physcon ("fat paunch"); he was a brother of Ptolemy Philometor, and reigned from 146 to 116 B.C.; on his enmity to the Jews of Egypt see *Ap.* ii. 51-55.

[d] This name, written Zabinas in some ancient sources, is the Gr. form of Aram. *Zᵉbînâ* "the bought one"; it occurs as a Jewish name in Ezra x. 43. According to Justinus, xxxix. 1. 4, Zebinas was an Egyptian youth whom Ptolemy put forward as an adopted son of Antiochus Sidetes; according to Porphyry (*ap.* Eusebius, *Chron.* ed. Schoene i. 257), he was represented to be a son of Alexander Balas.

[e] Near Damascus, *cf.* Bevan, *H. Sel.* ii. 250.

τὴν γυναῖκα εἰς Πτολεμαΐδα, καὶ μὴ δεξαμένης αὐτὸν τῆς γυναικὸς ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Τύρον ἀπελθὼν ἁλίσκεται, καὶ πολλὰ παθὼν ὑπὸ τῶν μισούντων
269 ἀπέθανεν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβὼν φιλίαν ποιεῖται πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν τὸν ἀρχιερέα. ἔπειτα[1] πολεμήσαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Δημητρίου παιδὸς Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Γρυποῦ ἐπικληθέντος, ἡττηθεὶς τῇ μάχῃ διαφθείρεται.

270 (x. 1) Παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν τῆς Συρίας βασιλείαν ὁ Ἀντίοχος ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν Ἰουδαίαν στρατεύειν εὐλαβὴς ἦν, τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀκούων τὸν ὁμομήτριον (Ἀντίοχος δὲ κἀκεῖνος ἐκαλεῖτο) δύναμιν ἐπ' αὐτὸν
271 ἀπὸ Κυζίκου συλλέγειν. μένων δὲ κατὰ χώραν ἔγνω παρασκευάζειν αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν ἔφοδον τὴν τἀδελφοῦ, ὃς Κυζικηνὸς μὲν ἐπεκλήθη διὰ τὸ τραφῆναι ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει, πατρὸς δ' ἦν Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἐπικληθέντος, ὃς ἐν Πάρθοις ἀπέθανεν· οὗτος δὲ ἀδελφὸς ἦν Δημητρίου τοῦ Γρυποῦ πατρός. συνέβη μέντοι μίαν τοῖς δυσὶν ἀδελφοῖς γῆμαι Κλεοπάτραν, ὡς καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις ἱστορήκαμεν.[2]
272 ὁ δὲ Κυζικηνὸς Ἀντίοχος παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν Συρίαν πολλοῖς ἔτεσι πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν πολεμῶν

[1] + δὲ LAMWE.
[2] δεδηλώκαμεν AMW: rettulimus Lat.

[a] His former wife, who had married his brother Antiochus Sidetes when Demetrius was captured, *cf.* above, §§ 221-222. Cleopatra was reunited with Demetrius on the death of Antiochus Sidetes.

[b] According to Appian, *Syr.* 68, and Livy, *Epit.* lx., it was Cleopatra who ordered Demetrius to be killed. This was in 126/5 B.C.

[c] In 123/2 B.C.

Ptolemais to his wife Cleopatra,[a] but as his wife would not receive him, he went from there to Tyre, where he was captured and put to death after suffering severely at the hands of those who hated him.[b] Thereupon Alexander took over the royal power and made friends with the high priest Hyrcanus. Later,[c] in a battle with Demetrius' son Antiochus, surnamed Grypus,[d] he was defeated and killed.

Antiochus Grypus becomes king, and is attacked by Antiochus Cyzicenus.

(x. 1) But when Antiochus took over the royal power in Syria, he was wary of marching upon Judaea, for he heard that his brother on his mother's side—he too was called Antiochus[e]—was collecting a force against him from Cyzicus.[f] And so he decided to remain in his own land and prepare himself to meet the incursion of his brother, who was surnamed Cyzicenus because he had been brought up in the city of Cyzicus, being the son of Antiochus, surnamed Soter,[g] who had met death among the Parthians; this Antiochus (Soter) was a brother of Grypus' father Demetrius, for it so happened that Cleopatra had been married to the two brothers, as we have narrated elsewhere.[h] And Antiochus Cyzicenus came into Syria and waged continuous war upon his brother

[d] Antiochus VIII Grypus, the son of Demetrius II by Cleopatra, *cf.* § 271 and next note.

[e] Antiochus IX Cyzicenus was the son of Antiochus Sidetes; thus he was both a step-brother and a cousin of Antiochus Grypus, as Josephus explains in § 271.

[f] Reinach suspects the words "from Cyzicus" of being interpolated, but gives no reason for his suspicion. Possibly in Josephus' source these words originally followed the surname "Cyzicenus" to explain it.

[g] "Soter" is not elsewhere given as a surname of Antiochus VII, *cf.* § 222 note *a*.

[h] *Cf.* § 222. However, as Reinach notes, Josephus may have taken over the cross-reference from his source.

διετέλει. Ὑρκανὸς δὲ πάντα ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον
273 ἐν εἰρήνῃ διῆγεν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς μετὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχου τελευτὴν τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀπέστη καὶ οὔτε ὡς ὑπήκοος οὔτε ὡς φίλος αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἔτι παρεῖχεν,[1] ἀλλ' ἦν αὐτῷ τὰ πράγματα ἐν ἐπιδόσει πολλῇ καὶ ἀκμῇ κατὰ τοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ζεβιναίου καιροὺς καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ τούτοις τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς.[2] ὁ γὰρ πρὸς ἀλλήλους αὐτοῖς πόλεμος σχολὴν Ὑρκανῷ καρποῦσθαι τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπ' ἀδείας παρέσχεν, ὡς ἄπειρόν τι πλῆθος χρημάτων
274 συναγαγεῖν. τοῦ μέντοι γε Κυζικηνοῦ τὴν γῆν κακοῦντος, φανερῶς καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν αὑτοῦ προαίρεσιν ἐπεδείκνυτο, καὶ τῶν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου συμμάχων ἔρημον ὁρῶν τὸν Ἀντίοχον, καὶ αὐτόν τε πράττοντα κακῶς καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγῶσιν, ἀμφοτέρων κατεφρόνησεν.[3]

275 (2) Καὶ στρατεύει μὲν ἐπὶ Σαμάρειαν πόλιν ὀχυρωτάτην, περὶ ἧς, ὅτι καλεῖται νῦν Σεβαστὴ κτισθεῖσα ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου, κατὰ χώραν[4] δηλώσομεν. προσβαλὼν δὲ αὐτῇ φιλοπόνως[5] ἐπολιόρκει, μισοπονηρῶν τοῖς Σαμαρεῦσιν ὑπὲρ ὧν Μαρισηνοὺς ἀποίκους ὄντας Ἰουδαίων καὶ συμμάχους ἠδίκησαν,

[1] προσεῖχεν coni. Niese.
[2] τούτων τῶν ἀδελφῶν coni. Richards-Shutt.
[3] + Ὑρκανός LAMWE.
[4] σχολὴν FLV.
[5] φιλοφρόνως PFV.

[a] From 122 to 113 B.C. Grypus ruled alone; from 113 to 111 B.C. he was kept out of Syria by Cyzicenus; in 111 B.C. he returned and took the greater part of the country from Cyzicenus, who had to be content with ruling Coele-Syria (Phoenicia and Palestine). Hostilities between them continued until the death of Grypus in 96 B.C.

[b] "All this time" means the years 129 to 104 B.C., when Hyrcanus died.

for many years.[a] But during all this time Hyrcanus lived in peace[b]; for after the death of Antiochus (Sidetes) he too revolted from the Macedonians, and no longer furnished them any aid[c] either as a subject or as a friend; instead, his government progressed and flourished greatly during the reign of Alexander Zebinas[d] and especially under these brothers. For the war between them gave Hyrcanus leisure to exploit Judaea undisturbed, with the result that he amassed a limitless sum of money. Moreover, when Cyzicenus ravaged his land,[e] he openly showed his intention,[f] and seeing that Antiochus had been deserted by his Egyptian allies[g] and that both he and his brother were faring badly in their struggle with each other, he[h] showed contempt for both of them.

Hyrcanus makes himself independent of the Seleucids.

(2) And so he marched against Samaria, a very strongly fortified city; how this city was founded[i] by Herod under the name of Sebaste, as it is now called, we shall relate in the proper place.[j] And he attacked and besieged it vigorously; for he hated the Samaritans as scoundrels because of the injuries which, in obedience to the kings of Syria, they had

Hyrcanus besieges Samaria.

[c] Lit. "furnished anything," for which Niese conjectures "held to them."

[d] *Cf.* above, § 268.

[e] *Cf.* § 278.

[f] *i.e.* his hostility.

[g] In 106 B.C. Ptolemy VIII Soter II Lathyrus came to Syria as an ally of Cyzicenus, while his mother Cleopatra III was supporting Grypus, *cf.* Bevan, *Ptol.* pp. 328-330, and §§ 278 ff.

[h] Variant "Hyrcanus."

[i] Or, as we should say, "refounded." On the technical concept of city-founding see A. Tscherikower, *Die hellenistischen Städtegründungen vom Alexander d. Gr. bis auf die Römerzeit* (*Philologus*, Supplbd. xix, H. 1), 1927.

[j] Variant "in good time"; the reference is to *Ant.* xv. 296 ff.

276 ὑπακούοντες τοῖς τῶν Σύρων βασιλεῦσιν. περιβαλὼν οὖν τάφρον πανταχόθεν τῇ πόλει καὶ διπλοῦν τεῖχος ὡς[1] σταδίων ὀγδοήκοντα τοὺς υἱοὺς ἐφίστησιν Ἀντίγονον καὶ Ἀριστόβουλον. ὧν ἐγκειμένων[2] εἰς τοῦτο ἀνάγκης ὑπὸ λιμοῦ προαχθῆναι τοὺς Σαμαρεῖς συνέπεσεν, ὡς ἅψασθαι μὲν καὶ τῶν ἀήθων, ἐπικαλέσασθαι δὲ βοηθὸν Ἀντίοχον τὸν
277 Κυζικηνόν. ὃς ἑτοίμως ἐπὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν ἀφικόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Ἀριστόβουλον ἡττᾶται, διωχθεὶς δ' ἄχρι Σκυθοπόλεως ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν διέφυγεν. οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς Σαμαρεῖς ὑποστρέψαντες συγκλείουσι πάλιν εἰς τὸ τεῖχος αὐτούς, ὡς καὶ δεύτερον ἐπικαλέσασθαι σύμμαχον πέμψαντας τὸν[3]
278 αὐτὸν Ἀντίοχον. ὃς παρὰ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λαθούρου μεταπεμψάμενος ἄνδρας εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους, οὓς ἀκούσης τῆς μητρὸς ἐκεῖνος καὶ ὅσον οὔπω τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτὸν ἐκβεβλη κυίας ἐξαπέστειλε, τὸ[4] μὲν πρῶτον ἐπιὼν ἐπόρθει τὴν Ὑρκανοῦ χώραν μετὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων λῃστρικῶς, μάχεσθαι μὲν αὐτῷ κατὰ πρόσωπον οὐ τολμῶν (οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀξιόχρεως ἡ δύναμις αὐτοῦ) νομίζων δὲ τῇ κακώσει τῆς

[1] ὡς Niese: ὡς ἀπὸ P: ἀπὸ rell.
[2] ἐπικειμένων PFV.
[3] πρὸς τὸν AMWE.
[4] ὃς τὸ AMWE.

[a] Marisa, an Idumaean city, had recently been captured by Hyrcanus, *cf.* § 257; but it is difficult, as Reinach remarks, to see how the Samaritans could have got to a city in Idumaea. I suggest, therefore, that "Marisa" is a textual error for "Samaria," meaning that part of Samaria the territory, not the city, presumably colonized by Hyrcanus after he took Shechem and other Samaritan cities, *cf.* § 255.

done to the people of Marisa, who were colonists and allies of the Jews.[a] Accordingly he made a trench round the city on all sides, and a double wall for a distance of some eighty stades,[b] and placed his sons Antigonus and Aristobulus in charge. And as they pressed the siege, the Samaritans were finally brought by famine to such a state of need[c] that they were forced to take for food even things that are not used for that purpose, and at the same time to call upon Antiochus Cyzicenus for help.[d] He readily came to their assistance, but he was defeated by Aristobulus and was pursued by the brothers as far as Scythopolis, where he made his escape. The brothers then returned to Samaria and once more shut up the Samaritans within the wall,[e] so that a second time they had to call upon this same Antiochus for aid; he thereupon applied to Ptolemy Lathyrus[f] for six thousand men, which the latter sent to him against the wish of his mother,[g] who all but drove him from the kingdom when she heard of it; and with these Egyptians Antiochus at first invaded and ravaged Hyrcanus' territory like a brigand, for he dared not meet him in battle face to face—his force was not adequate for that—, but supposed that by damaging

A similar confusion occurs in the mss. of 1 Macc. v. 66, *cf. Ant.* xii. 353 note *h*.

[b] *C.* 9 miles.

[c] A Thucydidean phrase (Thuc. i. 49. 7) found also in § 382, but not in the parallel *B.J.* i. 64.

[d] The parallel in *B.J.* i. 65 has "Antiochus Aspendius," meaning Antiochus VIII Grypus; if that is correct, the siege must have taken place before 113 B.C., *cf.* § 272 note *a*. But, as Schürer remarks, i. 268 n. 22, the appeal of Antiochus to Ptolemy Lathyrus favours a later date, shortly before 107 B.C.

[e] The following sections, to § 299, have no parallels in *B.J.* (except for a brief phrase or two in §§ 284 and 288).

[f] See note *a*, p. 370.

[g] Cleopatra III, *cf.* § 274 note *g*.

γῆς ἀναγκάσειν Ὑρκανὸν λῦσαι τὴν τῆς Σαμαρείας
279 πολιορκίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλοὺς τῶν στρατιωτῶν
ἀπώλλυεν ἐνέδραις περιπίπτων, ἀπῆρεν εἰς Τρί-
πολιν, Καλλιμάνδρῳ καὶ Ἐπικράτει τὸν πρὸς τοὺς
Ἰουδαίους πόλεμον ἐπιτρέψας.
280 (3) Καλλίμανδρος μὲν οὖν θρασύτερον τοῖς πολε-
μίοις προσενεχθεὶς[1] εἰς φυγὴν τραπόμενος[2] παρα-
χρῆμα διεφθάρη. Ἐπικράτης δὲ ὑπὸ φιλοχρη-
ματίας τήν τε Σκυθόπολιν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πρὸς ταύτῃ
χωρία προύδωκε φανερῶς τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, τὴν δὲ
281 Σαμαρείας πολιορκίαν διαλύειν[3] οὐκ ἠδύνατο. Ὑρ-
κανὸς μὲν οὖν τὴν πόλιν ἑλὼν ἐνιαυτῷ πολιορκήσας
οὐκ ἠρκέσθη μόνῳ τούτῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν
ἠφάνισεν, ἐπίκλυστον τοῖς χειμάρροις ποιήσας·
διασκάψας γὰρ αὐτὴν ὥστε εἰς χαράδρας[4] μετα-
πεσεῖν, τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ γενέσθαι ποτὲ πόλιν αὐτὴν
282 ἀφείλετο. παράδοξον δέ τι περὶ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως
Ὑρκανοῦ λέγεται, τίνα τρόπον αὐτῷ τὸ θεῖον εἰς
λόγους ἦλθεν· φασὶ γὰρ ὅτι κατ᾽ ἐκείνην τὴν
ἡμέραν καθ᾽ ἣν οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ τῷ Κυζικηνῷ
συνέβαλον, αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ ναῷ θυμιῶν μόνος ὢν ὁ[5]
ἀρχιερεὺς ἀκούσειε φωνῆς ὡς οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ νε-
283 νικήκασιν ἀρτίως τὸν Ἀντίοχον. καὶ τοῦτο

[1] ἀποκρινάμενος PFV: συμβαλὼν E.
[2] θρασύτερον . . . τραπόμενος] adversariis fugam simulantibus et post reversis Lat.
[3] λύειν AMWE.
[4] χαράδραν LAMW.
[5] ὁ om. PA¹VE.

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[a] On the Syrian coast, N. of Berytus.
[b] According to the parallel in *B.J.* i. 66 the Jews took Scythopolis by arms after the fall of Samaria, and then

his territory he would compel Hyrcanus to raise the siege of Samaria. However, after losing many of his men by falling into ambushes, he went off to Tripolis,[a] leaving Callimandrus and Epicrates to direct the war against the Jews.

(3) But as Callimandrus attacked the enemy too recklessly, he was put to rout and killed on the spot. As for Epicrates, out of greed for money he openly betrayed Scythopolis and other places near it to the Jews,[b] but could not bring the siege of Samaria to an end. And so Hyrcanus captured the city after besieging it for a year, but not being content with that alone, he effaced it entirely and left it to be swept away by the mountain-torrents,[c] for he dug beneath it until it fell into the beds of the torrents, and so removed all signs of its ever having been a city.[d] Now about the high priest Hyrcanus an extraordinary story[e] is told how the Deity communicated with him, for they say that on the very day on which his sons fought with Cyzicenus, Hyrcanus, who was alone in the temple, burning incense as high priest,[f] heard a voice saying that his sons had just defeated Hyrcanus destroys Samaria.

occupied the country between Scythopolis (mod. *Beisān*) and Mount Carmel.

[c] Variant "a mountain-torrent." For evidences of Hyrcanus' destruction see Reisner, Fisher, Lyon, *Harvard Excavations at Samaria (1909–1910)*, 2 vols., 1924.

[d] The capture of (the wall of) Samaria is mentioned in *Megillath Ta'anith* under the date of 25th of Heshwan (November).

[e] For a rabbinic parallel to this story, see Derenbourg, p. 74.

[f] Presumably on the Day of Atonement, on the 10th of Tishri, *cf.* Lev. xvi. 12 ff.; if that is so, there is a chronological discrepancy between this story and the notice in *Megillath Ta'anith* (*cf.* above, note *d*). The rabbinic parallels to Josephus' account do not indicate when Hyrcanus received the revelation.

προελθὼν ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ παντὶ τῷ πλήθει φανερὸν ἐποίησε, καὶ συνέβη οὕτως γενέσθαι. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Ὑρκανὸν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

284 (4) Κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἔτυχε τὸν καιρὸν μὴ μόνον τοὺς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις καὶ τῇ χώρᾳ Ἰουδαίους εὐπραγεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ κατ-
285 οικοῦντας καὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Κύπρῳ· Κλεοπάτρα γὰρ ἡ βασίλισσα πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν στασιάζουσα Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Λάθουρον ἐπιλεγόμενον κατέστησεν ἡγεμόνας Χελκίαν καὶ Ἀνανίαν, υἱοὺς ὄντας Ὀνίου τοῦ οἰκοδομήσαντος τὸν ναὸν ἐν τῷ Ἡλιοπολίτῃ νομῷ πρὸς τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, ὡς καὶ πρόσθεν[1]
286 δεδηλώκαμεν. παραδοῦσα δὲ τούτοις ἡ Κλεοπάτρα τὴν στρατιὰν οὐδὲν δίχα τῆς τούτων γνώμης ἔπραττεν, ὡς μαρτυρεῖ καὶ Στράβων ἡμῖν ὁ Καπ-
287 πάδοξ λέγων οὕτως· "οἱ γὰρ πλείους, οἵ τε συγκατελθόντες[2] καὶ[3] οἱ ὕστερον ἐπιπεμπόμενοι παρὰ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας εἰς Κύπρον, μετεβάλοντο παραχρῆμα πρὸς τὸν Πτολεμαῖον· μόνοι δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ὀνίου λεγόμενοι[4] Ἰουδαῖοι συνέμενον διὰ τὸ τοὺς πολίτας αὐτῶν εὐδοκιμεῖν μάλιστα παρὰ τῇ βασιλίσσῃ Χελκίαν τε καὶ Ἀνανίαν." ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁ Στράβων φησίν.

[1] ἐν ἄλλοις PFLV.
[2] συνελθόντες PFV.
[3] ἡμῖν καὶ FLV.
[4] γενόμενοι P.

[a] Lathyrus ("chick-pea") was the popular name of Ptolemy VIII Soter II, *cf.* § 274 note *g*.

Antiochus. And on coming out of the temple he revealed this to the entire multitude, and so it actually happened. This, then, was how the affairs of Hyrcanus were going.

The favourable position of the Jews in Egypt under Cleopatra.

(4) At this time not only were the Jews in Jerusalem and in the country (of Judaea) in a flourishing condition, but also those who lived in Alexandria and in Egypt and Cyprus. For Queen Cleopatra, who was at war with her son Ptolemy, surnamed Lathyrus,[a] appointed as her generals Chelkias[b] and Ananias,[c] sons of the Onias who had built the temple in the nome of Heliopolis, which was similar to the one at Jerusalem, as we have related before.[d] And having entrusted her army to them, Cleopatra did nothing without their approval, as Strabo of Cappadocia also testifies, when he writes as follows. "For the majority, both those who came back from exile and those who were later sent to Cyprus by Cleopatra, immediately went over to Ptolemy. And only the Jews of the district named for Onias remained faithful to her, because their fellow-citizens[e] Chelkias and Ananias were held in special favour by the queen."[f] This, then, is what Strabo says.

[b] The Gr. form of bibl. Hilkiah (*Hilqîyāhû*).

[c] The Gr. form of bibl. Hananiah (*Hananyāh*).

[d] Variant "elsewhere"; *cf.* §§ 62-73.

[e] Or "co-religionists," *cf. Ant.* xii. 46 note *d*.

[f] Gutschmid (cited by Fuchs, p. 16) suggests that Chelkias is the unnamed general of Cleopatra III, referred to in Justinus xxxix. 4, who was executed for letting Ptolemy escape her hands. Reinach, *REJ* xl. (1900), pp. 50 ff., identifies as a son of Chelkias the στρατηγός of the Heliopolitan nome mentioned in an inscription of 102 B.C. The struggle referred to in the excerpt from Strabo was that between Ptolemy Lathyrus and Cleopatra III during the years 107-102 B.C., *cf.* Bevan, *Ptol.* pp. 329-331.

288 (5) Ὑρκανῷ δὲ φθόνον ἐκίνησε παρὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἥ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν υἱῶν[1] εὐπραγία, μάλιστα δὲ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι κακῶς πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶχον, αἵρεσις ὄντες μία τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὡς καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐπάνω δεδηλώκαμεν. τοσαύτην δὲ ἔχουσι τὴν ἰσχὺν παρὰ τῷ πλήθει ὡς καὶ κατὰ βασιλέως τι λέγοντες καὶ
289 κατ' ἀρχιερέως εὐθὺς[2] πιστεύεσθαι. μαθητὴς δὲ αὐτῶν ἦν[3] καὶ Ὑρκανός,[4] καὶ σφόδρα ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἠγαπᾶτο. καὶ δὴ καλέσας αὐτοὺς ἐφ' ἑστίασιν καὶ φιλοφρόνως ὑποδεξάμενος, ἐπεὶ σφόδρα ἡδομένους ἑώρα, λέγειν ἤρξατο πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὡς ἴσασιν μὲν αὐτὸν βουλόμενον εἶναι δίκαιον καὶ πάντα ποιοῦντα ἐξ ὧν ἀρέσειεν ἂν τῷ θεῷ καὶ αὐτοῖς (οἱ[5] γὰρ
290 Φαρισαῖοι φιλοσοφοῦσιν), ἠξίου γε μήν, εἴ τι βλέπουσιν αὐτὸν ἁμαρτάνοντα καὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς δικαίας ἐκτρεπόμενον, εἰς αὐτὴν ἐπανάγειν καὶ ἐπανορθοῦν. τῶν δὲ μαρτυρησάντων αὐτῷ πᾶσαν ἀρετήν, ὁ μὲν ἥσθη τοῖς ἐπαίνοις,[6] εἷς δέ τις τῶν
291 κατακειμένων Ἐλεάζαρος ὄνομα, κακοήθης ὢν φύσει καὶ στάσει χαίρων, "ἐπεί," φησίν, "ἠξίωσας γνῶναι τὴν ἀλήθειαν, εἰ θέλεις[7] εἶναι δίκαιος, τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀπόθου, καὶ μόνον ἀρκείτω σοι τὸ
292 ἄρχειν τοῦ λαοῦ." τὴν δ' αἰτίαν αὐτοῦ πυθομένου

[1] τε . . . υἱῶν om. PFVE.
[2] εὐθὺ PFLAMW: facile Lat.
[3] ἦν om. LAMWE.
[4] + ἐγεγόνει AMWE.
[5] αὐτοὶ WE.
[6] ἐπαινοῦσιν PFLV.
[7] θέλεις δὲ PFL.

[a] The following story of Hyrcanus' break with the Pharisees, §§ 288-298, has a parallel in the Bab. Talmud, *Qiddušin* 66a, for which see Derenbourg, pp. 79-81; there the Hasmonaean ruler is called Yannai (= Alexander Jannaeus)

(5) [a] As for Hyrcanus, the envy of the Jews was aroused against him by his own successes and those of his sons [b]: particularly hostile to him were the Pharisees, who are one of the Jewish schools, as we have related above.[c] And so great is their influence with the masses that even when they speak against a king or high priest,[d] they immediately gain credence. Hyrcanus too was a disciple of theirs, and was greatly loved by them. And once he invited them to a feast and entertained them hospitably, and when he saw that they were having a very good time, he began by saying that they knew he wished to be righteous and in everything he did tried to please God and them—for the Pharisees profess such beliefs; at the same time he begged them, if they observed him doing anything wrong or straying from the right path, to lead him back to it and correct him. But they testified to his being altogether virtuous, and he was delighted with their praise. However, one of the guests, named Eleazar,[e] who had an evil nature and took pleasure in dissension, said, "Since you have asked to be told the truth, if you wish to be righteous, give up the high-priesthood and be content with governing the people." And when Hyrcanus

The Pharisees ask Hyrcanus to give up the high priesthood.

instead of Johanan (John); on the confusion of the two names in Hebrew *cf.* Derenbourg, p. 80 note 1, p. 95 note 1.

[b] The variant omits "and those of his sons."

[c] §§ 171-173.

[d] As Reinach notes, the distinction here made between the king and the high priest indicates Josephus' use of a source of Herod's time, presumably Nicolas of Damascus. To this I may add the observation that the style of most of the passages on the Jewish sects suggests the hand of Nicolas.

[e] The Hasmonaean ruler's critic is called Judah in the Talmudic parallel.

δι' ἣν ἀπόθοιτο τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην "ὅτι," φησίν,
"ἀκούομεν παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων αἰχμάλωτόν
σου γεγονέναι τὴν μητέρα βασιλεύοντος Ἀντιόχου
τοῦ Ἐπιφανοῦς." ψευδὴς δὲ ὁ λόγος ἦν· καὶ πρὸς
αὐτὸν Ὑρκανὸς παρωξύνθη, καὶ πάντες δ' οἱ
Φαρισαῖοι σφοδρῶς ἠγανάκτησαν.
293 (6) Τῶν δ' ἐκ τῆς Σαδδουκαίων αἱρέσεως, οἳ τὴν
ἐναντίαν τοῖς Φαρισαίοις προαίρεσιν ἔχουσιν,
Ἰωνάθης[1] τις ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα φίλος ὢν Ὑρκανῷ
τῇ κοινῇ πάντων Φαρισαίων γνώμῃ ποιήσασθαι τὰς
βλασφημίας τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον ἔλεγεν· καὶ τοῦτο
ἔσεσθαι φανερὸν αὐτῷ πυθομένῳ παρ' ἐκείνων τίνος
294 ἄξιός ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις κολάσεως. τοῦ δὲ
Ὑρκανοῦ τοὺς Φαρισαίους ἐρομένου τίνος αὐτὸν
ἄξιον ἡγοῦνται τιμωρίας (πεισθήσεσθαι[2] γὰρ οὐ
μετὰ τῆς ἐκείνων γνώμης γεγονέναι τὰς βλασφη-
μίας, τιμησαμένων αὐτὸν τῷ μέτρῳ τῆς δίκης)
πληγῶν ἔφασαν καὶ δεσμῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἐδόκει λοιδο-
ρίας ἕνεκα θανάτῳ ζημιοῦν, ἄλλως τε καὶ φύσει
πρὸς τὰς κολάσεις ἐπιεικῶς ἔχουσιν οἱ Φαρισαῖοι.
295 πρὸς τοῦτο λίαν ἐχαλέπηνε, καὶ δοκοῦν[3] ἐκείνοις
ποιήσασθαι τὰς βλασφημίας τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐνό-
μισεν. μάλιστα δ' αὐτὸν ἐπιπαρώξυνεν Ἰωνάθης
296 καὶ διέθηκεν οὕτως, ὥστε τῇ Σαδδουκαίων ἐποίησε[4]
προσθέσθαι μοίρᾳ, τῶν Φαρισαίων ἀποστάντα καὶ
τά τε ὑπ' αὐτῶν κατασταθέντα νόμιμα τῷ δήμῳ

[1] Ἰωάννης AMWE hic et infra, § 295.
[2] πειραθήσεσθαι PFL.
[3] πρὸς τὸ δοκοῦν LAMWE.
[4] ποιῆσαι FV: ποιεῖσθαι Hudson: om. Naber cum E.

[a] This would have been a violation of the laws, based on Lev. xxi. 14, concerning the genealogical qualifications of the high priest.

asked him for what reason he should give up the high-priesthood, he replied, "Because we have heard from our elders that your mother was a captive in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes." [a] But the story was false, and Hyrcanus was furious with the man, while all the Pharisees were very indignant.

(6) Then a certain Jonathan,[b] one of Hyrcanus' close friends, belonging to the school of Sadducees, who hold opinions opposed to those of the Pharisees, said that it had been with the general approval of all the Pharisees that Eleazar had made his slanderous statement; and this, he added, would be clear to Hyrcanus if he inquired of them what punishment Eleazar deserved for what he had said. And so Hyrcanus asked the Pharisees what penalty they thought he deserved—for, he said, he would be convinced that[c] the slanderous statement had not been made with their approval if they fixed a penalty commensurate with the crime—, and they replied that Eleazar deserved stripes and chains; for they did not think it right to sentence a man to death for calumny, and anyway the Pharisees are naturally lenient in the matter of punishments. At this Hyrcanus became very angry and began to believe that the fellow had slandered him with their approval. And Jonathan in particular inflamed his anger, and so worked upon him that he brought him to join the Sadducaean party and desert the Pharisees, and to abrogate the regulations[d] which they had established

Hyrcanus forsakes the Pharisees for the Sadducees.

[b] Variant John (Gr. Joannes); the Sadducaean spokesman is called Eleazar in the Talmudic parallel.

[c] Variant "would test whether."

[d] These legal innovations are noted in the Mishnah, *Ma'aser Sheni*, v. 15, *Soṭah* ix. 10.

καταλῦσαι καὶ τοὺς φυλάττοντας αὐτὰ κολάσαι. μῖσος οὖν ἐντεῦθεν αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς παρὰ
297 τοῦ πλήθους ἐγένετο.[1] περὶ μέντοι τούτων αὖθις ἐροῦμεν. νῦν δὲ δηλῶσαι βούλομαι ὅτι νόμιμά τινα[2] παρέδοσαν τῷ δήμῳ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι ἐκ πατέρων διαδοχῆς, ἅπερ οὐκ ἀναγέγραπται ἐν τοῖς Μωυσέος νόμοις, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ταῦτα τὸ τῶν Σαδδουκαίων γένος ἐκβάλλει, λέγον ἐκεῖνα δεῖν ἡγεῖσθαι νόμιμα τὰ γεγραμμένα, τὰ δ' ἐκ παραδόσεως τῶν πατέρων
298 μὴ τηρεῖν. καὶ περὶ τούτων ζητήσεις αὐτοῖς καὶ διαφορὰς γίνεσθαι συνέβαινε μεγάλας, τῶν μὲν Σαδδουκαίων τοὺς εὐπόρους μόνον πειθόντων τὸ δὲ δημοτικὸν οὐχ ἑπόμενον αὐτοῖς ἐχόντων, τῶν δὲ Φαρισαίων τὸ πλῆθος σύμμαχον ἐχόντων. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων τῶν δύο καὶ τῶν Ἐσσηνῶν ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ μου[3] τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν ἀκριβῶς δεδήλωται.[4]

299 (7) Ὑρκανὸς δὲ παύσας τὴν στάσιν καὶ μετ' αὐτὴν βιώσας εὐδαιμόνως, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν διοικησάμενος τὸν ἄριστον τρόπον ἔτεσιν ἑνὶ καὶ τριάκοντα, τελευτᾷ καταλιπὼν υἱοὺς πέντε, τριῶν τῶν μεγίστων ἄξιος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κριθείς, ἀρχῆς τοῦ ἔθνους
300 καὶ τῆς ἀρχιερατικῆς τιμῆς καὶ προφητείας· συνῆν

[1] E: διεγένετο aut ἀεὶ ἐγίνετο codd.: concitatum est Lat.
[2] πολλά τινα ed. pr.
[3] + βίβλῳ L: secundo volumine Lat.
[4] δεδηλώκαμεν (+ βίβλῳ P) PFLV Lat.

for the people, and punish those who observed them. Out of this, of course, grew the hatred of the masses for him and his sons, but of this we shall speak hereafter.[a] For the present I wish merely to explain that the Pharisees had passed on to the people certain regulations handed down by former generations and not recorded in the Laws of Moses, for which reason they are rejected by the Sadducaean group, who hold that only those regulations should be considered valid which were written down (in Scripture), and that those which had been handed down by former generations[b] need not be observed. And concerning these matters the two parties came to have controversies and serious differences, the Sadducees having the confidence of the wealthy alone but no following among the populace, while the Pharisees have the support of the masses. But of these two schools and of the Essenes a detailed account has been given[c] in the second book of my *Judaica*.[d]

(7) [e] And so Hyrcanus quieted the outbreak,[f] and lived happily thereafter; and when he died after administering the government excellently for thirty-one years,[g] he left five sons. Now he was accounted by God worthy of three of the greatest privileges, the rule of the nation, the office of high-priest, and The providential gifts of Hyrcanus.

[a] In §§ 301 ff., 320 ff.

[b] Lit. "by the fathers."

[c] Variant "we have given."

[d] *B.J.* ii. 119 ff.

[e] At this point the parallelism with *B.J.* resumes, *cf.* *B.J.* i. 67.

[f] Meaning the opposition of the Pharisees to Hyrcanus and his sons, as is more clearly stated in the parallel in *B.J.*

[g] The MSS. of the parallel, *B.J.* i. 68, give 33 years, but Hegesippus agrees with this passage and *Ant.* xx. 240 in giving 31 years, which is correct, since Hyrcanus ruled from 135 to 104 B.C.

γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ θεῖον καὶ τὴν τῶν μελλόντων πρόγνωσιν παρεῖχεν αὐτῷ τε εἰδέναι καὶ προλέγειν οὕτως, ὥστε καὶ περὶ τῶν δύο τῶν πρεσβυτέρων αὐτοῦ παίδων ὅτι μὴ μενοῦσι τῶν πραγμάτων κύριοι προεῖπεν. ὧν τὴν καταστροφὴν εἰς τὸ μαθεῖν ὅσον τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ὑπέβησαν[1] εὐτυχίας ἄξιον ἀφηγήσασθαι.

301 (xi. 1) Τελευτήσαντος γὰρ αὐτοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς ὁ πρεσβύτατος Ἀριστόβουλος τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰς βασιλείαν μεταθεῖναι δόξας (ἔκρινε γὰρ οὕτω) διάδημα πρῶτος περιτίθεται[2] μετὰ τετρακοσίων ἀριθμὸν ἐτῶν καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ ἑνὸς καὶ μηνῶν τριῶν ἀφ' οὗ τῆς ὑπὸ Βαβυλωνίοις[3] δουλείας ἀπαλλαγεὶς ὁ
302 λαὸς εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν κατῆλθεν.[4] στέργων δὲ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τὸν μετ' αὐτὸν Ἀντίγονον, τοῦτον μὲν τῶν ὁμοίων ἠξίου, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους εἶχεν ἐν δεσμοῖς. εἶρξε δὲ καὶ τὴν μητέρα περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῷ διενεχθεῖσαν (ἐκείνην γὰρ Ὑρκανὸς τῶν ὅλων κυρίαν κατελελοίπει[5]) καὶ μέχρι τοσαύτης ὠμότητος προῆλθεν, ὥστ' αὐτὴν καὶ λιμῷ διαφθεῖραι[6] δεδε-
303 μένην. προστίθησι δὲ τῇ μητρὶ καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν

[1] ὑπερέβησαν PFL
[2] ex Argumentis Niese: ἐπιτίθεται codd.
[3] Βαβυλῶνος PFLV.
[4] ἐπανῆλθε FLV Zonaras.
[5] καταλείπει PFL: καταλίποι V: reliquerat Lat.
[6] διέφθειρεν PAMW: διαφθείρειν F.

[a] Thus he possessed the attributes of the ideal ruler, according to Stoic belief and Philo; for similar passages in Hellenistic literature *cf.* P. Wendland, *Die hellenistische-römische Kultur*, and recent works on Philo, such as those by Bréhier and Goodenough. It should be noted that Josephus (or his source) does not use " prophecy " in the

the gift of prophecy [a]; for the Deity was with him and enabled him to foresee and foretell the future; so, for example, he foretold of his two elder sons that they would not remain masters of the state. And the story of their downfall is worth relating, to show how far they were from having [b] their father's good fortune.

(xi. 1) After their father's death the eldest son Aristobulus saw fit to transform the government into a kingdom, which he judged the best form, and he was the first to put a diadem on his head,[c] four hundred and eighty-one years and three months after the time when the people were released from the Babylonian captivity and returned to their own country.[d] Now of his brothers he loved only Antigonus, who was next in age, and considered him worthy of a position like his own, while he kept his other brothers in chains. He also imprisoned his mother, who had disputed the royal power with him—for Hyrcanus had left her mistress of the realm—, and carried his cruelty so far that he caused her to die of starvation in prison. And to the death of his mother he added that of

Aristobulus I becomes ruler with the title of king.

biblical sense, *cf. Ant.* xii. 318 note *e*, and Moore, *Judaism* i. 421.

[b] The variant "how far they surpassed" is obviously corrupt; *cf.* also the parallel in *B.J.* i. 69, ἀπέκλιναν.

[c] Strabo, xvi. 2. 40, attributes this innovation to Aristobulus' successor, Alexander Jannaeus. The title "king" (*melek*) does not appear on the Heb. coins of Aristobulus, *cf.* works cited in Appendix L. The statement below that Hyrcanus left his wife mistress of the realm gives plausibility to Ricciotti's suggestion that stories about Alexander Jannaeus have become confused with those about Aristobulus.

[d] *B.J.* i. 70 gives 471 years. Both numbers are too large, since the return from Babylon was in 537 B.C.; *cf.* Dr. Thackeray's note to the parallel in *B.J.*

Ἀντίγονον, ὃν στέργειν ἐδόκει μάλιστα καὶ κοινωνὸν εἶχε τῆς βασιλείας, ἐκ διαβολῶν ἀπαλλοτριωθεὶς πρὸς αὐτόν, αἷς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὐκ ἐπίστευσε, τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ φιλεῖν αὐτὸν οὐ προσέχων τοῖς λεγομένοις, τὰ δὲ καὶ φθονούμενον ἡγούμενος
304 διαβάλλεσθαι. τοῦ δὲ Ἀντιγόνου ποτὲ λαμπρῶς ἀπὸ στρατείας ἐπανελθόντος, καὶ τῆς ἑορτῆς καθ' ἣν σκηνοπηγοῦσι τῷ θεῷ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν ἐνστάσης, ἔτυχε[1] τὸν μὲν Ἀριστόβουλον εἰς νόσον καταπεσεῖν, τὸν δὲ Ἀντίγονον ἐπιτελοῦντα τὴν ἑορτὴν ἀναβῆναι λαμπρῶς σφόδρα κεκοσμημένον μετὰ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ὁπλιτῶν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, καὶ τὰ
305 πλείω περὶ τῆς τἀδελφοῦ σωτηρίας εὔχεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ πονηροὺς καὶ διαστῆσαι τὴν ὁμόνοιαν αὐτῶν ἐσπουδακότας, ἀφορμῇ χρησαμένους τῇ τε περὶ[2] τὴν πομπὴν τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου φιλοτιμίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατωρθωμένοις, ἐλθεῖν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ κακοήθως ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον ἐξαίρειν τὰ περὶ τὴν πομ-
306 πὴν τὴν ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ, καὶ ὡς οὐ κατ' ἰδιώτην ἕκαστον ἦν τῶν γινομένων, ἀλλὰ φρονήματος ἔνδειξιν εἶχε[3] βασιλικοῦ τὰ πραττόμενα, καὶ ὡς κτείνειν αὐτὸν μέλλει[4] μετὰ στίφους ἐληλυθὼς καρτεροῦ, λογιζόμενον[5] εὐήθως αὐτόν, βασιλεύειν ἐνόν, τιμῆς μεταλαμβάνοντα δοκεῖν μεγάλων τυγχάνειν.
307 (2) Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ τούτοις ἄκων[6] πειθόμενος, καὶ τοῦ ἀνύποπτος εἶναι τἀδελφῷ προνοῶν καὶ τῆς

[1] ἔτυχεν ὥστε LAMWE.
[2] πρὸς PFLV.
[3] E: ἔχειν codd.
[4] E: μέλλοι codd.
[5] λογιζομένου FV: λογιζόμενος Coceeji.
[6] τούτοις ἄκων] τούτων ἀκούων καὶ AMW.

his brother Antigonus, whom he seemed especially to love and had made his associate in the kingdom, for he was alienated from him by calumnies which at first he did not believe, disregarding the things that were said, partly because he loved Antigonus and partly because he believed that he was being calumniated out of envy. But on one occasion when Antigonus had returned from a campaign with glory,[a] as the season of the festival during which tabernacles are erected to God was at hand, it chanced that Aristobulus fell ill, and Antigonus, arrayed in great splendour and with his heavy-armed soldiers about him, went up to the temple to celebrate the festival and to pray earnestly for his brother's recovery; thereupon the unscrupulous men who were bent on disrupting the harmonious relation between them, found in Antigonus' ambitious display and in the successes he had achieved, a pretext to go to the king and maliciously exaggerate the pomp of his appearance at the festival, saying that everything that had been done was out of keeping with the behaviour of a private person and that his actions rather had the indications of one who imagined himself a king, and that he had come with a strong body of troops with the intention of killing Aristobulus, reasoning that it would be absurd for him to believe that he had won any great distinction in having a share in high office when he might just as well be king himself.

Aristobulus becomes envious of his brother Antigonus.

(2) Aristobulus reluctantly began to believe these charges,[b] and taking care not to be suspected by his

Aristobulus has Antigonus murdered.

[a] Probably in the Lebanon region, *cf.* below, § 319, or in Galilee, *cf.* *B.J.* i. 76.

[b] Variant "Aristobulus hearing these charges and believing them."

ἀσφαλείας ἅμα φροντίζων, διίστησι τοὺς σωματοφύλακας ἔν τινι τῶν ὑπογείων ἀφωτίστῳ (κατέκειτο δὲ ἐν τῇ βάρει μετονομασθείσῃ δὲ Ἀντωνίᾳ) καὶ προσέταξεν ἀνόπλου μὲν ἅπτεσθαι μηδένα,[1] κτείνειν δὲ τὸν Ἀντίγονον, ἂν ὡπλισμένος πρὸς αὐτὸν
308 εἰσίῃ. πέμπει μέντοι πρὸς Ἀντίγονον αὐτός, ἄνοπλον αὐτὸν ἀξιῶν ἥκειν. ἡ δὲ βασίλισσα καὶ οἱ συνεπιβουλεύοντες αὐτῇ κατ' Ἀντιγόνου πείθουσι τὸν πεμφθέντα[2] τἀναντία λέγειν, ὡς ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἀκούσας ὅτι κατασκευάσειεν ὅπλα καὶ κόσμον πολεμικόν, παραγενέσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν παρακαλεῖ
309 ὡπλισμένον, ὅπως ἴδοι τὴν κατασκευήν. ὁ δ' Ἀντίγονος μηδὲν ὑπιδόμενος[3] κακοῦργον, ἀλλὰ θαρρῶν τῇ παρὰ τἀδελφοῦ διαθέσει, ὡς εἶχεν ἐνδεδυμένος τὴν πανοπλίαν παρεγίνετο πρὸς τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον, ἐπιδείξων αὐτῷ τὰ ὅπλα. γενόμενον δ' αὐτὸν κατὰ τὸν Στράτωνος καλούμενον πύργον, οὗ συνέβαινεν ἀφώτιστον εἶναι σφόδρα τὴν πάροδον,
310 ἀποκτείνουσιν οἱ σωματοφύλακες. διέδειξέ γε μὴν ὁ τούτου θάνατος ὅτι μηδὲν μήτε φθόνου μήτε διαβολῆς ἰσχυρότερον, μηδ' ὅ τι μᾶλλον εὔνοιαν καὶ φυσικὴν οἰκειότητα διίστησιν ἢ ταῦτα τὰ πάθη.
311 μάλιστα δ' ἄν τις θαυμάσειε καὶ Ἰούδαν τινά, Ἐσσηνὸν[4] μὲν τὸ γένος, οὐδέποτε δ' ἐν οἷς προεῖπεν διαψευσάμενον τἀληθές· οὗτος γὰρ ἰδὼν τὸν Ἀντίγονον παριόντα τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνεβόησεν ἐν τοῖς ἑταίροις αὐτοῦ καὶ γνωρίμοις, οἳ διδασκαλίας ἕνεκα

[1] μηδενὸς LAMWE Lat. [2] + ἀγγελοῦντα AMWE.
[3] Cocceji: ὑπειδόμενος codd. E.
[4] Ἐσσαῖον AMWE Lat. (γρ Ἐσσηνὸν marg. AM).

[a] The fortress north of the temple on the site of Nehemiah's

brother and at the same time thinking of his own safety, stationed his bodyguards at intervals in a dark underground passage—for he was lying ill in the castle afterwards called Antonia [a]—and gave orders that none of them should touch Antigonus if he were unarmed, but should kill him if he came to the king with his armour on. Moreover he himself sent to Antigonus, asking him to come unarmed. But the queen and the men who were plotting with her against Antigonus persuaded the messenger to say the opposite, namely that his brother had heard that he had equipped himself with arms and military gear,[b] and invited him to come to him armed, in order that he might see his equipment. Accordingly, Antigonus, who had no suspicion of foul play and was confident of his brother's friendly feeling towards him, came to Aristobulus just as he was, in full armour, to show him his arms. But when he reached Straton's Tower, as it is called, just where the very dark passage was, the bodyguards killed him. Now his death clearly proves that there is nothing more powerful than envy and calumny, nor anything that more easily disrupts friendship and the ties of nature than these influences. And in this connexion one may well wonder at the story of a certain Judas of the Essene group, who had never been known to speak falsely in his prophecies, but when he saw Antigonus passing by the temple, cried out to his companions and disciples, who were together with him for the purpose of receiving instruction in fore-

The prophecy of Judas the Essene.

baris (*cf. B.J.* i. 76), rebuilt by the Hasmonaeans and later by Herod, *cf. Ant.* xii. 251 note *d*. To the literature cited there add Watzinger, *Denkmäler* ii. 31 ff.

[b] The parallel in *B.J.* i. 76 adds, "in Galilee, and that illness prevented him from paying a visit of inspection."

312 τοῦ προλέγειν τὰ μέλλοντα παρέμενον, ὡς ἀποθανεῖν αὐτῷ καλὸν διεψευσμένῳ ζῶντος Ἀντιγόνου, ὃν σήμερον τεθνήξεσθαι προειπὼν ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ Στράτωνος πύργῳ περιόντα[1] ὁρᾷ, καὶ τοῦ μὲν χωρίου περὶ[2] σταδίους ἀπέχοντος νῦν ἑξακοσίους, ὅπου φονευθήσεσθαι προεῖπεν αὐτόν, τῆς δ' ἡμέρας ἤδη τὸ πλεῖστον ἠνυσμένον, ὥστ' αὐτῷ κινδυνεύειν
313 τὸ μάντευμα ψεῦδος εἶναι. ταῦτ' οὖν λέγοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ κατηφοῦντος ἀγγέλλεται τεθνεὼς Ἀντίγονος ἐν τῷ ὑπογείῳ, ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ Στράτωνος ἐκαλεῖτο πύργος ὁμώνυμον τῇ παραλίῳ Καισαρείᾳ. τὸν μὲν οὖν μάντιν τοῦτο διετάραξεν.

314 (3) Ἀριστόβουλον δὲ τῆς ἀδελφοκτονίας εὐθὺς εἰσῆλθε μετάνοια καὶ νόσος ἐπ' αὐτῇ, τῆς διανοίας ὑπὸ τοῦ μύσους κεκακωμένης, ὡς διαφθαρέντων αὐτῷ ὑπὸ ἀκράτου τῆς ὀδύνης τῶν ἐντὸς αἷμα ἀναφέρειν. ὃ τῶν διακονουμένων τις παίδων, κατὰ δαιμόνιον, οἶμαι, πρόνοιαν, εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον, οὗ σφαγέντος Ἀντιγόνου σπίλους ἔτι τοῦ αἵματος ἐκείνου συνέβαινεν εἶναι, κομίζων ὀλισθὼν ἐξέχεεν.
315 γενομένης δὲ βοῆς παρὰ τῶν ἰδόντων ὡς τοῦ παιδὸς ἐξεπίτηδες ἐκχέαντος ἐκεῖ τὸ αἷμα, ἀκούσας Ἀριστόβουλος τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπύθετο, καὶ μὴ λεγόντων ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπετείνετο μαθεῖν, φύσει τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπονοούντων ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις εἶναι
316 χείρονα τὰ σιγώμενα. ὡς δὲ ἀπειλοῦντος καὶ βιαζομένου τοῖς φόβοις τἀληθὲς εἶπον, προχεῖται μὲν

[1] παριόντα LAMWE.   [2] περὶ om. LAMVWE.

[a] Variant "present."   [b] C. 65 miles.

telling the future, that it would be well for him to die as one who had spoken falsely, since Antigonus was still alive, although he had foretold that he would die at the place called Straton's Tower, and now he saw him alive [a]; for the place where he had foretold that Antigonus would be murdered was some six hundred stades [b] from where he now was, and the greater part of the day had already passed, so that his prophecy was unfortunately likely to prove false. But as he was saying this and lamenting, the news came that Antigonus had been killed in the underground passage, which was also called Straton's Tower—by the same name, that is, as Caesarea on the sea-coast.[c] It was this fact, therefore, that had confused the prophet.

(3) But Aristobulus was soon seized by remorse for the murder of his brother, and this was followed by illness, his mind being so troubled by his guilty deed that his inward parts were corrupted by intense pain, and he vomited blood. And once one of the servants who waited on him was carrying this blood away and slipped and spilled it—by divine providence, I believe—on the very spot where the stains made by the blood of the murdered Antigonus were still to be seen. Thereupon a cry went up from those who saw this that the servant had spilled the blood there deliberately, and when Aristobulus heard it, he asked what the reason for it was, and as they did not tell him, he became still more determined to find out, for in such cases men naturally suspect the worst in what is covered by silence. But when, under his threats and the constraint of fear, they

Aristobulus' remorse and fatal illness.

[c] Herod changed the name of Straton's Tower to Caesarea, *cf. Ant.* xv. 331-341.

αὐτῷ πληγέντι τὴν διάνοιαν ὑπὸ τοῦ συνειδότος πολλὰ δάκρυα, βύθιον δὲ ἀνοιμώξας, "οὐκ ἄρ'," εἶπε, "λήσειν ἐπ' ἀσεβέσιν οὕτω καὶ μιαροῖς τολμήμασι τὸν θεὸν ἔμελλον, ἀλλά με ταχεῖα ποινὴ
317 συγγενοῦς φόνου μετελήλυθεν. καὶ μέχρι τίνος, ὦ σῶμα ἀναιδέστατον, ψυχὴν ὀφειλομένην ἀδελφοῦ καὶ μητρὸς καθέξεις δαίμοσιν; τί δ' οὐκ ἀθρόαν αὐτὴν ταύτην ἀποδίδως, κατὰ μέρος δ' ἐπισπένδω[1]
318 τοὐμὸν αἷμα τοῖς μιαιφονηθεῖσιν;" ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐπαποθνήσκει τοῖς λόγοις, βασιλεύσας ἐνιαυτόν, χρηματίσας μὲν Φιλέλλην, πολλὰ δ' εὐεργετήσας τὴν πατρίδα, πολεμήσας Ἰτουραίους καὶ πολλὴν αὐτῶν τῆς χώρας τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ προσκτησάμενος, ἀναγκάσας τε τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας, εἰ βούλονται μένειν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, περιτέμνεσθαι καὶ κατὰ τοὺς Ἰουδαίων
319 νόμους ζῆν. φύσει δ' ἐπιεικεῖ ἐκέχρητο καὶ σφόδρα ἦν αἰδοῦς ἥττων,[2] ὡς μαρτυρεῖ τούτῳ καὶ Στράβων ἐκ τοῦ Τιμαγένους ὀνόματος λέγων οὕτως· "ἐπιεικής τε ἐγένετο οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ πολλὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις χρήσιμος· χώραν τε γὰρ αὐτοῖς προσεκτήσατο καὶ τὸ μέρος τοῦ τῶν Ἰτουραίων ἔθνους ᾠκειώσατο, δεσμῷ συνάψας τῇ τῶν αἰδοίων περιτομῇ."

[1] ἐπισπένδεις E. [2] κρείττων FL.

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[a] The words attributed to Aristobulus are more Hellenistic than Jewish in spirit, and remind one of the dramatic passages on Herod's family relations; they point to Nicolas of Damascus as the source.

[b] From 104 to 103 B.C.

[c] As we have no coin of Aristobulus I with a Greek inscription, we do not know for certain whether he officially used the title Philhellene. But Schürer's suggestion, i. 275 n. 6, that χρηματίσας Φιλέλλην means only "he behaved

told him the truth, he was stricken in mind by his consciousness of guilt, and weeping freely, with deep groans exclaimed, "I was not destined, I see, to escape the notice of God in committing such impious and unholy crimes, but swift punishment has overtaken me for the murder of my kin. How long, then, O most shameless body, will you keep within you the life that is forfeit to the spirits of my brother and mother? Why, instead of giving this up to them at one stroke, do I merely offer my blood drop by drop as a libation to those who have been so foully murdered?"[a] And scarcely had he spoken these words when he died; in his reign of one year,[b] with the title of Philhellene,[c] he conferred many benefits on his country, for he made war on the Ituraeans[d] and acquired a good part of their territory for Judaea and compelled the inhabitants, if they wished to remain in their country, to be circumcised and to live in accordance with the laws of the Jews. He had a kindly nature, and was wholly given to modesty, as Strabo also testifies on the authority of Timagenes,[e] writing as follows. "This man was a kindly person and very serviceable to the Jews, for he acquired additional territory for them, and brought over to them a portion of the Ituraean nation, whom he joined to them by the bond of circumcision."

like a Philhellene" can hardly be accepted in preference to the translation given above, as Meyer rightly insists, *Ursprung* ii. 277 n. 1. The detail about Aristobulus' title and the following section to § 320 have no parallels in *B.J.*

[d] They lived in the Lebanon region with the Phoenician hinterland on the W., and the country S. of Damascus on the E.; *cf.* Strabo 753-756. Aristobulus' conquests must have extended to northern Galilee, *cf. B.J.* i. 76 and Schürer i. 276.

[e] Historian of the 1st century B.C., *cf. Ap.* ii. 84 note *c*.

320 (xii. 1) Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀριστοβούλου Σαλίνα[1] ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ, λεγομένη δὲ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Ἀλεξάνδρα, λύσασα τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ (δεδεμένους γὰρ αὐτοὺς εἶχεν Ἀριστόβουλος, ὡς προειρήκαμεν), Ἰανναῖον[2] τὸν καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον βασιλέα καθίστησι,
321 τὸν καὶ καθ' ἡλικίαν προύχοντα καὶ μετριότητα, ᾧ καὶ[3] συνέβη γεννηθέντι εὐθὺς μισηθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς αὐτοῦ μηδέποτε[4] εἰς ὄψιν ἀφικέσθαι. τὸ δ' αἴτιον τοῦ μίσους τοιόνδε
322 λέγεται γενέσθαι· στέργων δὴ[5] μάλιστα τῶν παίδων Ὑρκανὸς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους Ἀντίγονον καὶ Ἀριστόβουλον, φανέντα κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους αὐτῷ τὸν θεὸν ἐπηρώτα τίς αὐτοῦ τῶν παίδων μέλλει ἔσεσθαι διάδοχος. τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ τοὺς τούτου χαρακτῆρας δείξαντος, λυπηθεὶς ὅτι τῶν ἀγαθῶν αὐτοῦ πάντων οὗτος ἔσται κληρονόμος, γενόμενον εἴασεν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ τρέφεσθαι. ὁ μέντοι θεὸς οὐ διεψεύσατο
323 τὸν Ὑρκανόν. τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν μετὰ τὴν Ἀρι-

[1] Σαλώμη LAMWE Lat.: Σαλίνα etiam Eusebius, Syncellus.
[2] Ἰάναιον P: Ἰαννέαν WE: Ianneum Lat.
[3] καὶ om. LAMWE.
[4] μηκέτι P.
[5] δὲ E: om. PF.

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[a] Variant "Salome" (her name is not given in the parallel, *B.J.* i. 85). Her Heb. name was probably *Šᵉlamṣîyôn* (*cf.* Σαλαμψιώ, *Ant.* xviii. 170), of which "Salome" might be a diminutive, *cf.* Derenbourg, p. 102, n. 2. "Salina" is probably a hellenized form of her Heb. name, perhaps influenced by that of her contemporary, Selene (*cf.* § 420). That Josephus considered Aristobulus' widow to be identical with Alexander Jannaeus' wife Alexandra is clear from the context and chronology, although he does not make this explicit by saying that Salina married Jannaeus. Madden, p. 71, is one of the few scholars who distinguish between the

(xii. 1) On the death of Aristobulus his wife Salina,[a] by the Greeks called Alexandra, released his brothers—for Aristobulus had imprisoned them, as we have said before—,[b] and appointed as king Jannaeus,[c] also known as Alexander, who was best fitted for this office by reason of his age and his evenness of temper[d]; but it had been his fate to be hated by his father from the time he was born, and never to come into his sight so long as he lived. Now the reason for this hatred is said to have been as follows. Of all his sons Hyrcanus loved best the two elder ones, Antigonus and Aristobulus; and once when God appeared to him in his sleep, he asked Him which of his sons was destined to be his successor. And when God showed him the features[e] of Alexander, he was grieved that this one should be the heir of all his possessions, and so he let him be brought up in Galilee from his birth.[f] God, however, did not deceive Hyrcanus. For after the death

Alexander Jannaeus becomes king.

two queens. On the problem whether the widow of the presumably childless Aristobulus was required by Jewish law to contract a levirate marriage with his brother see the discussions in Aptowitzer xviii-xx and Klausner ii. 122 f.

[b] In § 302.

[c] The Gr. Iannaios is a hellenization of Heb. *Yannai*, *cf.* § 288 note *a*.

[d] Or perhaps μετριότης here means, as sometimes in Byzantine Gr., "knowing his place," indicating that Alexandra expected to dominate her second husband. If so, she must have been disappointed, as the sequel shows. The following sections, to § 356 (except for brief phrases in §§ 323 and 337) have no parallels in *B.J.*

[e] Chamonard translates χαρακτῆρας as "letters of the name," and Reinach notes that the meaning of the Gr. is very doubtful. It seems clear to me.

[f] This does not necessarily mean that Galilee was wholly judaized in Hyrcanus' time, *cf.* Schürer i. 276 n. 10.

στοβούλου τελευτὴν οὗτος παραλαβών, τὸν μὲν τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐπιχειροῦντα τῇ βασιλείᾳ διεχρήσατο, τὸν δὲ ἕτερον ἀπραγμόνως ζῆν προαιρούμενον εἶχεν ἐν τιμῇ.

324 (2) Καταστησάμενος δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὃν ᾤετο συμφέρειν αὐτῷ τρόπον στρατεύει ἐπὶ Πτολεμαΐδα· τῇ δὲ μάχῃ κρατήσας ἐνέκλεισε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ περικαθίσας αὐτοὺς ἐπολιόρκει. τῶν γὰρ ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ Πτολεμαῒς αὐτῷ καὶ Γάζα μόναι χειρωθῆναι ὑπελείποντο, καὶ Ζώιλος δὲ ὁ κατασχὼν τὸν Στράτωνος πύργον τύραννος καὶ
325 Δῶρα.[1] τοῦ δὲ Φιλομήτορος Ἀντιόχου καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἀντιόχου, ὃς ἐπεκαλεῖτο Κυζικηνός, πολεμούντων ἀλλήλους καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν δύναμιν ἀπολλύντων, ἦν οὐδεμία τοῖς Πτολεμαεῦσιν βοή-
326 θεια παρ' αὐτῶν. ἀλλὰ πονουμένοις τῇ πολιορκίᾳ Ζώιλος ὁ τὸν Στράτωνος πύργον κατεσχηκὼς καὶ τὰ Δωρὰ παρῆν[2] σύνταγμα τρέφων[3] στρατιωτικόν, καὶ τυραννίδι ἐπιχειρῶν διὰ τὴν τῶν βασιλέων πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἅμιλλαν μικρὰ τοῖς Πτολεμαιεῦσι παρ-
327 εβοήθει· οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ βασιλεῖς οὕτως εἶχον οἰκείως πρὸς αὐτούς, ὥστ' ἐλπίσαι τινὰ παρ' αὐτῶν ὠφέλειαν. ἑκάτεροι γὰρ ταὐτὸ τοῖς ἀθληταῖς ἔπασχον, οἳ τῇ δυνάμει μὲν ἀπηγορευκότες αἰσχυνόμενοι δὲ παραχωρῆσαι διετέλουν ἀργίᾳ καὶ ἀναπαύσει δια-

[1] Quae sequuntur in §§ 325-327 corrupta esse putat Niese.
[2] *παρῆν* ante *καὶ τὰ Δωρὰ* hab. PF. [3] *φέρων* M.

[a] Named Absalom, and later father-in-law of Aristobulus II, *cf. Ant.* xiv. 71.
[b] Here Josephus resumes the narrative of the Has-

of Aristobulus it was he who took over the royal power, putting to death one of his brothers who had designs on the throne, while he held in honour his other brother [a] who preferred to live without taking part in public affairs.

(2) [b] Then, leaving his realm in a condition which he thought advantageous to himself, Alexander marched against Ptolemais, and after defeating its inhabitants in battle, he shut them up in the city and surrounding it, besieged them. For of the cities on the coast there remained only Ptolemais and Gaza to be subdued by him, and also Straton's Tower [c] and Dora,[d] which the local ruler [e] Zoilus held. Now as Antiochus Philometor [f] and his brother Antiochus, surnamed Cyzicenus, were fighting each other and destroying their own forces, no help could be given by them to the people of Ptolemais; but while they were being hard pressed in the siege, Zoilus, who held Straton's Tower, appeared with a company of soldiers that he maintained,[g] and as he had ambitions to make himself absolute ruler because of the struggle between the two kings, he gave some slight help to the people of Ptolemais. Nor were the kings so friendly to them that they could hope for any assistance from them, for both of them were in the position of athletes whose strength is exhausted but who are ashamed to yield, and so continue to prolong the con-

Alexander Jannaeus attacks the cities on the coast of Syria.

monaeans' struggle to wrest Palestinian territory from the Seleucids, *cf.* §§ 274 ff.

[c] The later Caesarea, *cf.* § 313 note *f*.

[d] *Cf. Ant.* v. 83 note *g*, xiii. 223.

[e] On this meaning of τύραννος see § 235 note *c*. Zoilus seems originally to have been ruler of Gaza, *cf.* below, § 334.

[f] The official surname of Antiochus VIII Grypus.

[g] The phrase σύνταγμα τρέφειν is also found in the citation from Strabo in *Ant.* xiv. 116.

328 φέροντες τὸν ἀγῶνα. λοιπὴ δ' αὐτοῖς ἐλπὶς ἦν ἡ παρὰ τῶν Αἰγύπτου βασιλέων καὶ τοῦ Κύπρον ἔχοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λαθούρου, ὃς ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς Κλεοπάτρας τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκπεσὼν εἰς Κύπρον παρεγένετο. πέμψαντες οὖν πρὸς τοῦτον οἱ Πτολεμαιεῖς παρεκάλουν ἐλθόντα σύμμαχον ἐκ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου χειρῶν αὐτοὺς ῥύσασθαι κινδυνεύον-
329 τας. ἐπελπισάντων δ' αὐτὸν τῶν πρέσβεων, ὡς διαβὰς εἰς Συρίαν ἕξει Γαζαίους συνεστῶτας μετὰ τῶν Πτολεμαιῶν καὶ Ζώιλον, ἔτι γε μὴν Σιδωνίους καὶ πολλοὺς ἄλλους αὐτῷ συλλήψεσθαι λεγόντων, ἐπαρθεὶς πρὸς[1] τὸν ἔκπλουν ἔσπευδεν.

330 (3) Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τοὺς Πτολεμαιεῖς Δημαίνετος, πιθανὸς ὢν αὐτοῖς τότε καὶ δημαγωγῶν, μεταβαλέσθαι τὰς γνώμας ἔπεισεν,[2] ἄμεινον εἶναι φήσας ἐπ' ἀδήλῳ τῷ γενησομένῳ διακινδυνεύειν πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους μᾶλλον ἢ φανερὰν εἰσδέξασθαι δουλείαν, δεσπότῃ παραδόντας αὐτούς, καὶ πρὸς τούτῳ μὴ τὸν παρόντα μόνον ἔχειν πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολὺ
331 μείζω τὸν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου. τὴν γὰρ Κλεοπάτραν οὐ περιόψεσθαι δύναμιν αὐτῷ κατασκευαζόμενον Πτολεμαῖον ἐκ γειτόνων, ἀλλ' ἥξειν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς μετὰ μεγάλης στρατιᾶς· σπουδάσαι γὰρ αὐτὴν ὥστε καὶ τῆς Κύπρου τὸν υἱὸν ἐκβαλεῖν· εἶναι δὲ Πτολεμαίῳ μὲν διαμαρτόντι τῆς ἐλπίδος ἀποφυγὴν[3] πάλιν τὴν[4]
332 Κύπρον, αὐτοῖς δὲ κίνδυνον[5] τὸν ἔσχατον. ὁ μὲν

[1] τὰ πρὸς LAMWE. [2] ἐποίησεν PF.
[3] Gutschmid: ἀποφυγεῖν codd. Lat.
[4] εἰς τὴν ed. pr. [5] κινδύνων AMW.

[a] Cleopatra III and her younger son Ptolemy IX Alexander.
[b] *Cf.* § 274 note *q*.

test by periods of inactivity and rest. The only hope that was left them was in the sovereigns of Egypt [a] and in Ptolemy Lathyrus, the ruler of Cyprus, who had been driven from his realm by his mother Cleopatra, and had come to Cyprus.[b] And so the people of Ptolemais sent to him and begged him to come to their aid and save them from the hands of Alexander, by whom they were endangered. The envoys led him to hope[c] that when he crossed to Syria, he would have the people of Gaza on the side of those of Ptolemais, as well as Zoilus, and they told him further that the Sidonians and many others would join him; being, therefore, full of high hope, he made haste to sail.[d]

The people of Ptolemais appeal to Ptolemy Lathyrus for aid against Alexander Jannaeus.

(3) Meanwhile, however, the people of Ptolemais had been persuaded to change their plans by Demaenetus, who had their confidence at that time and influenced the people; he said that it would be better for them to risk a contest with the Jews, although the outcome was uncertain, than to accept open servitude by delivering themselves up to an absolute ruler, and in addition not only have the present war on their hands, but also a much more serious one arising from Egypt. For Cleopatra would not permit Ptolemy to provide himself with an army from the neighbouring cities but would come against them with a great force, since she was eager to drive her son out of Cyprus too. Moreover, if Ptolemy were disappointed in his expectations, he could again find a refuge in Cyprus, whereas they themselves would be in the greatest danger. Now though

Ptolemy Lathyrus sails for Syria.

[c] ἐπελπισάντων is a Thucydidean word (Thuc. viii. 1. 1) found also in *Ant.* viii. 205, xv. 207, 353.

[d] On the numismatic evidence for the expedition of Ptolemy Lathyrus see A. Brett in *AJA* xli. (1937), 452-463.

οὖν Πτολεμαῖος κατὰ τὸν πόρον[1] μαθὼν τὴν τῶν Πτολεμαιῶν μεταβολὴν οὐδὲν ἧττον ἔπλευσε, καὶ καταχθεὶς εἰς τὴν καλουμένην[2] Συκαμίνων[3] ἐνταυθοῖ
333 τὴν δύναμιν ἐξεβίβασεν. ἦν δὲ ὁ πᾶς στρατὸς αὐτῷ πεζοί τε ἅμα καὶ ἱππεῖς περὶ τρισμυρίους, οὓς προαγαγὼν πλησίον τῆς Πτολεμαΐδος καὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενος, ἐπεὶ μήτε τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῦ πρέσβεις ἐδέχοντο μήτε τῶν λόγων ἠκροῶντο, μεγάλως ἐφρόντιζεν.

334 (4) Ἐλθόντων δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν Ζωίλου τε καὶ τῶν Γαζαίων καὶ δεομένων συμμαχεῖν αὐτοῖς πορθουμένης αὐτῶν τῆς χώρας ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου, λύει μὲν τὴν πολιορκίαν δείσας τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀπαγαγὼν δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἐστρατήγει τὸ λοιπόν, λάθρα μὲν τὴν Κλεοπάτραν ἐπὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον μεταπεμπόμενος, φανερῶς δὲ φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν
335 πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑποκρινόμενος. καὶ τετρακόσια[4] δὲ ἀργυρίου τάλαντα δώσειν ὑπέσχετο, χάριν ἀντὶ τούτων αἰτῶν Ζώιλον ἐκποδὼν ποιήσασθαι τὸν τύραννον, καὶ τὴν χώραν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις προσνεῖμαι. τότε μὲν οὖν ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἡδέως τὴν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ποιησάμενος φιλίαν χειροῦται τὸν Ζώιλον.
336 ὕστερον δὲ ἀκούσας λάθρα διαπεμψάμενον[5] αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ Κλεοπάτραν, λύει τοὺς γεγενημένους πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅρκους, καὶ προσβαλὼν ἐπολιόρκει τὴν Πτολεμαΐδα μὴ δεξαμένην αὐτόν. καταλιπὼν δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς πολιορκίας στρατηγοὺς καὶ μέρος τι τῆς δυνάμεως, αὐτὸς τῷ λοιπῷ τὴν

[1] τὴν πορείαν AMWE. [2] λεγομένην FLME
[3] ex Lat. Niese: Συκάμινων codd.
[4] quattuor milia Lat.

Ptolemy on the way over learned of the change of mind of the people of Ptolemais, he nevertheless sailed on, and landing at Sycamina,[a] as it is called, there disembarked his force. The army with him, both foot and horse, numbered some thirty thousand in all, and these he led to the neighbourhood of Ptolemais and encamped there; but as they would neither admit his envoys nor listen to his proposals he was in great anxiety.

Alexander Jannaeus attempts to trick Ptolemy Lathyrus.

(4) However when Zoilus and the people of Gaza came to him with the request that he would aid them, as their territory was being ravaged by the Jews under Alexander, Alexander in fear of Ptolemy raised the siege and led his army home again, and thereafter resorted to cunning; for while secretly sending for Cleopatra to attack Ptolemy, he openly proposed a friendly alliance to him, thus acting a part. He also promised to give him four hundred talents of silver, asking him in return to put the local ruler Zoilus out of the way and to assign his territory to the Jews. And so Ptolemy at that time gladly formed a friendship with Alexander, and laid hands[b] on Zoilus. But later, when he heard that Alexander had secretly sent[c] to his mother Cleopatra, he broke the sworn agreements he had made with him, and attacked Ptolemais, and when it refused to admit him, besieged it. Then, leaving his generals and a part of his force to carry on the siege, he set out

[a] A port just S. of the promontory of Carmel, the Talmudic *Šiqmôna*, mod. *Tell es-Semak*.

[b] It is not certain from the Gr. whether Ptolemy killed Zoilus or merely imprisoned him.

[c] Variant "was secretly sending."

[5] P Lat.: διαπεμπόμενον rell.

337 Ἰουδαίαν καταστρεψόμενος ὥρμησεν. ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος τὴν τοῦ Πτολεμαίου διάνοιαν μαθὼν συνήθροισε καὶ αὐτὸς περὶ πέντε μυριάδας τῶν ἐγχωρίων, ὡς δ' ἔνιοι συγγραφεῖς εἰρήκασιν, ὀκτώ, καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν ἀπήντα τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ. Πτολεμαῖος δ' ἐξαίφνης ἐπιπεσὼν Ἀσώχει τῇ[1] τῆς Γαλιλαίας πόλει σάββασιν αἱρεῖ κατὰ κράτος αὐτήν, καὶ περὶ μύρια σώματα καὶ πολλὴν ἑτέραν ἔλαβε λείαν.

338 (5) Πειράσας δὲ καὶ Σέπφωριν μικρὸν ἄπωθεν τῆς πεπορθημένης, πολλοὺς ἀποβαλὼν ᾔει πολεμήσων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. ὑπήντησε δὲ αὐτῷ πρὸς τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ ποταμῷ Ἀλέξανδρος περί τινα τόπον λεγόμενον Ἀσωφὼν[2] οὐ πόρρωθεν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ποταμοῦ, καὶ βάλλεται στρατόπεδον πλησίον τῶν
339 πολεμίων. εἶχε μέντοι τοὺς προμαχομένους ὀκτακισχιλίους, οὓς ἑκατονταμάχους προσηγόρευσεν, ἐπιχάλκοις χρωμένους τοῖς θυρεοῖς. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ τοῖς τοῦ Πτολεμαίου προμαχοῦσιν ἐπίχαλκοι αἱ ἀσπίδες. τοῖς μέντοι γε ἄλλοις ἔλαττον ἔχοντες οἱ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου εὐλαβέστερον συνῆψαν εἰς τὸν
340 κίνδυνον. θάρσος δὲ αὐτοῖς οὐκ ὀλίγον ἐνεποίησεν ὁ τακτικὸς Φιλοστέφανος, διαβῆναι κελεύσας τὸν ποταμόν, οὗ μεταξὺ[3] ἦσαν ἐστρατοπεδευκότες. Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ κωλύειν αὐτῶν τὴν διάβασιν οὐκ

[1] Ἀσώχει τῇ LAMW: Ἀσωχεῖ E: Ἀσωχειτω P: Ἀσωχεῖ τῷ F: Asochiton Lat.
[2] Ἀσαφῶν LAMW Lat.
[3] super quem Lat.

[a] The Talmudic *Šiḥin*, mod. *Khirbet el-Lōn*, *c.* 5 miles N.W. of Sepphoris, *cf.* Avi Yonah, p. 32. The city and

with the rest of his army to subdue Judaea. But when Alexander learned of Ptolemy's intention, he also collected an army, consisting of about fifty thousand natives, or eighty thousand, as some writers state, and taking this force went out to meet Ptolemy. Ptolemy, however, made a sudden attack on Asochis,[a] a city of Galilee, on the Sabbath, and taking it by storm, captured about ten thousand persons and a great deal of booty besides.

Ptolemy Lathyrus defeats Alexander Jannaeus near the Jordan.

(5) He also made an attempt on Sepphoris at a little distance from the city which had just been sacked,[b] but lost many of his men, and went on to fight Alexander. Alexander met him in the neighbourhood of the river Jordan, at a place called Asophon,[c] not far from the river Jordan, and pitched his camp close to the enemy. He had, moreover, eight thousand front-line fighters, whom he called "hundred-fighters," carrying long shields covered with bronze. Now Ptolemy's front-line fighters also had round shields covered with bronze, but as his troops were inferior to the enemy in other respects, they were more cautious about risking an engagement. However they were not a little encouraged by the tactician Philostephanus, who told them to cross the river, which was between their camp and the enemy's.[d] And Alexander decided not to prevent

plain of Asochis are several times mentioned in *Vita*, *e.g.* §§ 207, 233, 384. Ptolemy's attack on Asochis is mentioned, without details, in *B.J.* i. 86.

[b] *i.e.* Asochis.

[c] Variant "Asaphon." It is probably the bibl. Saphon, mod. *Tell Sa'idiye*, a little E. of the Jordan, where the *Wadi Kafrinji* flows into the river, *cf.* Albright, *ap.* Abel ii. 448.

[d] The Gr. construction is awkward, but the meaning is clear; evidently οὖ μεταξύ has the force of a gen. abs. with ὄντος understood.

ἔδοξεν· ἐνόμιζε[1] γάρ, εἰ κατὰ νώτου λάβοιεν τὸν ποταμόν, ῥᾷον αἱρήσειν τοὺς πολεμίους, φεύγειν ἐκ
341 τῆς μάχης οὐ δυναμένους. κατ' ἀρχὰς[2] μὲν οὖν παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ἦν ἔργα χειρῶν καὶ προθυμίας παραπλήσια, καὶ πολὺς ἐγένετο φόνος ἐξ ἑκατέρων τῶν στρατευμάτων, ὑπερτέρων δὲ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου γινομένων, Φιλοστέφανος διελὼν τὴν δύναμιν δε-
342 ξιῶς τοῖς ἐνδιδοῦσιν ἐπεκούρει. μηδενὸς δὲ τῷ κλιθέντι μέρει τῶν Ἰουδαίων προσβοηθοῦντος τούτους μὲν συνέβαινε φεύγειν, μὴ βοηθούντων μηδὲ τῶν πλησίον ἀλλὰ κοινωνούντων τῆς φυγῆς, οἱ δὲ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου τἀναντία τούτων ἔπραττον·
343 ἑπόμενοι γὰρ ἔκτεινον τοὺς Ἰουδαίους καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον τραπέντας αὐτοὺς ἅπαντας ἐδίωκον φονεύοντες[3] ἕως οὗ καὶ ὁ σίδηρος αὐτοῖς ἠμβλύνθη
344 κτείνουσι καὶ αἱ χεῖρες παρείθησαν. τρισμυρίους γοῦν ἔφασαν αὐτῶν[4] ἀποθανεῖν (Τιμαγένης δὲ πεντακισμυρίους εἴρηκεν) τῶν δὲ ἄλλων τοὺς μὲν αἰχμαλώτους ληφθῆναι, τοὺς δὲ εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα διαφυγεῖν[5] χωρία.

345 (6) Πτολεμαῖος δὲ μετὰ τὴν νίκην προσκαταδραμὼν[6] τὴν χώραν, ὀψίας ἐπιγενομένης ἔν τισι κώμαις τῆς Ἰουδαίας κατέμεινεν, ἃς γυναικῶν εὑρὼν μεστὰς καὶ νηπίων, ἐκέλευσε τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀποσφάττοντας αὐτοὺς καὶ κρεουργοῦντας,

their crossing, thinking that he would the more easily take the enemy if they had the river behind them and so were unable to flee. And at first both sides equally performed deeds of prowess and daring, and great was the slaughter in both armies; but as Alexander's men were getting the upper hand, Philostephanus divided his force and skilfully came to the relief of those who were giving ground. And as no one came to aid that part of the Jewish force which was falling back, it had to flee; and not even those near them helped them, but joined in their flight. Ptolemy's men, however, did just the opposite, for they followed the Jews and killed them, until finally, when they were completely routed, they tracked them down to slaughter them until their swords became blunted with killing, and their hands were utterly tired. It was said, in fact, that thirty thousand of them perished—Timagenes[a] says there were fifty thousand—, while as for the rest, some were taken captive, and others escaped to their native places.

Ptolemy Lathyrus invades Judaea.

(6) After this victory Ptolemy overran[b] other territory, and when evening fell, halted in some villages of Judaea, which he found full of women and infants; he thereupon commanded his soldiers to cut their throats and chop them up and then to fling the pieces

[a] *Cf.* § 319 note *e*.
[b] Variant "seized."

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[1] ἐνόμισε FLAMW.
[2] ὡς δὲ συνῆψαν κατ' ἀρχὰς cod. Busb. ap. Hudson.
[3] οἱ φονεύοντες PFL.
[4] ἀνδρῶν AMW Lat.: ἄνδρας E.
[5] Niese: διαφεύγειν PFL: φεύγειν rell. E.
[6] προσκαταλαβὼν PF.

ἔπειτα εἰς λέβητας ζέοντας ἐνιέντας τὰ μέλη
346 ἀπάρχεσθαι.[1] τοῦτο δὲ προσέταξεν, ἵν' οἱ διαφυγόντες ἐκ τῆς μάχης καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐλθόντες σαρκοφάγους ὑπολάβωσιν εἶναι τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς καταπλαγῶσι ταῦτα
347 ἰδόντες. λέγει δὲ καὶ Στράβων καὶ Νικόλαος ὅτι τοῦτον αὐτοῖς ἐχρήσαντο[2] τὸν τρόπον, καθὼς κἀγὼ προείρηκα. ἔλαβον[3] δὲ καὶ τὴν Πτολεμαΐδα κατὰ κράτος, ὡς καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις φανερὸν πεποιήκαμεν.

348 (xiii. 1) Κλεοπάτρα δὲ ὁρῶσα τὸν υἱὸν αὐξανόμενον καὶ τήν τε Ἰουδαίαν ἀδεῶς πορθοῦντα καὶ τὴν Γαζαίων πόλιν ὑπήκοον ἔχοντα, περιιδεῖν οὐκ ἔγνω τοῦτον ἐπὶ ταῖς πύλαις ὄντα καὶ ποθοῦντα[4]
349 τὴν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων μείζω γενόμενον,[5] ἀλλὰ παραχρῆμα μετὰ ναυτικῆς καὶ πεζῆς δυνάμεως ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐξώρμησεν, ἡγεμόνας τῆς ὅλης στρατιᾶς ἀποδείξασα Χελκίαν καὶ Ἀνανίαν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους. τὰ δὲ πολλὰ τοῦ πλούτου αὐτῆς[6] καὶ τοὺς υἱωνοὺς
350 καὶ διαθήκας πέμψασα Κῴοις παρέθετο. κελεύσασα δὲ τὸν υἱὸν Ἀλέξανδρον στόλῳ μεγάλῳ παραπλεῖν εἰς Φοινίκην[7] ἡ Κλεοπάτρα, μετὰ πάσης

[1] ἀπέρχεσθαι Naber.
[2] ἐχρήσατο Gutschmid.
[3] ἔλαβε AMWE Lat.
[4] φοβοῦντα Naber.
[5] ἐπὶ ταῖς πύλαις . . . γενόμενον] dum iam in portis suis eum praesentem sperarat esse futurum et amari ab aegyptiis propter virtutem eius putaret eum Lat.
[6] αὐτοῖς L: om. PF.
[7] εἰς Φοινίκην] εἰ δὴ φυγὴ γένοιτο LAMWE Lat.

[a] There is no need to emend ἀπάρχεσθαι to ἀπέρχεσθαι "go away," as Naber does. As Richards and Shutt note, the former reading is right in the sacrificial sense. It may be added that the incident here related bears a partial resemblance to the story told in Herod. iii. 11 of the Greek

into boiling cauldrons and to taste of them.[a] This order he gave that those who had escaped from the battle and had returned to their homes might get the notion that the enemy were eaters of human flesh, and so might be the more terrified by this sight. And both Strabo and Nicolas say that they treated the Jews in the manner which I have just mentioned. Ptolemy's men also took Ptolemais by storm, as we have shown elsewhere.[b]

Cleopatra forces Ptolemy Lathyrus to leave Syria.

(xiii. 1) When Cleopatra saw her son growing in power, and ravaging Judaea with impunity and holding Gaza subject to him, she decided not to be idle while he, having grown greater, was at her gates and coveted the throne of Egypt; and so she at once set out against him with a sea and land force, appointing as leaders of her entire army the Jews Chelkias and Ananias.[c] At the same time she sent the greater part of her wealth and her grandsons[d] and her testament to Cos for safe keeping.[e] Then she commanded her son Alexander[f] to sail toward Phoenicia[g] with a

mercenaries in Egypt who slew the sons of the traitor Phanes. "When the last was dead, water and wine were poured into the bowl, and all the soldiers tasted of the blood, and so went into battle."

[b] No such passage is found in Josephus, unless he refers to the siege in § 336; the formula is probably taken over from his source.

[c] On these Jewish generals see § 287 note *f*.

[d] Bevan, *Ptol.* p. 330, writes, "One of these grandchildren was apparently the young Ptolemy Alexander [Ptolemy X], a son of Alexander I [Ptolemy IX]; who the others were we do not know (Bouché-Leclercq conjectures children of Soter and Selene [*cf.* Justinus xxxix. 4. 1])."

[e] In the sanctuary of Asclepius.

[f] Ptolemy IX.

[g] The variant (to "toward Phoenicia") "if flight should take place" makes no sense.

αὐτῇ[1] τῆς δυνάμεως ἧκεν εἰς Πτολεμαΐδα, μὴ δεξαμένων δὲ αὐτὴν τῶν Πτολεμαιῶν ἐπολιόρκει
351 τὴν πόλιν. Πτολεμαῖος δ' ἐκ τῆς Συρίας ἀπελθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἔσπευσεν, αἰφνιδίως αὐτὴν οἰόμενος κενὴν οὖσαν στρατιᾶς καθέξειν· ἀλλὰ διαμαρτάνει τῆς ἐλπίδος. κατὰ τοῦτον δὴ[2] τὸν χρόνον συνέβη καὶ Χελκίαν τὸν ἕτερον τῶν τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἡγεμόνων ἀποθανεῖν περὶ κοίλην Συρίαν, διώκοντα Πτολεμαῖον.
352 (2) Ἀκούσασα δὲ ἡ Κλεοπάτρα τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν τὴν τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ ὅτι τὰ περὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον οὐχ ὃν προσεδόκα τρόπον προκεχώρηκεν αὐτῷ, πέμψασα μέρος τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐξέβαλεν αὐτὸν ἐκ[3] τῆς χώρας. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου πάλιν ὑποστρέψας τὸν
353 χειμῶνα διέτριβεν[4] ἐν Γάζῃ. Κλεοπάτρα δ' ἐν τούτῳ τὴν ἐν Πτολεμαΐδι φρουρὰν ἐκ πολιορκίας λαμβάνει καὶ τὴν πόλιν. Ἀλεξάνδρου δ' αὐτῇ[5] μετὰ δώρων προσελθόντος[6] καὶ θεραπείας ὁποίας ἄξιον ἦν, πεπονθότα μὲν κακῶς ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου, καταφυγῆς δ' οὐκ ἄλλης ἢ ταύτης εὐποροῦντα, τινὲς μὲν τῶν φίλων καὶ ταῦτα συνεβούλευον αὐτῇ λαβεῖν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπελθούσῃ κατασχεῖν, καὶ μὴ περιιδεῖν ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ ἑνὶ τοσοῦτο πλῆθος ἀγαθῶν
354 Ἰουδαίῳ[7] κείμενον. Ἀνανίας δὲ συνεβούλευε τούτοις ἐναντία, λέγων ἄδικα ποιήσειν αὐτήν, εἰ σύμμαχον ἄνθρωπον ἀφαιρήσεται τῆς ἰδίας ἐξου-

[1] Holwerda: αὐτῆς codd. E.
[2] γὰρ AMW: om. Lat.: δὲ Niese.
[3] ἀπὸ PV.
[4] διέτριψεν PLV.
[5] αὐτὴν PF.
[6] περιελθόντος P.
[7] Naber: Ἰουδαίων codd. Lat.

[a] Text slightly emended.

great fleet, while she herself[a] came to Ptolemais with her entire force, and when the inhabitants refused to admit her, besieged the city. Thereupon Ptolemy[b] left Syria and hastened to Egypt,[c] thinking to get possession of it suddenly while it was left without an army, but he was disappointed of his hope. It was just at this time that Chelkias, one of Cleopatra's two commanders, died in Coele-Syria while in pursuit of Ptolemy.

(2) When Cleopatra heard of her son's attempt and learned that his plans concerning Egypt had not prospered as he had expected, she sent a portion of her army against him and drove him out of the country. And so he left Egypt once more and spent the winter at Gaza.[c] Meanwhile Cleopatra besieged the garrison in Ptolemais and took it and the city itself. And when Alexander[d] came to her[e] with gifts and such marks of attention as were to be expected after the harsh treatment he had suffered at the hands of Ptolemy—for he had no other course of safety than this—, some of her friends advised her to take these things and at the same time invade his country and occupy it, and not suffer such an abundance of resources to belong to one man, who was a Jew.[f] Ananias, however, gave the opposite advice, saying that she would commit an injustice if she deprived an ally of his own possessions,[g] "especi-

Cleopatra is dissuaded from invading Judaea.

[b] Ptolemy VIII Soter (Lathyrus).

[c] His mother's naval force stopped him at Pelusium. He presently returned to Cyprus (*c.* 102 B.C.), *cf.* § 358.

[d] Alexander Jannaeus.

[e] Variant "got round her."

[f] Text slightly emended: the MSS. reading, "such an abundance of good Jews to belong to one man," is obviously corrupt.

[g] Or "authority."

σίας, "καὶ ταῦτα συγγενῆ ἡμέτερον. οὐ γὰρ ἀγνοεῖν βούλομαί σε," φησίν, "ὅτι τὸ πρὸς τοῦτον ἄδικον ἐχθροὺς ἅπαντας ἡμᾶς σοι τοὺς
355 Ἰουδαίους καταστήσει."[1] ταῦτα δὲ Ἀνανία παραινέσαντος, ἡ Κλεοπάτρα πείθεται μηδὲν ἀδικῆσαι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀλλὰ συμμαχίαν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐποιήσατο ἐν Σκυθοπόλει τῆς κοίλης Συρίας.

356 (3) Ὁ δὲ τῶν ἐκ Πτολεμαίου φόβων ἐλευθερωθεὶς στρατεύεται μὲν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν κοίλην Συρίαν, αἱρεῖ δὲ Γάδαρα πολιορκήσας δέκα μησίν, αἱρεῖ δὲ καὶ Ἀμαθοῦντα μέγιστον ἔρυμα τῶν ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰορδάνην κατῳκημένων, ἔνθα καὶ τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ[2] σπουδῆς ἄξια Θεόδωρος ὁ Ζήνωνος εἶχεν. ὃς οὐ προσδοκῶσιν ἐπιπεσὼν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις μυρίους αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνει, καὶ τὴν ἀποσκευὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου
357 διαρπάζει. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὐ καταπλήττει τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀλλ' ἐπιστρατεύει τοῖς θαλαττίοις μέρεσιν, Ῥαφίᾳ καὶ Ἀνθηδόνι, ἣν ὕστερον Ἡρώδης ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀγριππιάδα μετωνόμασε,[3] καὶ
358 κατὰ κράτος εἷλε καὶ ταύτην. ὁρῶν δὲ τὸν μὲν Πτολεμαῖον ἐκ τῆς Γάζης εἰς Κύπρον ἀνακεχωρηκότα,[4] τὴν δὲ μητέρα αὐτοῦ Κλεοπάτραν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ὀργιζόμενος δὲ τοῖς Γαζαίοις ὅτι Πτολεμαῖον ἐπεκαλέσαντο βοηθόν, ἐπολιόρκει τὴν πόλιν,
359 καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν προενόμευσεν. Ἀπολ-

[1] κατασκευάζει PL: κατασκευάσει E: habebis Lat.
[2] κάλλιστα καὶ] μάλιστα Niese.
[3] προσηγόρευσε P (F).
[4] μετακεχωρηκότα LAMWE.

[a] §§ 356-357 have parallels in *B.J.* i. 86-87.
[b] Here meaning Transjordan, *cf. Ant.* xi. 25 note *a*.
[c] Mod. *Mukes*, a few miles E. of the confluence of the Yarmuk and Jordan rivers, *cf. Ant.* xii. 136 note *f*.

ally one who is our kinsman. For I would have you know that an injustice done to this man will make all us Jews your enemies." By this exhortation of Ananias Cleopatra was persuaded not to do Alexander any wrong, but instead she made an alliance with him at Scythopolis in Coele-Syria.

Alexander Jannaeus destroys Gaza.

(3) [a] Thereupon Alexander, being rid of his fear of Ptolemy, at once marched on Coele-Syria [b] and took Gadara [c] after a siege of ten months, and also took Amathūs,[d] the greatest stronghold of those occupied beyond the Jordan, where Theodorus, the son of Zenon, kept his best and most valuable possessions. This man fell upon the Jews unexpectedly and killed ten thousand of them, and plundered Alexander's baggage.[e] These misfortunes did not, however, dismay Alexander, who marched on the cities of the coast, Raphia [f] and Anthedon,[g] the name of which King Herod later changed to Agrippias,[h] and took this [i] too by storm. And [j] when he saw that Ptolemy had withdrawn from Gaza to Cyprus, and his mother Cleopatra to Egypt, in his anger with the Gazaeans for having summoned Ptolemy to help them, he besieged their city and plundered their territory. But

[d] Mod. *Tell 'Ammata*, a few miles N.E. of the confluence of the Jabbok and Jordan rivers, in the same latitude as Shechem.

[e] He also recovered his own property, according to *B.J.* i. 87.

[f] Mod. *Refah*, *c.* 20 miles S.W. of Gaza, near the Egyptian border.

[g] Mod. *Khirbet Tīda*, according to Abel ii. 245, *c.* a mile N. of Gaza.

[h] *Cf. B.J.* i. 416, where it is called Agrippeion.

[i] Apparently "territory" is to be supplied.

[j] The following sections, to § 372, have no parallels in *B.J.*

λοδότου δὲ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῶν Γαζαίων μετὰ δισχιλίων ξένων καὶ μυρίων οἰκετῶν[1] νύκτωρ ἐπιπεσόντος τῷ τῶν Ἰουδαίων στρατοπέδῳ, ἐφ᾿ ὅσον μὲν ὑπῆρχεν ἡ νὺξ ἐνίκων οἱ Γαζαῖοι, δόκησιν παρέχοντες τοῖς πολεμίοις ὡς ἐπεληλυθότος αὐτοῖς Πτολεμαίου, γενομένης δὲ ἡμέρας καὶ τῆς δόξης ἐλεγχθείσης, μαθόντες οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τἀληθὲς ἐπισυστρέφονται, καὶ τοῖς Γαζαίοις προσβαλόντες
360 ἀναιροῦσιν αὐτῶν περὶ χιλίους.[2] τῶν δὲ Γαζαίων ἀντεχόντων καὶ μήτε ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνδείας μήτε ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἀναιρουμένων ἐνδιδόντων (πᾶν γὰρ ὁτιοῦν ὑπέμενον παθεῖν ἢ ὑπὸ τῷ πολεμίῳ γενέσθαι) προσεπήγειρεν αὐτῶν[3] τὴν εὐψυχίαν[4] καὶ Ἀρέτας ὁ Ἀράβων βασιλεύς, ἐπίδοξος ὢν ἥξειν
361 αὐτοῖς σύμμαχος.[5] ἀλλὰ συνέβη πρῶτον τὸν Ἀπολλόδοτον διαφθαρῆναι· Λυσίμαχος γὰρ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ζηλοτυπῶν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις εὐδοκιμεῖν, κτείνας αὐτὸν καὶ στρατιωτικὸν συγκροτήσας ἐκδίδωσιν[6] Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὴν
362 πόλιν. ὁ δ᾿ εὐθὺς μὲν εἰσελθὼν ἠρέμει, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὴν δύναμιν ἐπαφῆκε τοῖς Γαζαίοις, ἐπιτρέψας τιμωρεῖν αὐτούς· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἀλλαχῇ τρεπόμενοι[7] τοὺς Γαζαίους ἀπέκτειναν. ἦσαν δ᾿ οὐδ᾿ ἐκεῖνοι τὰς ψυχὰς ἀγεννεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς

[1] civium Lat.; οἰκετῶν haud rectum esse putat Niese.
[2] δισχιλίους W.
[3] αὐτῶν Hudson cum E: δ᾿ αὐτῶν codd.
[4] προθυμίαν PFV. [5] + ἐπαγγειλάμενος FLAMVW.
[6] ἐνδίδωσιν PLAMW. [7] τραπόμενοι VE.

[a] Lat. (reading οἰκείων for οἰκετῶν) has "citizens," a reading adopted by Chamonard.

Apollodotus, the general of the Gazaeans, fell upon the camp of the Jews by night with two thousand mercenaries and ten thousand slaves,[a] and so long as night lasted, the Gazaeans were victorious, for they made the enemy believe[b] that it was Ptolemy who had attacked them; but when day came, and this belief proved false, the Jews, on learning the true state of things, reformed their ranks and attacked the Gazaeans and slew about a thousand[c] of them. The Gazaeans, however, held their ground and did not yield either through lack of supplies or because of the number of their slain—for they were ready to suffer any fate rather than fall into the hands of the enemy—, and their courage[d] was heightened by the expectation that Aretas, the king of the Arabs, would come to their assistance.[e] But first, as it happened, Apollodotus was put to death, for his brother Lysimachus, who was envious of his prestige with the people of the city, killed him; he then united[f] the army and delivered the city to Alexander. On first entering, Alexander acted peacefully, but subsequently he loosed his force on the Gazaeans and let his men avenge themselves on them. And so they went off, some in one direction and others in another, killing the Gazaeans. These, however, were by no means mean-spirited, but on the contrary defended themselves

[b] δόκησιν παρασχόντες is a Thucydidean phrase (Thuc. ii. 84. 1).

[c] One MS. "two thousand."

[d] Variant "zeal."

[e] Most MSS. add "as he had promised." The Nabataean king Aretas II is to be distinguished from Aretas III who played an important part in Jewish history in the time of Hyrcanus II, *cf. Ant.* xiv. 14 ff.

[f] Or "disciplined."

παραπίπτουσιν ἀμυνόμενοι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους οὐκ
363 ἐλάττονας αὐτῶν[1] διέφθειραν. ἔνιοι δὲ μονούμενοι
τὰς οἰκίας ἐνεπίμπρασαν, ὡς μηδὲν ἐξ[2] αὐτῶν
λάφυρον εἶναι τοῖς πολεμίοις λαβεῖν. οἱ δὲ καὶ τῶν
τέκνων καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν αὐτόχειρες ἐγένοντο, τῆς
ὑπὸ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς αὐτοὺς δουλείας οὕτως ἀπαλ-
364 λάττειν ἠναγκασμένοι. τῶν δὲ βουλευτῶν ἦσαν[3]
οἱ πάντες πεντακόσιοι συμφυγόντες[4] εἰς τὸ τοῦ
Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν (συνεδρευόντων γὰρ τὴν ἐπίθεσιν
συνέβη γενέσθαι)· ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος τούτους τε
ἀναιρεῖ καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῖς ἐπικατασκάψας
ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, ἐνιαυτῷ πολιορκήσας.
365 (4) Ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τοῦτον καιρὸν καὶ Ἀν-
τίοχος ὁ Γρυπὸς ἐπικληθεὶς ἀποθνήσκει ὑπὸ
Ἡρακλέωνος ἐπιβουλευθείς, βιώσας μὲν ἔτη τεσ-
σαράκοντα καὶ πέντε, βασιλεύσας δὲ ἐννέα καὶ
366 εἴκοσι. διαδεξάμενος δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ παῖς
αὐτοῦ Σέλευκος ἐπολέμει μὲν τῷ τοῦ πατρὸς
ἀδελφῷ Ἀντιόχῳ, ὃς ἐπεκαλεῖτο Κυζικηνός, νική-
367 σας δ' αὐτὸν καὶ λαβὼν ἀπέκτεινεν. μετ' οὐ πολὺ
δὲ τοῦ Κυζικηνοῦ παῖς Ἀντίοχος[5] ὁ Εὐσεβὴς
καλούμενος παραγενηθεὶς εἰς Ἄραδον καὶ περι-

[1] Naber: αὐτῶν codd. [2] ἐξ om. FLAMVW.
[3] ἦσαν δ' Niese. [4] συμφυγόντων Niese cum E.
[5] Hudson auctore Petavio: Ἀντίοχος καὶ Ἀντίοχος P: Ἀντίοχος καὶ Ἀντωνῖνος (Ἀντώνιος FE) rell. E Lat.

[a] One gets the impression from § 358 that the siege of Gaza began soon after Ptolemy Lathyrus and Cleopatra III withdrew from Palestine, c. 102 B.C. But in § 365 Josephus synchronizes the end of the siege with the murder of Antiochus Grypus which took place in 96 B.C. However the phrase "about this same time" may be a vague indication

against the Jews with whatever weapons came to hand and slew as many of them as they themselves had lost. And some of them, being left alone, set fire to their houses in order that nothing might remain in them for the enemy to take out as spoil. Others with their own hands made away with their children and wives, this being the means by which they were compelled to deliver them from slavery to their foes. Of the councilmen there were five hundred in all who took refuge in the temple of Apollo—for the attack had come just when they were sitting in council—, but Alexander slew them there, and having pulled the city down upon them, returned to Jerusalem after spending a year on the siege.[a]

(4) About this same time Antiochus, surnamed Grypus, met death as the victim of a plot formed by Heracleon; he was forty-five years of age and reigned twenty-nine.[b] And his son Seleucus,[c] on succeeding to his throne, waged war with his father's brother, who was surnamed Cyzicenus, and after defeating him, captured and killed him.[d] But not long afterward Antiochus,[e] the son of Cyzicenus, who[f] was called Eusebes (the Pious), came to Aradus,[g] and having

The fratricidal wars of the Seleucids.

of time, as elsewhere in Josephus. We may therefore suppose that Gaza was taken nearer 100 B.C. than 96 B.C.

[b] This would make his reign begin 125/4 B.C., the usual reckoning, *cf.* Schürer i. 176. But Antiochus Grypus began to rule Syria *de facto c.* 122 B.C., *cf.* § 272 note *a*.

[c] Seleucus VI Epiphanes Nicator.

[d] According to Porphyry, *ap.* Eusebius, *Chron.* i. 260, Cyzicenus was carried by his horse into the enemy's lines, and killed himself to avoid capture.

[e] Antiochus X Eusebes Philopator.

[f] *i.e.* the son.

[g] On the Syrian coast, *c.* half-way between Laodicea and Tripolis.

θέμενος διάδημα πολεμεῖ τῷ Σελεύκῳ, καὶ κρατή-
368 *σας ἐξήλασεν*[1] *αὐτὸν ἐξ ἁπάσης τῆς Συρίας. ὁ δὲ φυγὼν εἰς Κιλικίαν καὶ γενόμενος ἐν τῇ Μόψου ἑστίᾳ πάλιν αὐτοὺς εἰσέπραττε χρήματα. ὁ δὲ τῶν Μοψουεστιέων δῆμος ἀγανακτήσας ὑφῆψεν αὐτοῦ τὰ βασίλεια καὶ διέφθειρεν αὐτὸν μετὰ τῶν φίλων.*
369 *Ἀντιόχου δὲ τοῦ Κυζικηνοῦ παιδὸς*[2] *βασιλεύοντος τῆς Συρίας, Ἀντίοχος ὁ Σελεύκου ἀδελφὸς ἐκφέρει πόλεμον πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ νικηθεὶς ἀπόλλυται μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς. μετὰ δ' αὐτὸν ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Φίλιππος ἐπιθέμενος διάδημα μέρους τινὸς τῆς*
370 *Συρίας ἐβασίλευσεν. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ Λάθουρος τὸν τέταρτον*[3] *αὐτῶν ἀδελφὸν Δημήτριον τὸν Ἄκαιρον*[4] *λεγόμενον ἐκ Κνίδου μεταπεμψάμενος*
371 *κατέστησεν ἐν Δαμασκῷ βασιλέα. τούτοις δὲ τοῖς δυσὶν ἀδελφοῖς καρτερῶς ἀνθιστάμενος Ἀντίοχος ταχέως ἀπέθανεν· Λαοδίκῃ*[5] *γὰρ ἐλθὼν σύμμαχος τῇ τῶν Σαμηνῶν*[6] *βασιλίσσῃ, Πάρθους πολεμούσῃ, μαχόμενος ἀνδρείως ἔπεσεν. τὴν δὲ Συρίαν οἱ δύο*

[1] *παραγενηθεὶς . . . ἐξήλασεν* Hudson: *παραγενηθέντες εἰς Ἄραδον καὶ περιθέμενοι διαδήματα* (*διάδημα* PE) *πολεμοῦσι τῷ Σελεύκῳ καὶ κρατήσαντες ἐξήλασαν* codd. E Lat.

[2] *παιδὸς* om. PE Lat.

[3] *τρίτον* P.

[4] Εὔκαιρον ed. pr.

[5] *ἐν Λαοδίκῃ* LW: *ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ* FAM[1]VE.

[6] Γαλιήνων LW: Γαλιηνῶν AME: Γαλιλαίων F: Γαλααδηνῶν V: Gaminorum Lat.: Γαλαδηνῶν ed. pr.

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[a] The singular number of the verbs in this sentence has been substituted by Hudson for the plural of the mss.

[b] *Cf.* Appian, *Syr.* 69, "he was burned at the gymnasium." Porphyry, *ap.* Eusebius, *Chron.* i. 262, says that he committed suicide to escape being burned in the palace.

put on the diadem, waged war with Seleucus, and after defeating him, drove him [a] out of the whole of Syria. Seleucus thereupon fled to Cilicia, and coming to Mopsuestia, again tried to exact money from its inhabitants. But the people of Mopsuestia were indignant at this, and setting fire to his palace, destroyed him together with his friends.[b] Then while Antiochus,[c] the son of Cyzicenus, was reigning over Syria, Antiochus, the brother of Seleucus, made war on him, but was defeated and perished with his army. And after his death his brother Philip [d] put on the diadem and began to reign over a part of Syria. Thereupon Ptolemy Lathyrus sent for their fourth [e] brother, called Demetrius Akairos [f] (the Ill-timed), from Cnidus and made him king at Damascus. These two brothers were courageously opposed by Antiochus,[g] but he soon died; for he went to the aid of Laodice, queen of the Samenians,[h] who was waging war with the Parthians, and fell fighting bravely.[i] And so Syria was held by the two brothers

[c] Antiochus XI Epiphanes Philadelphus.

[d] Philip Epiphanes Philadelphus.

[e] One ms. has "third," either a scribal error or unjustified correction.

[f] Demetrius III Theos Philopator Soter was nicknamed Eukairos, "The Timely" (so the *ed. pr.* reads here); *B.J.* i. 92 agrees with the mss. of *Ant.* in reading "Akairos."

[g] Cyzicenus' son, Antiochus X Eusebes Philopator.

[h] Variants "Galieni," "Galilaeans," "Galaadenians," "Gamini." The Samenians were an Arab tribe, according to Stephanus of Byzantium; for further discussion see J. Dobiaš in *Archiv Orientalni* 3 (1931), 221-223 (cited by Debevoise, p. 46 n. 66).

[i] According to Appian, *Syr.* 49, 70, Antiochus Eusebes was driven out of Syria by the Armenian king Tigranes (83 B.C.); according to Porphyry, *ap.* Eusebius, *Chron.* i. 261, he had earlier fled to the Parthian court.

κατεῖχον ἀδελφοὶ Δημήτριος καὶ Φίλιππος, καθὼς ἐν ἄλλοις δεδήλωται.[1]

372 (5) Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τῶν οἰκείων πρὸς αὐτὸν στασιασάντων (ἐπανέστη γὰρ αὐτῷ[2] τὸ ἔθνος) τῆς[3] ἑορτῆς ἀγομένης, καὶ ἑστῶτος αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ καὶ θύειν μέλλοντος, κιτρίοις αὐτὸν ἔβαλλον, νόμου ὄντος παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἐν τῇ σκηνοπηγίᾳ ἔχειν ἕκαστον θύρσους ἐκ φοινίκων καὶ κιτρίων (δεδηλώκαμεν δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἐν ἄλλοις)· προσεξελοιδόρησαν δ' αὐτὸν ὡς ἐξ αἰχμαλώτων[4] γεγονότα καὶ
373 τῆς τιμῆς καὶ τοῦ θύειν ἀνάξιον· ἐπὶ τούτοις ὀργισθεὶς κτείνει μὲν αὐτῶν περὶ ἑξακισχιλίους, δρύφακτον δὲ ξύλινον περὶ τὸν βωμὸν καὶ τὸν ναὸν βαλλόμενος μέχρι τοῦ θριγκοῦ, εἰς ὃν μόνοις ἐξῆν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν εἰσιέναι, τούτῳ τὴν τοῦ πλήθους
374 ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀπέφραττεν[5] εἴσοδον. ἔτρεφε δὲ καὶ ξένους Πισίδας καὶ Κίλικας· Σύροις γὰρ πολέμιος ὢν οὐκ ἐχρῆτο. καταστρεψάμενος δὲ τῶν Ἀράβων Μωαβίτας καὶ Γαλααδίτας εἰς φόρου ἀπαγωγήν, κατερείπει[6] μὲν Ἀμαθοῦντα, Θεοδώρου μὴ τολ-
375 μῶντος αὐτῷ συμβαλεῖν. συνάψας δὲ μάχην πρὸς

[1] δεδηλώκαμεν LAMW. [2] PE: ἐπ' αὐτὸν rell.
[3] τῆς om. PE: festivitas tabernaculorum Lat.
[4] ἐξ αἰχμαλώτων] αἰχμάλωτον PFV: de captiva Lat.
[5] ἐπέφραττεν LAMWE.
[6] Niese: κατερίπει P: κατέρριπεν W: κατέρριπτε rell.: expugnavit Lat.

[a] Variant "as we have related."
[b] *i.e.* by other historians. If the reading δεδηλώκαμεν "we have related" is adopted, the formula must be explained as taken over from Josephus' source, probably Nicolas of Damascus.
[c] At this point the parallels with *B.J.* are resumed ; the

Demetrius and Philip, as has been related[a] elsewhere.[b]

Alexander Jannaeus oppresses his Jewish adversaries.

(5) [c] As for Alexander, his own people revolted against him—for the nation was aroused against him—at the celebration of the festival,[d] and as he stood beside the altar and was about to sacrifice, they pelted him with citrons, it being a custom among the Jews that at the festival of Tabernacles everyone holds wands made of palm branches and citrons—these we have described elsewhere[e]; and they added insult to injury by saying that he was descended from captives and was unfit to hold office[f] and to sacrifice; and being enraged at this, he killed some six thousand of them, and also placed a wooden barrier about the altar and the temple as far as the coping (of the court) which the priests alone were permitted to enter, and by this means blocked the people's way to him.[g] He also maintained foreign troops of Pisidians and Cilicians, for he could not use Syrians, being at war with them. And after subduing the Arabs of Moab and Galaaditis, whom he forced to pay tribute, he demolished Amathūs, as Theodorus did not venture to meet him in the field.[h]

details of §§ 372-373, however, are not found in *B.J.* For rabbinic parallels to this story and other traditions concerning Alexander Jannaeus see Derenbourg, pp. 96-101.

[d] Variant "a festival," as in *B.J.*: Lat. "the festival of Tabernacles." "*The* festival" would correspond exactly to the rabbinic Heb. term *he-ḥāg*, indicating the festival of Tabernacles as *the* festival *par excellence*.

[e] *Ant.* iii. 245.

[f] As high priest, *cf.* § 292.

[g] The allusion to the barrier is puzzling, since such a barrier (called γείσιον or θριγκός) had been built by Solomon, according to Josephus, *Ant.* viii. 95, and was presumably found in the second temple, as in Herod's temple, *cf.* *B.J.* v. 226.

[h] *Cf.* §§ 356-357.

Ὀβέδαν τὸν Ἀράβων βασιλέα καὶ πεσὼν εἰς
ἐνέδραν ἐν χωρίοις τραχέσι καὶ δυσβάτοις, ὑπὸ
πλήθους καμήλων εἰς βαθεῖαν κατερράχθη φάραγγα
κατὰ Γάραδα[1] κώμην τῆς Γαυλανίδος[2] καὶ μόλις
αὐτὸς διασώζεται, φεύγων δ' ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Ἱερο-
376 σόλυμα παραγίνεται. καὶ πρὸς τὴν κακοπραγίαν
αὐτοῦ ἐπιθεμένου τοῦ ἔθνους, πολεμήσας πρὸς αὐτὸ
ἔτεσιν ἓξ ἀναιρεῖ τῶν Ἰουδαίων οὐκ ἔλαττον πέντε
μυριάδας. παρακαλοῦντος δὲ παῦσαι τὴν πρὸς
αὐτὸν δυσμένειαν, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐμίσουν αὐτὸν διὰ τὰ
συμβεβηκότα. πυνθανομένου δ' αὐτοῦ τὸ ὀφεῖλον
καὶ τί βούλονται γενέσθαι, πάντες[3] ἐβόησαν ἀπο-
θανεῖν αὐτόν, καὶ πρὸς Δημήτριον τὸν Ἄκαιρον
ἔπεμψαν, παρακαλοῦντες ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν.

377 (xiv. 1) Ὁ δὲ μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἐλθὼν καὶ παρα-
λαβὼν τοὺς ἐπικαλεσαμένους, περὶ Σίκιμα πόλιν
ἐστρατοπέδευσεν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ μετὰ μισθοφό-
ρων ἑξακισχιλίων καὶ διακοσίων, Ἰουδαίων τε περὶ
δισμυρίους οἳ ἐφρόνουν τὰ ἐκείνου παραλαβών,
ἀντεπήει τῷ Δημητρίῳ· τούτῳ δ' ἦσαν ἱππεῖς μὲν
378 τρισχίλιοι, πεζῶν δὲ τέσσαρες μυριάδες. πολλὰ μὲν
οὖν ἑκατέροις ἐπράχθη, τοῦ μὲν ἀποστῆσαι τοὺς
μισθοφόρους ὡς ὄντας Ἕλληνας πειρωμένου, τοῦ

[1] γὰρ ἄδρα L· Γάδαρα PFV: χαράδρα W.

[2] Γαυλανίδος ex B.J. coni. Niese: Ἰουδάνιδος P: Γαλααδίτιδος rell.

[3] τὸ ὀφεῖλον . . . πάντες] coni.: τὸ ὀφεῖλον γενέσθαι πάντες FLAMVW: τί βούλονται πάντες γενέσθαι P: τί δεῖ γενέσθαι πάντες E.

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[a] Variants "Gadara," "Charadra." The fact that the place is a village makes the reading "Gadara" (a city) doubtful. See next note.

[b] Emended, with Schürer, Niese and others, from *B.J.*:

Then he engaged in battle with Obedas, the king of the Arabs, and falling into an ambush in a rough and difficult region, he was pushed by a multitude of camels into a deep ravine near Garada,[a] a village of Gaulanis,[b] and barely escaped with his own life, and fleeing from there, came to Jerusalem. But when the nation attacked him upon this misfortune, he made war on it and within six years slew no fewer than fifty thousand Jews. And so when he urged them to make an end of their hostility toward him, they only hated him the more on account of what had happened. And when he asked what he ought to do and what they wanted of him,[c] they all cried out, "to die"; and they sent to Demetrius Akairos, asking him to come to their assistance.[d]

(xiv. 1) Thereupon Demetrius came with his army, and taking along those who had summoned him, encamped near the city of Shechem. And Alexander on his side took six thousand two hundred mercenaries and about twenty thousand Jews who favoured his cause, and went out to meet Demetrius, who had three thousand horse and forty thousand foot.[e] Now there was much activity in both camps, the one side attempting to cause Alexander's mercenaries to desert because they were Greeks, while the other

Demetrius Akairos defeats Alexander Jannaeus.

one MS. "Iūdanis," the rest "Galaadetis." From the description of the locality Abel, *GP* ii. 149 n. 3, conjectures that it is the mod. *Sqūfiye*, *c.* a mile E. of the Sea of Galilee, N.E. of Hippos.

[c] Text slightly emended.

[d] *C.* 88 B.C.; *cf.* Schürer i. 282 n. 19 and Bevan, *H. Sel.* ii. 261.

[e] These numbers differ from those of *B.J.* i. 93, which gives: for Alexander, 9000 mercenaries (1000 horse + 8000 foot) and 10,000 Jews; for Demetrius, 3000 horse and 14,000 foot.

δὲ τοὺς σὺν Δημητρίῳ Ἰουδαίους. μηδετέρου δὲ πεῖσαι δυνηθέντος, ἀλλ' εἰς μάχην συμβαλόντων, νικᾷ Δημήτριος, καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσι μὲν οἱ Ἀλεξάνδρου μισθοφόροι πάντες, πίστεώς τε ἅμα καὶ ἀνδρείας ἐπίδειξιν ποιησάμενοι, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν Δημητρίου στρατιωτῶν.

379 (2) Φυγόντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου εἰς τὰ ὄρη, κατ' οἶκτον τῆς μεταβολῆς συλλέγονται παρ' αὐτῷ[1] Ἰουδαίων ἑξακισχίλιοι. καὶ τότε μὲν δείσας ὑποχωρεῖ Δημήτριος. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐπολέμουν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, καὶ νικώμενοι πολλοὶ ἀπ-
380 έθνησκον ἐν ταῖς μάχαις. κατακλείσας δὲ τοὺς δυνατωτάτους αὐτῶν ἐν Βεθομᾶς[2] πόλει ἐπολιόρκει, λαβὼν δὲ τὴν πόλιν καὶ γενόμενος ἐγκρατὴς αὐτῶν ἀπήγαγεν[3] εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ πάντων ὠμότατον ἔργον ἔδρασεν· ἑστιώμενος γὰρ ἐν ἀπόπτῳ μετὰ τῶν παλλακίδων ἀνασταυρῶσαι προσέταξεν αὐτῶν ὡς ὀκτακοσίους, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἔτι ζώντων παρὰ τὰς ἐκείνων ὄψεις ἀπ-
381 έσφαττεν,[4] ὑπὲρ μὲν ὧν ἠδίκητο ἀμυνόμενος, ἄλλως δὲ ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον ταύτην εἰσπραττόμενος τὴν δίκην, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα, ὅπερ ἦν εἰκός, ἐταλαιπωρήθη τοῖς πρὸς αὐτοὺς[5] πολέμοις καὶ εἰς τοὔσχατον ἧκε κινδύνου ψυχῆς τε πέρι καὶ βασιλείας,

[1] παρ' αὐτὸν A : παρ' αὐτῶν FLW : παρὰ τῶν P.
[2] βαιθομμει P : Βεθωμᾶς L : Βεθόμας AM : Βεθόμῃ V : Βαιθόμῃ F : Βεθόμαις E : Bethomis Lat.
[3] ἀνήγαγεν P.
[4] ἐπέσφαττεν ed. pr.
[5] πρὸς αὐτοὺς P Lat. : παρ' αὐτοῦ F : πρὸ αὐτοῦ rell. : πρὸς αὐτὸν ed. pr.

[a] §§ 379-389 have only partial parallels in *B.J.* i. 95-99.

made the same appeal to the Jews who were with Demetrius. But as neither side could persuade the other, they engaged in battle, and Demetrius was victorious, while all the mercenaries of Alexander met death after giving proof of their loyalty and courage. Many of Demetrius' soldiers, however, also died.

(2) [a] Alexander thereupon fled to the mountains, where out of pity for him at this reverse six thousand Jews gathered to his side. And at this Demetrius withdrew in alarm.[b] But later on the Jews fought against Alexander and were defeated, many of them dying in battle. The most powerful of them, however, he shut up and besieged in the city of Bethoma,[c] and after taking the city and getting them into his power, he brought them back to Jerusalem; and there he did a thing that was as cruel as could be: while he feasted with his concubines in a conspicuous place, he ordered some eight hundred of the Jews to be crucified, and slaughtered their children and wives before the eyes of the still living wretches. This was the revenge he took for the injuries he had suffered; but the penalty he exacted was inhuman for all that, even though he had, as was natural, gone through very great hardships in the wars he had fought against them, and had finally found himself in danger[d] of losing both his life and his throne, for they were not

Alexander Jannaeus' excessive cruelty toward the Jews.

[b] Probably because he was now at war with his brother Philip, *cf.* § 384.

[c] *B.J.* has "Bemeselis." Klein, in *Tarbiz* i. (1929/30), 157, corrects the spelling to Bemelchis=Heb. *Bet ha-Melek*. The city is probably mod. *Misilye*, *c.* 10 miles N.E. of Samaria (Sebaste), *cf.* Avi Yonah, p. 26, Abel, *GP* ii. 173.

[d] A Thucydidean phrase, *cf.* ἐπὶ τὸ ἔσχατον ἀγῶνος ἐλθεῖν, Thuc. iv. 92. 4.

οὐκ ἀρκουμένων ἀγωνίζεσθαι κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτούς,
382 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀλλοφύλους ἐπαγόντων, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον εἰς τοῦτο ἀνάγκης ἀγόντων ὥστε ἣν κατεστρέψατο γῆν ἐν Μωαβίτιδι καὶ Γαλααδίτιδι καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ[1] χωρία τῶν Ἀράβων τῷ βασιλεῖ παραδοῦναι, ὅπως ἂν μὴ ξυνάρηται σφίσι τὸν κατ' αὐτοῦ πόλεμον, ἄλλα τε μυρία εἰς ὕβριν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπήρειαν πρα-
383 ξάντων· ἀλλ' οὖν οὐκ[2] ἐπιτηδείως δοκεῖ[3] ταῦτα δρᾶσαι, ὥστε διὰ τὴν τῆς ὠμότητος ὑπερβολὴν ἐπικληθῆναι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων Θρακίδαν. οἱ δ' ἀντιστασιῶται αὐτοῦ, τὸ πλῆθος ὄντες περὶ ὀκτακισχιλίους, φεύγουσι νυκτός, καὶ παρ' ὃν ἔζη χρόνον Ἀλέξανδρος ἦσαν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ. καὶ οὗτος μὲν ἀπηλλαγμένος τῆς ἐκ τούτων ταραχῆς μετὰ πάσης τὸ λοιπὸν ἠρεμίας ἐβασίλευσεν.
384 (3) Δημήτριος δ' ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἀπελθὼν εἰς Βέροιαν ἐπολιόρκει τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Φίλιππον, ὄντων αὐτῷ πεζῶν μὲν μυρίων, χιλίων δὲ ἱππέων. Στράτων δὲ ὁ τῆς Βεροίας τύραννος Φιλίππῳ συμμαχῶν Ἄζιζον[4] τὸν Ἀράβων φύλαρχον ἐπεκαλεῖτο καὶ Μιθριδάτην τὸν Σινάκην τὸν Παρ-
385 θυαίων ὕπαρχον.[5] ὧν ἀφικομένων μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως καὶ πολιορκούντων Δημήτριον ἐντὸς τοῦ χαρακώματος, εἴσω τοῖς τε τοξεύμασι καὶ τῇ δίψῃ

[1] ἐν αὐτῇ om. P. [2] οὖν οὐκ om. P Lat.
[3] P: δοκεῖν rell.
[4] ex Diod. Sic. Niese: Δεῖζον P: Ζίζον rell. Lat.
[5] ἔπαρχον E.

[a] Again a Thucydidean phrase, Thuc. i. 49. 7.
[b] i.e. the Arab king.
[c] Variant "seems to have done this thing deliberately."
[d] The Thracians had a reputation for great ferocity.

satisfied to carry on the struggle by themselves but brought foreigners as well, and at last reduced him to the necessity[a] of surrendering to the king of the Arabs the territory which he had conquered in Moab and Galaaditis and the strongholds therein, in order that he[b] might not aid the Jews in the war against him; and they committed countless other insulting and abusive acts against him. But still he seems to have done this thing unnecessarily,[c] and as a result of his excessive cruelty he was nicknamed Thrakidas (the "Cossack") by the Jews.[d] Then his opponents, numbering in all about eight thousand, fled by night and remained in exile so long as Alexander lived.[e] And he, being rid of the trouble they had caused him, reigned thereafter in complete tranquillity.

(3) Now when Demetrius returned from Judaea to Beroea[f] he besieged his brother Philip with ten thousand foot and a thousand horse. Thereupon Straton, the ruler of Beroea, allied with Philip, called in Azizus,[g] the phylarch[h] of the Arabs, and Mithridates Sinakes, the governor of the Parthians.[i] And so they came with a large force and besieged Demetrius in his barricaded camp, and under pressure of arrows

Demetrius Akairos is exiled to Parthia.

[e] It is thought by some scholars that this exile is alluded to in *Megillath Ta'anith* under date of the 17th of Adar, where the scholiast connects the text with Alexander Jannaeus. Some scholars also believe that the flight and exile of Alexander's Jewish opponents is to be connected with the founding of the sect that produced the so-called Covenant of Damascus. See the works cited in Appendix K.

[f] Mod. Aleppo (*Haleb*), *c.* 60 miles E. of Antioch.

[g] Emended from Diodorus Siculus (xl. 1a, b): one MS. "Deizus," the rest "Zizus."

[h] *i.e.* tribal chief (*sheikh*).

[i] Probably governor of Mesopotamia, *cf.* Bevan, *H. Sel.* ii. 261, Debevoise, p. 49.

συνέχοντες αὐτὸν ἠνάγκασαν τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ σφᾶς παραδοῦναι. λαφυραγωγήσαντες δὲ τὰ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ τὸν Δημήτριον παραλαβόντες, τὸν μὲν τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ τῷ τότε βασιλεύοντι Πάρθων ἔπεμψαν, τῶν δ' αἰχμαλώτων ὅσους Ἀντιοχέων εἶναι πολίτας συνέβαινε[1] τούτους προῖκα τοῖς Ἀντιοχεῦσιν ἀπ-
386 έδωκαν. Μιθριδάτης δὲ ὁ τῶν Πάρθων βασιλεὺς τὸν Δημήτριον εἶχεν ἐν τιμῇ τῇ πάσῃ μέχρι νόσῳ κατέστρεψε Δημήτριος τὸν βίον. Φίλιππος δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης εὐθὺς ἐπ' Ἀντιόχειαν ἐλθὼν καὶ κατασχὼν αὐτὴν ἐβασίλευσε τῆς Συρίας.

387 (xv. 1) Ἔπειτα Ἀντίοχος ὁ κληθεὶς Διόνυσος,[2] ἀδελφὸς ὢν Φιλίππου, τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀντιποιούμενος εἰς Δαμασκὸν παραγίνεται, καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ πραγμάτων ἐγκρατὴς γενόμενος ἐβασίλευσεν. ἐκστρατεύσαντος δ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἄραβας Φίλιππος ὁ ἀδελφὸς ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἐπὶ Δαμασκὸν ἦλθεν.
388 Μιλησίου δ', ὃς κατελέλειπτο τῆς ἄκρας φύλαξ καὶ[3] τῶν Δαμασκηνῶν, παραδόντος αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν, ἀχάριστος εἰς αὐτὸν γενόμενος καὶ μηδὲν ὧν ἐλπίσας ἐδέξατο αὐτὸν παρασχών, ἀλλὰ τῷ παρ' αὐτοῦ φόβῳ βουληθεὶς δοκεῖν παραλαβεῖν τὴν πόλιν ἢ τῇ χάριτι τῇ Μιλησίου δωρούμενος[4] αὐτὸν οἷς ἐχρῆν, ὑπωπτεύετο καὶ πάλιν ἐκπίπτει τῆς Δα-
389 μασκοῦ· ἐξορμήσαντα γὰρ αὐτὸν εἰς ἱππόδρομον

[1] αἰχμαλώτων . . . συνέβαινε] Ἀντιοχέων ὅσους αἰχμαλώτους εἶναι συνέβαινε V.
[2] Διονύσιος LAMWE: liber pater Lat.
[3] simul cum Lat.: μετὰ Hudson: μετὰ καὶ Holwerda: secl. Ibbetson, Naber: καὶ post ὃς tr. Warmington.
[4] μὴ δωρούμενος AM.

and thirst they compelled the men inside with him to surrender. Then they carried off the spoil of the country, and taking Demetrius with them, sent him to Mithridates, who was then reigning over the Parthians,[a] while those captives who happened to be citizens of Antioch they restored without ransom to the Antiochians. But Mithridates, the king of Parthia, held Demetrius in the greatest honour until Demetrius' life came to an end through illness. Philip, however, immediately after the battle marched on Antioch, and after seizing it, became king of Syria.

(xv. 1) Then Antiochus, called Dionysus,[b] who was a brother of Philip and had designs on the throne, came to Damascus, and getting the government of the city into his hands, became king.[c] But when he set out on a campaign against the Arabs, his brother Philip heard of it and marched on Damascus. Thereupon Milesius, who had been left to guard the citadel and[d] the Damascenes, delivered up the city to him; but as he showed himself ungrateful to Milesius and gave him none of the things which Milesius had hoped for when he admitted him, but on the contrary tried to make it seem as if he had taken the city through the fear inspired by him instead of rewarding Milesius as he ought for his services, he became an object of suspicion and was again driven out of Damascus; for once, when he had set out for the hippodrome,

Antiochus Dionysos invades Judaea, but is slain by the Arabs.

[a] Mithridates II, who reigned *c.* 123 to 88/87 B.C., *cf.* Debevoise, p. 50 n. 79.

[b] Variant "Dionysius." This was Antiochus XII Dionysus Epiphanes Philopator Callinicus, the youngest son of Antiochus VIII Grypus.

[c] In 86/5 B.C., according to the coins.

[d] Perhaps we should read "of."

ἀπέκλεισεν ὁ Μιλήσιος, καὶ τὴν Δαμασκὸν Ἀντιόχῳ διεφύλαξεν. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας τὰ περὶ τὸν Φίλιππον ὑπέστρεψεν ἐκ τῆς Ἀραβίας, στρατεύεται δ' εὐθὺς ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ὁπλίταις μὲν
390 ὀκτακισχιλίοις, ἱππεῦσι δὲ ὀκτακοσίοις. δείσας δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτοῦ τάφρον ὀρύττει βαθεῖαν, ἀπὸ τῆς Χαβαρσαβᾶ[1] καταρξάμενος, ἣ νῦν Ἀντιπατρὶς καλεῖται, ἄχρι τῆς εἰς Ἰόππην θαλάσσης, ᾗ καὶ μόνον ἦν ἐπίμαχον· τεῖχός τε ἐγείρας καὶ πύργους ἀναστήσας ξυλίνους καὶ μεταπύργια[2] ἐπὶ σταδίους ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα[3] τὸν Ἀντίοχον
391 ἐξεδέχετο. ὁ δὲ ταῦτα πάντα ἐμπρήσας διεβίβαζε ταύτῃ τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀραβίαν. ἀναχωροῦντος δὲ τοῦ Ἄραβος τὰ πρῶτα, ἔπειτα μετὰ μυρίων ἱππέων ἐξαίφνης ἐπιφανέντος, ὑπαντήσας τούτοις Ἀντίοχος καρτερῶς ἐμάχετο, καὶ δὴ νικῶν ἀπέθανε παραβοηθῶν τῷ πονοῦντι[4] μέρει. πεσόντος δ' Ἀντιόχου καὶ τὸ στράτευμα φεύγει εἰς Κανὰ κώμην, ἔνθα τὸ πλεῖστον αὐτῶν λιμῷ φθείρεται.
392 (2) Βασιλεύει δὲ μετὰ τοῦτον τῆς κοίλης Συρίας Ἀρέτας, κληθεὶς εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ τῶν τὴν

[1] Χαβερσαβᾶ P: Χαρζαβὰ FV: Cafarsaba Lat.
[2] μεσοπύργια FVE.
[3] ἑξήκοντα P.
[4] νικοῦντι P.

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[a] According to *B.J.* i. 99, Antiochus Dionysus was merely passing through Judaea to attack the Arabs.

[b] Here is resumed the close parallelism with *B.J.*, down to § 395.

[c] *Cf.* *Ant.* xiv. 142. More exactly Chabarsaba (Heb. *Kᵉpharsābā*, mod. *Kefr Saba*) lay near Antipatris, *cf.* Klein, *EY* 79 and Abel, *GP* ii. 245; the latter locates Chabarsaba *c.* 10 miles N.E. of Joppa, and identifies Antipatris with mod. *Fejja* *c.* 6 miles further south.

Milesius shut the gates on him and kept Damascus safe for Antiochus. And when Antiochus heard of Philip's experience, he returned from Arabia and at once took the field, marching on Judaea [a] with eight thousand heavy-armed soldiers and eight hundred horse. Thereupon [b] Alexander, who feared an invasion by him, dug a deep trench, beginning at Chabarsaba, which is now called Antipatris,[c] as far as the sea at Joppa, where alone it was possible to attack; and he erected a wall and set up wooden towers and firing-platforms [d] for a distance of a hundred and fifty stades,[e] and then awaited Antiochus's attack. But Antiochus burned all these constructions and so made his army pass through this way to Arabia.[f] At first the Arab king retreated but afterward suddenly appeared with ten thousand horse, and though Antiochus on meeting them fought valiantly, he was killed just as he was gaining the victory and was coming to the aid of part of his army that was in difficulties.[g] And when Antiochus fell, his army fled to the village of Kana,[h] where the greatest part of it perished of hunger.

(2) After his death Aretas began to reign over Coele-Syria,[i] being called to the throne by those who Aretas invades Judaea.

[d] Lit. "spaces between the towers" for artillery, *cf. B.J.* iii. 80. They are not mentioned in the parallel, *B.J.* i. 99.

[e] One MS. "sixty." 150 stades = *c.* 17 miles.

[f] The Nabataean Arabs under Aretas III had pushed on to the S. and E. of Judaea, and soon held Transjordan as far north as Damascus, *cf.* below, § 392.

[g] One MS. "was victorious." The battle took place *c.* 85 B.C.

[h] Not the bibl. Cana in Galilee but mod. *Qīna*, a few miles E. of the southern end of the Dead Sea, according to Abel, *GP* ii. 149.

[i] Here = the region about Damascus.

Δαμασκὸν ἐχόντων διὰ τὸ πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Μενναίου μῖσος. στρατεύσας δ' ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καὶ περὶ Ἄδιδα χωρίον μάχῃ νικήσας Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐπὶ συνθήκαις ἀνεχώρησεν ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας.

393 (3) Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐλάσας αὖθις ἐπὶ Δίον[1] πόλιν αἱρεῖ ταύτην, καὶ στρατεύεται ἐπὶ Ἔσσαν,[2] οὗ τὰ πλείστου ἄξια Ζήνωνι συνέβαινεν εἶναι, καὶ τρισὶν μὲν περιβάλλει τείχεσιν τὸ χωρίον, ἀμαχὶ[3] δὲ λαβὼν τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ Γαύλαναν καὶ Σελεύκειαν ἐξώρμησεν.
394 παραλαβὼν δὲ καὶ ταύτας, προσεξεῖλε καὶ τὴν Ἀντιόχου λεγομένην φάραγγα καὶ Γάμαλα τὸ φρούριον. ἐγκαλῶν δὲ πολλὰ Δημητρίῳ τῷ τῶν τόπων ἄρχοντι περιέδυσεν αὐτόν, καὶ τρίτον ἤδη πεπληρωκὼς ἔτος τῆς στρατείας εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ὑπέστρεψε, προθύμως αὐτὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων διὰ τὴν εὐπραγίαν δεχομένων.

395 (4) Κατὰ τοῦτον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν ἤδη τῶν Σύρων καὶ Ἰδουμαίων καὶ Φοινίκων πόλεις εἶχον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, πρὸς θαλάσσῃ μὲν Στράτωνος πύργον

[1] Hudson: Δίαν codd.: Λίαν Syncellus: Πέλλαν B.J.
[2] Essamon Lat.: Γέρασαν B.J.
[3] μάχῃ FLA[1]VW Lat.: cf. διὰ μάχης B.J.

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[a] King of Calchis in the Lebanon region.
[b] Mod. *el-Ḥadîtha*, c. 4 miles N.E. of Lydda, *cf.* § 203 note *f*.
[c] Gr. "Dion," a city of the Decapolis, perhaps mod. *Tell el-Ašʿari*, as suggested by Schwartz, *ap.* Abel, *GP* ii. 307. For "Dium" *B.J.* i. 104 has "Pella."
[d] For "Essa" we should read "Gerasa" with *B.J.* i. 104. It is the mod. *Jerash* on the Jabbok river in the Decapolis. Its antiquities are well known through the excavations of Yale University, *cf.* C. Kraeling (ed.), *Gerasa*, 1938.

held Damascus because of their hatred of Ptolemy, the son of Mennaeus.[a] From there he marched on Judaea and defeated Alexander in a battle near the fortress of Adida,[b] but after coming to terms with him, withdrew from Judaea.

(3) Thereupon Alexander once more marched on the city of Dium[c] and captured it, and then led his army against Essa,[d] where Zenon's[e] most valuable possessions were, and surrounded the place with three walls; and after taking the city without a battle,[f] he set out against Gaulana and Seleucia.[g] After taking these cities as well, he captured in addition the Valley of Antiochus,[h] as it is called, and the fortress of Gamala.[i] And having serious ground for complaint against Demetrius, the governor of these districts, he deprived him of office, and having spent three whole years in the field,[j] returned to his own country, where the Jews welcomed him eagerly because of his successes.

Alexander Jannaeus' victories in Trans-jordan.

(4) [k] Now at this time the Jews held the following cities of Syria, Idumaea and Phoenicia[l]: on

The extent of Jewish territory under Alexander Jannaeus.

[e] Ruler of nearby Philadelphia, *cf.* § 325. *B.J.* i. 104 has "Theodorus," the son of Zenon, *cf.* § 356.

[f] Variant "in battle." In *B.J.* διὰ μάχης "in battle" is emended by some scholars to δίχα μάχης "without a battle."

[g] Mod. *Selūqiye*, *c.* 10 miles S.E. of Lake *Ḥūleh*.

[h] Apparently in Gaulanitis.

[i] Mod. *Jamle*, *c.* 12 miles E. of the Sea of Galilee, mentioned frequently in *Vita*.

[j] *C.* 83 to 80 B.C.

[k] The following sections, to § 407, except for a few words in §§ 398 and 404, have no parallels in *B.J.*

[l] As Reinach, following Tuch, notes, a list of cities similar to the following is given by Syncellus i. 558 ed. Dindorf; see also *Ant.* xiv. 18 for other cities conquered by Alexander Jannaeus.

Ἀπολλωνίαν Ἰόππην Ἰάμνειαν Ἄζωτον Γάζαν
396 Ἀνθηδόνα Ῥάφίαν Ῥινοκορούραν,[1] ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσογαίᾳ κατὰ τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν Ἄδωρα καὶ Μάρισαν καὶ ὅλην Ἰδουμαίαν καὶ Σαμάρειαν, Καρμήλιον ὄρος καὶ τὸ Ἰταβύριον ὄρος, Σκυθόπολιν Γάδαρα,[2]
397 Γαυλανίτιδας[3] Σελεύκειαν Γάμαλα,[4] Μωαβίτιδας Ἐσσεβὼν Μήδαβα Λεμβὰ Ὀρωναιμ Ἀγαλαιν Θωνα[5] Ζόαρα[6] Κιλίκων αὐλῶνα Πέλλαν (ταύτην δὲ κατέσκαψαν[7] οὐχ[8] ὑποσχομένων τῶν ἐνοικούντων ἐς τὰ πάτρια τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθη μεταβαλεῖσθαι), ἄλλας τε πόλεις πρωτευούσας τῆς Συρίας αἳ ἦσαν κατεστραμμέναι.

398 (5) Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκ μέθης εἰς νόσον καταπεσὼν καὶ τρισὶν ἔτεσιν τεταρταίῳ πυρετῷ συσχεθεὶς οὐκ ἀπέστη τῶν

[1] Ῥινοκόρουρα P: Ῥινοκούρουραν LAMV: Ῥινοκολούραν F (?).
[2] V Lat.: Ἄδαρα P: Γάζαρα rell.
[3] Tuch: Γαυλανίτιδα codd. Lat.
[4] Tuch cum Hudson: Γάβαλα codd.
[5] Ὀρωναιμ . . . Θωνα Niese duce Tuch: ορωναιμαγελεθων aut ορωναιαιματαιλαιθωνα codd.: Oronemegaeton Lat.
[6] Ζαρὰ FLAMV: Ζάρα W: Zora Lat.
[7] κατέσκαψεν PLAM Lat.
[8] οὐχ om. P Lat. cod. Neap. aliique.

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[a] *Cf.* § 324.
[b] Mod. *Arsūf*, between Joppa and Straton's Tower.
[c] *Cf.* §§ 215, 261. [d] *Cf.* § 215. [e] *Cf.* §§ 99 ff.
[f] *Cf.* § 361. [g] *Cf.* § 357. [h] *Cf.* § 357.
[i] Mod. *el-'Arîš* on the border of Palestine and Egypt.
[j] *Cf.* § 257. [k] *Cf.* § 257. [l] *Cf.* § 280.
[m] Variants "Adara," "Gazara"; *cf.* § 356.
[n] *Cf.* § 393.
[o] Conjectured from MS. "Gabala"; *cf.* § 394.

the sea-coast, Straton's Tower,[a] Apollonia,[b] Joppa,[c] Jamneia,[d] Azotus,[e] Gaza,[f] Anthedon,[g] Raphia[h] and Rhinocorura[i]; in the interior, toward Idumaea, Adora[j] and Marisa,[k] and the whole of Idumaea and Samaria and Mount Carmel and Mount Tabor and Scythopolis[l] and Gadara[m]; in Gaulanitis they had Seleucia[n] and Gamala[o]; and in Moab, Essebon,[p] Medaba,[q] Lemba,[r] Oronaim,[s] Agalain,[t] Thona,[u] Zoara,[v] the Valley of the Cilicians[w] and Pella[x]—this last city Alexander's men demolished because the inhabitants would not agree to adopt the national customs of the Jews—, and others of the principal cities of Syria which had been subdued.

Alexander Jannaeus on his deathbed advises his wife to make peace with the Pharisees.

(5) But after these conquests King Alexander fell ill from heavy drinking, and for three years[y] he was afflicted with a quartan fever, but still he did not give up campaigning until, being exhausted from his

[p] Bibl. Heshbon of Moab, mod. *Ḥesbān*, *c.* 12 miles E. of the N. end of the Dead Sea.

[q] *Cf.* § 255.

[r] Called Libba in *Ant.* xiv. 18; it is mod. *Khirbet Libb*, *c.* 8 miles S.W. of Medaba.

[s] The reading of the next three names is doubtful here as in the parallel, *Ant.* xiv. 18. The following identifications are based on Abel, *GP* ii. 149.

Oronaim is bibl. Horonaim, mod. *el-'Arāq*, *c.* 6 miles E. of the S. end of the Dead Sea.

[t] Bibl. Eglaim, mod. *Rujm el-Jilimeh*, *c.* 10 miles N.E. of Horonaim.

[u] Mod. *eth-Theniyeh*, *c.* 3 miles S.E. of Eglaim.

[v] Bibl. Zoar, in the *Ġor Ṣāfiyeh*, *c.* 2 miles S. of the S. end of the Dead Sea.

[w] Apparently in the Decapolis; *cf.* Klein in *MGWJ* 59 (1915), 169.

[x] *Cf. B.J.* i. 104; it is Talmudic *Paḥel*, mod. *Fiḥl* or *Faḥil*, *c.* 8 miles S.E. of Scythopolis (*Beisān*) and 3 miles E. of the Jordan.

[y] 79 to 76 B.C.

στρατειῶν, ἕως οὗ τοῖς πόνοις ἐξαναλωθεὶς ἀπέθανεν ἐν τοῖς Γερασηνῶν ὅροις,[1] πολιορκῶν Ῥάγαβα
399 φρούριον πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου. ὁρῶσα δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἡ βασίλισσα πρὸς τῷ τελευτᾶν ὄντα καὶ μηδεμίαν ὑπογράφοντα μηκέτι[2] σωτηρίας ἐλπίδα, κλαίουσα καὶ κοπτομένη τῆς μελλούσης ἐρημίας αὑτήν τε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἀπωδύρετο, καὶ "τίνι καταλείπεις οὕτως ἐμέ τε καὶ τὰ τέκνα τῆς παρ᾽ ἄλλων βοηθείας δεόμενα" πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔλεγεν "καὶ ταῦτ᾽ εἰδὼς πῶς διάκειται πρὸς σέ δυσμενῶς τὸ ἔθνος."
400 ὁ δὲ συνεβούλευεν αὐτῇ πείθεσθαι μὲν οἷς ὑποθήσεται πρὸς τὸ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀσφαλῶς κατέχειν μετὰ τῶν τέκνων, κρύψαι δὲ τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἕως ἂν ἐξέλῃ τὸ χωρίον.
401 ἔπειτα ὡς ἀπὸ νίκης[3] λαμπρᾶς[4] εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα παραγενομένην τοῖς Φαρισαίοις ἐξουσίαν τινὰ παρασχεῖν· τούτους γὰρ ἐπαινοῦντας αὐτὴν ἀντὶ τῆς τιμῆς εὔνουν καταστήσειν αὐτῇ τὸ ἔθνος, δύνασθαι δὲ πολὺ παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τούτους ἔφασκε βλάψαι τε μισοῦντας καὶ φιλίως[5] διακει-
402 μένους ὠφελῆσαι· μάλιστα γὰρ πιστεύεσθαι παρὰ τῷ πλήθει περὶ ὧν κἂν φθονοῦντές[6] τι χαλεπὸν λέγωσιν, αὐτόν τε προσκροῦσαι τῷ ἔθνει διὰ τού-
403 τους ἔλεγεν ὑβρισθέντας ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ. "σὺ τοίνυν," εἶπεν, "ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις γενομένη μετά-

[1] monte Lat. [2] μηκέτι om. LAMWE.
[3] ἀπὸ νίκης E: ἀπὸ νικήσει P: ἂν νικήσῃ rell.: victrix Lat.
[4] Naber: λαμπρῶς codd. [5] Ernesti: φίλους codd.
[6] φθονῶσι PFLW.

[a] Heb. *Ragab* or *Regeb* (Mishnah), identified by Abel, *GP* ii. 427, as by some earlier scholars, with mod. *Rājib*,

labours, he met death in the territory of the Gerasenes while besieging Ragaba,[a] a fortress across the Jordan. And when the queen saw that he was on the point of death and no longer held[b] to any hope of recovery, she wept and beat her breast, lamenting the bereavement that was about to befall her and her children, and said to him, "To whom are you thus leaving me and your children, who are in need of help from others, especially when you know how hostile the nation feels toward you!" Thereupon he advised her to follow his suggestions for keeping the throne secure for herself and her children and to conceal his death from the soldiers until she had captured the fortress. And then, he said, on her return to Jerusalem as from a splendid victory, she should yield a certain amount of power to the Pharisees, for if they praised her in return for this sign of regard, they would dispose the nation favourably toward her.[c] These men, he assured her, had so much influence with their fellow-Jews that they could injure those whom they hated and help those to whom they were friendly; for they had the complete confidence of the masses when they spoke harshly of any person, even when they did so out of envy; and he himself, he added, had come into conflict with the nation because these men had been badly treated by him. "And so," he said, "when you come to Jerusalem, send for their

c. 8 miles E. of the Jordan and 14 miles W. of *Jeraš* (Gerasa). Schürer, i. 284 n. 26, had earlier doubted this, on the ground that this site must already have been in Alexander's hands, being so near Amathūs; but this assumption is by no means necessary.

[b] Variant "did not hold."

[c] For the rabbinic traditions concerning Alexander's relations with the Pharisees see Derenbourg, pp. 96-101.

πέμψαι μὲν τοὺς στασιώτας[1] αὐτῶν, ἐπιδείξασα δὲ τὸ σῶμα τοὐμὸν ἐκείνοις, ὅπως μοι βούλονται χρῆσθαι μετὰ πολλῆς ἀξιοπιστίας ἐπίτρεπε, εἴτε καθυβρίζειν ἀταφίᾳ μου θελήσουσι τὸν νεκρὸν ὡς πολλὰ πεπονθότες ἐξ ἐμοῦ, εἴτ' ἄλλην τινὰ κατ' ὀργὴν αἰκίαν τῷ σώματι προσφέρειν. ὑπόσχου τε[2] καὶ μηδὲν δίχα τῆς ἐκείνων γνώμης ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ
404 διαπράξεσθαι.[3] ταῦτά σου πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰπούσης ἐγώ τε λαμπροτέρας ἀξιωθήσομαι πρὸς αὐτῶν κηδείας ἧς ἂν ἔτυχον ἐκ σοῦ, μηδὲν διὰ τὸ ἐξεῖναι ποιεῖν μου κακῶς τὸν νεκρὸν διαθεῖναι θελησάντων, σύ τε βεβαίως ἄρξεις.'' ταῦτα παραινέσας τῇ γυναικὶ τελευτᾷ βασιλεύσας ἔτη ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι, βιώσας δ' ἑνὸς δέοντα[4] πεντήκοντα.

405 (xvi. 1) Ἡ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρα τὸ φρούριον ἐξελοῦσα κατὰ τὰς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὑποθήκας τοῖς τε Φαρισαίοις διελέχθη καὶ πάντα ἐπ' ἐκείνοις θεμένη τά τε περὶ τοῦ νεκροῦ καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας, τῆς μὲν ὀργῆς αὐτοὺς τῆς πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἔπαυσεν, εὔ-
406 νους δ' ἐποίησε καὶ φίλους. οἱ δ' εἰς τὸ πλῆθος παρελθόντες ἐδημηγόρουν, τὰς πράξεις τὰς Ἀλεξάνδρου διηγούμενοι, καὶ ὅτι δίκαιος αὐτοῖς ἀπόλοιτο βασιλεύς, καὶ τὸν δῆμον εἰς πένθος καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κατήφειαν ἐξεκαλέσαντο τοῖς ἐπαίνοις, ὥστε καὶ λαμπρότερον ἤ τινα τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ
407 βασιλέων αὐτὸν ἐκήδευσαν. δύο μέντοι γε[5] υἱοὺς Ἀλέξανδρος κατέλιπεν, Ὑρκανὸν καὶ Ἀριστόβουλον, τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδραν

[1] Niese: στρατιώτας codd. Lat.: πρώτους E: πρωτεύοντας ed. pr.
[2] ὑπόσχου τε Niese: ὑπόσχωνται P: ὑπισχνοῦ rell.
[3] E: διαπράξασθαι codd.
[4] ἑνὸς δέοντα] ἓν καὶ P.

partisans,[a] and showing them my dead body, permit them, with every sign of sincerity, to treat me as they please, whether they wish to dishonour my corpse by leaving it unburied because of the many injuries they have suffered at my hands, or in their anger wish to offer my dead body any other form of indignity. Promise them also that you will not take any action, while you are on the throne, without their consent. If you speak to them in this manner, I shall receive from them a more splendid burial than I should from you; for once they have the power to do so, they will not choose to treat my corpse badly, and at the same time you will reign securely." With this exhortation to his wife he died, after reigning twenty-seven years,[b] at the age of forty-nine.

The splendid burial of Alexander Jannaeus.

(xvi. 1) Thereupon Alexandra, after capturing the fortress,[c] conferred with the Pharisees as her husband had suggested, and by placing in their hands all that concerned his corpse and the royal power, stilled their anger against Alexander, and made them her well-wishers and friends. And they in turn went to the people and made public speeches in which they recounted the deeds of Alexander, and said that in him they had lost a just king, and by their eulogies they so greatly moved the people to mourn and lament that they gave him a more splendid burial than had been given any of the kings before him.

Queen Alexandra and her sons Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II.

Now[d] although Alexander had left two sons, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, he had bequeathed the royal

[a] Conjectured for MSS. "soldiers"; the Epitome and *ed. pr.* have "chiefs."
[b] 103 to 76 B.C.
[c] Of Ragaba, *cf.* § 398.
[d] §§ 407–411 have partial parallels in *B.J.* i. 109–114.

[6] γε om. FAMVWE.

διέθετο. τῶν δὲ παίδων Ὑρκανὸς μὲν ἀσθενὴς ἦν πράγματα διοικεῖν καὶ βίον ἡσύχιον μᾶλλον ἠγαπηκώς, ὁ δὲ νεώτερος Ἀριστόβουλος δραστήριός τε ἦν καὶ θαρσαλέος. ἐστέργετο μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους ἡ γυνὴ διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν ἐφ' οἷς ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς ἐξήμαρτε δυσχεραίνειν.

408 (2) Ἡ δὲ ἀρχιερέα μὲν ἀποδείκνυσιν Ὑρκανὸν διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν, πολὺ μέντοι πλέον διὰ τὸ ἄπραγμον αὐτοῦ, καὶ πάντα τοῖς Φαρισαίοις ἐπιτρέπει ποιεῖν, οἷς καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐκέλευσε πειθαρχεῖν, καὶ εἴ τι δὲ καὶ τῶν νομίμων Ὑρκανὸς ὁ πενθερὸς αὐτῆς κατέλυσεν ὧν εἰσήνεγκαν οἱ Φαρισαῖοι κατὰ τὴν πατρῴαν παράδοσιν, τοῦτο πάλιν ἀποκατέστησεν.
409 τὸ μὲν οὖν ὄνομα τῆς βασιλείας εἶχεν αὐτή, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν οἱ Φαρισαῖοι· καὶ γὰρ φυγάδας οὗτοι κατῆγον καὶ δεσμώτας ἔλυον καὶ καθάπαξ οὐδὲν δεσποτῶν διέφερον. ἐποιεῖτο μέντοι καὶ ἡ γυνὴ τῆς βασιλείας πρόνοιαν καὶ πολὺ μισθοφορικὸν συνίστησι καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν δύναμιν ἀπέδειξε[1] διπλασίονα,[2] ὡς καταπλῆξαι τοὺς πέριξ τυράννους καὶ
410 λαβεῖν ὅμηρα αὐτῶν. ἠρέμει δὲ ἡ χώρα πᾶσα πάρεξ τῶν Φαρισαίων· οὗτοι γὰρ ἐπετάραττον τὴν βασίλισσαν,[3] πείθοντες ὡς κτείνειε τοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ παραινέσαντας ἀνελεῖν τοὺς ὀκτακοσίους. εἶτα αὐτοὶ τούτων ἕνα σφάττουσι Διογένην καὶ
411 μετ' αὐτὸν ἄλλους ἐπ' ἄλλοις, ἕως[4] οἱ δυνατοὶ

[1] V: ἐπέδειξε rell. Lat.
[2] P Lat.: πλείονα rell.
[3] βασιλεῖαν P.
[4] + οὗ P.

[a] The contrast between τὸ δραστήριον and τὸ ἄπραγμον is Thucydidean (Thuc. ii. 63. 2), and occurs again in *Ant.* xiv. 13: τὸ δραστήριον alone occurs in *B.J.* i. 283 and elsewhere.

power to Alexandra. Of these sons the one, Hyrcanus, was incompetent to govern and in addition much preferred a quiet life, while the younger, Aristobulus, was a man of action[a] and high spirit. As for the queen herself, she was loved by the masses because she was thought to disapprove of the crimes committed by her husband.

The power of the Pharisees under Alexandra.

(2) Alexandra then appointed Hyrcanus as high priest because of his greater age but more especially because of his lack of energy[a]; and she permitted the Pharisees to do as they liked in all matters, and also commanded the people to obey them; and whatever regulations, introduced by the Pharisees in accordance with the tradition of their fathers, had been abolished by her father-in-law Hyrcanus, these she again restored.[b] And so, while she had the title of sovereign, the Pharisees had the power. For example, they recalled exiles, and freed prisoners, and, in a word, in no way differed from absolute rulers. Nevertheless the queen took thought for the welfare of the kingdom and recruited a large force of mercenaries and also made her own force twice as large, with the result that she struck terror into the local rulers round her and received hostages from them. And throughout the entire country there was quiet except for the Pharisees; for they worked upon the feelings of the queen and tried to persuade her to kill those who had urged Alexander to put the eight hundred to death.[c] Later they themselves cut down[d] one of them, named Diogenes, and his death was followed by that of one after the other, until the

The leading Jews protest against the ruthlessness of the Pharisees.

[b] See Derenbourg, pp. 102-113. According to *B.J.* i. 111, the Pharisees "took advantage of her simplicity."

[c] *Cf.* above, § 380.

[d] Lit. "slaughtered."

παρελθόντες εἰς τὸ βασίλειον καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν Ἀριστόβουλος (ἐῴκει γὰρ τοῖς γινομένοις δυσανασχετῶν καὶ δῆλος ἦν, καθάπαξ εἰ ἀφορμῆς λάβοιτο, μὴ ἐπιτρέψων τῇ μητρί) ἀνεμίμνησκον ὅσα κατωρθώσαντο τοῖς[1] κινδύνοις, δι' ὧν τὸ βέβαιον τῆς ἐν σφίσι πίστεως πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην ἐπεδείξαντο, ἀνθ' ὧν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μεγίστων ἠξιώθησαν.
412 καὶ ἐδέοντο μὴ ἄχρι τοῦ παντὸς ἔμπαλιν τρέψαι σφίσι τὰς ἐλπίδας· ἀποφυγόντας γὰρ τὸν ἐκ πολεμίων κίνδυνον ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ ὑπὸ ἐχθρῶν δίκην βοσκημάτων κόπτεσθαι,[2] μηδεμιᾶς τιμωρίας οὔσης.
413 ἔλεγόν τε ὡς,[3] εἰ μὲν ἀρκεσθεῖεν τοῖς ἀνῃρημένοις οἱ ἀντίδικοι, διὰ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς δεσπότας γνήσιον μετρίως οἴσειν τὰ ξυμβάντα, εἰ δ' αὖ μέλλοιεν ταὐτὰ[4] μετιέναι,[5] ᾐτοῦντο μάλιστα μὲν δοθῆναι σφίσιν ἀπαλλαγήν· οὐ[6] γὰρ ἂν ὑπομεῖναι χωρὶς αὐτῆς πορίσασθαί τι[7] σωτήριον, ἀλλ' ἀσμενίζειν θνήσκοντες πρὸς τοῖς βασιλείοις, ὡς μὴ συγγνοῖεν[8]
414 ἀπιστίαν[9] αὐτοῖς.[10] αἶσχός τε εἶναι σφίσι καὶ τῇ βασιλευούσῃ,[11] εἰ πρὸς αὐτῆς ἀμελούμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐκδεχθείησαν· ἀντὶ παντὸς γὰρ ἂν τιμήσασθαι[12] Ἀρέταν τε τὸν Ἄραβα καὶ τοὺς μονάρχους, εἰ ἀποξενολογήσαιεν[13] τοσούσδε ἄνδρας,

[1] κατωρθώσαντο τοῖς] κατώρθωσαν τοσούτοις P.
[2] κόψεσθαι PAM.
[3] ὡς secl. Dindorf.
[4] A[1]: ταῦτα A corr., rell.
[5] ed. pr.: μετεῖναι codd.
[6] οὐδὲ P.
[7] τὸ P.
[8] Dindorf: συγγνῷεν codd.
[9] ἀπιστίαν om. FLAMVW.
[10] coni.: αὑτοῖς codd.
[11] βασιλίσσῃ V.
[12] ἂν τιμήσασθαι V: τιμήσασθαι P: ἂν τιμήσεσθαι FLAMW.
[13] ὑποξενολογήσαιεν Naber.

leading citizens came to the palace, Aristobulus among them—for he was obviously resentful of what was taking place, and let it be plainly seen that if only he should get the opportunity, he would not leave his mother any power at all—, and they reminded her of all that they had achieved in the face of danger, whereby they had shown their unwavering[a] loyalty to their master[b] and had therefore been judged worthy by him of the greatest honours. And they begged her not to crush their hopes completely,[c] for, they said, after escaping the dangers of war, they were now being slaughtered at home like cattle by their foes, and there was no one to avenge them. They also said[d] that if their adversaries were to be contented with those already slain, they would bear with equanimity what had taken place, out of genuine devotion to their masters; but if, on the other hand, these men were to continue in the same course, let them, they begged, at least be given their freedom; for they would never bring themselves to seek any means of safety but what should come from her, and would welcome death in her palace so long as they might not have disloyalty on their conscience.[e] It would be disgraceful both for them and for her who ruled as queen, they added, if, being abandoned by her, they should be given shelter by the enemies of her husband; for Aretas the Arab and the other princes would consider it of the utmost value to

[a] Lit. "firmness of," also a Thucydidean phrase (Thuc. ii. 89. 4), found elsewhere in Josephus, *e.g. Ant.* xv. 193, *B.J.* vii. 139.

[b] Alexander Jannaeus.

[c] Lit. "turn their hopes completely back."

[d] §§ 412-418 have no parallels in *B.J.*

[e] Text slightly uncertain.

οἷς ἦν τάχα που[1] φρικῶδες[2] καὶ τοὔνομα πρὶν[3]
415 ἀκουσθῆναι. εἰ δὲ μή, τό γε δεύτερον, εἰ τοὺς Φαρισαίους αὐτῇ προτιμᾶν ἔγνωσται, κατατάξαι ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις· εἰ γὰρ ὧδε δαίμων τις ἐνεμέσησε τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρου οἴκῳ, αὐτούς[4] γε μὴν ἂν ἀποδεῖξαι καὶ ἐν ταπεινῷ σχήματι βιοτεύοντας.[5]

416 (3) Πολλὰ τοιαῦτα λεγόντων καὶ εἰς οἶκτον τῶν τεθνεώτων καὶ τῶν κινδυνευόντων τοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου δαίμονας ἐπικαλουμένων, ἅπαντες οἱ περιεστῶτες ὥρμησαν εἰς δάκρυα· μάλιστα δὲ Ἀριστόβουλος ὅπως ἔχοι γνώμης ἐδήλου, πολλὰ
417 τὴν μητέρα κακίζων. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν αἴτιοι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς[6] τῶν συμφορῶν ἐγένοντο, κατὰ φιλαρχίαν ἐκλελυσσηκυίᾳ γυναικὶ παρὰ τὸ εἰκὸς βασιλεύειν, γενεᾶς ἐν ἀκμῇ[7] οὔσης, ἐπιτρέψαντες· ἡ δὲ οὐκ ἔχουσα ὅ τι πράξειε μετὰ τοῦ εὐπρεποῦς, τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν χωρίων σφίσιν ἐπίστευσεν,[8] ὅτι μὴ Ὑρκανίας καὶ Ἀλεξανδρείου καὶ Μαχαιροῦντος,
418 ἔνθα τὰ πλείστου ἄξια ἦν αὐτῇ. καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ τὸν υἱὸν Ἀριστόβουλον μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἐξέπεμψεν ἐπὶ Δαμασκὸν κατὰ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Μενναίου

[1] που om. FLAMVW. [2] + αὐτῶν P.
[3] τὸ πρὶν P. [4] Richards et Shutt: αὐτοὺς codd.
[5] post βιοτεύοντας lacunam indicavit Bekker: verba τὴν πίστιν τηροῦντας excidisse coni. Richards et Shutt.
[6] σφίσιν αὐτοῖς V: σφίσιν rell.
[7] ἐν ἀκμῇ] ἕνεκα μὴ FLVW. [8] ἐπέτρεψεν P.

[a] The text is clearly defective, but the context makes it probable that the word "loyal" or the like is to be supplied.
[b] Mod. *Khirbet Mird*, *c*. 8 miles S.E. of Jerusalem, according to Abel, *GP* ii. 350.

enlist such men as mercenaries, whose very name, they might say, had caused these princes to shudder before they had heard it (spoken aloud). But if this could not be, and she had determined to favour the Pharisees above all others, let her, as the next best thing, station each of them in one of the garrisons, for, if some evil genius were thus wroth with the house of Alexander, they at least would show themselves (loyal)[a] even though living in humble circumstances.

(3) Speaking in this vein at great length, they called upon the shades of Alexander to take pity on those who had been killed and those who were in danger, whereupon all the bystanders burst into tears. And Aristobulus in particular made plain his sentiments by denouncing his mother bitterly. But still they themselves were to blame for their misfortunes, in allowing a woman to reign who madly desired it in her unreasonable love of power, and when her sons were in the prime of life. And so the queen, not knowing what to do consistent with her dignity, entrusted to them the guarding of the fortresses with the exception of Hyrcania,[b] Alexandreion[c] and Machaerus,[d] where her most valuable possessions were. And[e] not long afterward she sent out her son Aristobulus with an army to Damascus against Ptolemy, the son of Mennaeus,[f] as he was

Aristobulus II denounces his mother for supporting the Pharisees.

[c] Talmudic *Sarṭaba*, mod. *Qarn Sarṭabeh*, *c.* 3 miles S.W. of the confluence of the Jabbok and Jordan rivers; *cf.* Abel, *GP* ii. 241 f. and *BASOR* 62 (April 1936), 14 ff.

[d] Mod. *Khirbet Mukāwer*, *c.* 5 miles E. of the Dead Sea, in the latitude of Bethsur; *cf.* Abel, *GP* ii. 371 f. and Glueck in *BASOR* 65 (Feb. 1937), 25.

[e] §§ 418-421 have partial parallels in *B.J.* i. 115-116.

[f] *Cf.* § 392.

λεγομένου, ὃς βαρὺς ἦν τῇ πόλει γείτων. ἀλλ' ὁ[1] μὲν οὐδὲν ἐργασάμενος[2] σπουδῆς ἄξιον ὑπέστρεψεν.[3]

419 (4) Κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ἀγγέλλεται Τιγράνης ὁ τῶν 'Αρμενίων βασιλεὺς[4] στρατοῦ μυριάσι τριάκοντα[5] ἐμβεβληκὼς εἰς τὴν Συρίαν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν 'Ιουδαίαν ἀφιξόμενος. τοῦτο ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἐφόβησε τὴν βασίλισσαν καὶ τὸ ἔθνος. δῶρα δὴ πολλὰ καὶ λόγου ἄξια πέμπουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ πρέσβεις
420 πολιορκοῦντι[6] Πτολεμαΐδα. βασίλισσα γὰρ Σελήνη ἡ καὶ Κλεοπάτρα καλουμένη[7] τῶν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ κατῆρχεν,[8] ἣ καὶ[9] ἐνήγαγεν τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἀποκλεῖσαι Τιγράνην· συνετύγχανον οὖν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐδέοντο χρηστὰ περὶ τῆς βασιλίσσης καὶ τοῦ ἔθνους
421 συγγινώσκειν. ὁ δὲ ἀποδεξάμενος αὐτοὺς τῆς ἐκ διαστήματος θεραπείας ἐλπίδας ὑπέθετο χρηστάς. ἄρτι δὲ τῆς Πτολεμαΐδος ἑαλωκυίας ἀγγέλλεται Τιγράνῃ Λεύκολλον διώκοντα Μιθριδάτην ἐκείνου μὲν διαμαρτεῖν εἰς τοὺς Ἴβηρας ἀναφυγόντος, τὴν

[1] οἱ P. [2] ἐργασάμενοι P.
[3] ὑπέστρεψαν P: ἀνέστρεψε(ν) LAMW: ἀνέστρεψαν E.
[4] ὁ . . . βασιλεὺς om. PE Lat.
[5] πεντήκοντα FLAMVW. [6] + δὲ FLVW.
[7] λεγομένη F[1]LAMW.
[8] V: κατέχειν P: κατ' εἰρήνην rell.
[9] ἣ καὶ om. FLAMW.

called, who was a troublesome neighbour to their city. He[a] returned, however, without having accomplished anything noteworthy.

(4) About this time news came that Tigranes, king of Armenia,[b] with an army of three hundred thousand[c] men had invaded Syria and was coming against Judaea.[d] This naturally frightened the queen and her people. And so they sent many valuable gifts and envoys to him as he was besieging Ptolemais. For Queen Selene, also called Cleopatra,[e] was then ruling over Syria and she induced the inhabitants to shut their gates against Tigranes. The envoys therefore met with him and asked him to grant favourable terms to the queen and her people. Thereupon he commended them for coming so great a distance to do homage to him, and gave them reason to hope for the best. But hardly had Ptolemais been captured when news came to Tigranes that Lucullus,[f] who was pursuing Mithridates,[g] had failed to catch him, as he had fled to the Iberians,[h] and had therefore ravaged

Alexandra bribes Tigranes to leave Judaea in peace.

[a] One MS. "they."

[b] The variant omits "king of Armenia."

[c] Variant "five hundred thousand."

[d] Tigranes first invaded Syria in 83 B.C. and held a large part of the country until he was finally driven out by the Romans in 69 B.C.

[e] Daughter of Ptolemy Physcon and Cleopatra III; she was married successively to Ptolemy Soter, Antiochus Grypus, Antiochus Cyzicenus and Antiochus Eusebes; *cf.* Strabo xvi. 749, Appian, *Syr.* 69 and Bevan, *H. Sel.* ii. 304.

[f] Lucius Licinius Lucullus, Roman consul in 74 B.C. and commander of the army in the east during the next five years.

[g] Mithridates VI Eupator, king of Pontus 115 to 63 B.C., one of Rome's most formidable adversaries.

[h] In the Caucasus. According to Appian, *Mithr.* 83, and other sources, Mithridates fled to Tigranes in Armenia, after his defeat by Lucullus at Cabeira in 72 B.C.

δὲ Ἀρμενίαν πορθήσαντα πολιορκεῖν. Τιγράνης δὲ καὶ[1] ταῦτα ἐπιγνοὺς ἀνεχώρει τὴν ἐπ' οἴκου.

422 (5) Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τῆς βασιλίσσης εἰς νόσον χαλεπὴν ἐμπεσούσης, δόξαν Ἀριστοβούλῳ τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπιτίθεσθαι, τῆς νυκτὸς ὑπεξελθὼν μεθ' ἑνὸς τῶν θεραπόντων ᾔει ἐπὶ τὰ φρούρια, ἵνα οἱ
423 πατρῷοι κατετάχθησαν αὐτῷ φίλοι. πάλαι γὰρ ἀχθόμενος οἷς ἔπραττεν ἡ μήτηρ τότε[2] πολὺ μᾶλλον ἔδεισε μὴ ἀποθανούσης ἐπὶ τοῖς Φαρισαίοις τὸ πᾶν γένος αὐτοῖς ὑπάρξειεν· ἑώρα γὰρ τὸ ἀδύνατον τοῦ
424 μέλλοντος διαδέχεσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀδελφοῦ. ξυνῄδει δὲ ἡ γυνὴ μόνη τῇ πράξει, ἣν κατέλιπεν αὐτόθι μετὰ τῆς γενεᾶς. καὶ πρῶτον ἀφικόμενος εἰς Ἄγαβα,[3] ἔνθα Παλαιστὴς[4] ἦν τῶν δυνατῶν, ὑπ-
425 εδέχθη πρὸς αὐτοῦ. μεθ' ἡμέραν δὲ αἴσθησις γίνεται τῇ βασιλίσσῃ τῆς Ἀριστοβούλου φυγῆς, καὶ μέχρι τινὸς ᾤετο γεγονέναι τὴν ἀναχώρησιν οὐκ ἐπὶ νεωτερισμῷ· ὡς μέντοι ἧκον ἀπαγγέλλοντες[5] ἄλλοι ἐπ' ἄλλοις ὅτι κατειλήφει τὸ πρῶτον χωρίον καὶ τὸ δεύτερον καὶ ξύμπαντα (εὐθὺς γὰρ ἑνὸς ἀρξαμένου πάντα ἠπείγετο[6] πρὸς τὸ ἐκείνου βούλημα), τότε δὴ

[1] Τιγράνης δὲ καὶ om. Lat.: Τιγρανόκερτα Niese.
[2] τότε ex Lat. ins. Herwerden.
[3] Ἄγαβαν LAMW: Ἄγαβρα E: Gabatha Lat.
[4] Γαλαίστης ed. pr.: Galestis Lat.
[5] P: ἀγγέλλοντες rell.
[6] ὑπήγετο FVE.

[a] In the Gr. there is no object for the verb "was besieging," which can hardly be taken to govern the preceding noun "Armenia." As the text stands, the city of Tigranocerta must be meant, even if we do not adopt Niese's conjecture, reading "Tigranocerta" for "and Tigranes" in the following sentence. For this siege see H. A. Ormerod in *CAH* ix. 365-367.

Armenia and was besieging (the capital).[a] And when Tigranes learned of this, he withdrew to his own country.

Alexandra and the Pharisees are alarmed by Aristobulus II's preparations for seizing power.

(5) [b] Some time after this the queen was stricken by a serious illness, whereupon Aristobulus decided to make an attempt to seize power, and slipped away by night with one of his servants, and went to the fortresses where his father's friends had been stationed. For while he had long resented the things his mother was doing, he was just then especially fearful that on her death their whole family might come under the rule of the Pharisees, for he saw the incapacity of his brother, who was destined to succeed to the throne. The only one informed of his deed was his wife, whom he had left in the city with their children.[c] And he first came to Agaba,[d] where he found Palaestes,[e] one of the leading men, and was given shelter by him. Now on the next day the queen became aware of Aristobulus' flight, and for a time she believed that his departure was not for the purpose of beginning a revolt. But when successive messengers came to report that he had captured the first fortress, and after that the second, and after that all of them—for when once the first had made a beginning they all hastened

[b] The following sections, to the end of the book, have partial parallels in *B.J.* i. 117-119.

[c] Two sons and two daughters, *cf. Ant.* xiv. 79.

[d] Lat. "Gabatha." Reinach hesitantly suggests "Gaba," a place near Carmel. Perhaps we should read "Ragaba," the fortress captured by Alexander and Alexandra in Transjordan, *cf.* §§ 398, 405. This region seems to be indicated as Aristobulus' first base of operations by the later battle at Jericho, *Ant.* xiv. 4 (= *B.J.* i. 120).

[e] *Ed. pr.* and Lat. "Galestes," *cf.* W. Otto, *ABAW*, N.F. 17 (1938), 36-39.

ἐν μεγίσταις ταραχαῖς ὑπῆρχεν ἥ τε βασίλισσα καὶ
426 τὸ ἔθνος. ᾔδεισαν γὰρ οὐ πόρρω τοῦ δύνασθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ κρατῦναι τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον ὄντα· μάλιστα δ᾽ ἔδεισαν[1] μὴ ποινὴν εἰσπράξαιτο ὧν παρῴνησαν αὐτῷ τὸν οἶκον. δόξαν οὖν τήν τε[2] γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ καὶ γενεὰν εἰς τὸ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ
427 φρούριον κατέθεσαν. Ἀριστοβούλῳ δὲ ὡς ἂν ἐκ πολλῶν συχνὰ συνανηνέχθη,[3] ἀφ᾽ ὧν δὴ καὶ κόσμος ἤδη βασίλειος περὶ αὐτὸν ἦν· σχεδὸν γὰρ ἐν ἡμέραις δεκαπέντε χωρίων ἐκράτησεν εἰκοσιδύο, ὅθεν ἀφορμὰς ἔχων στρατιὰν ἤθροιζεν ἀπό τε Λιβάνου καὶ Τράχωνος καὶ τῶν μονάρχων· οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι τῷ πλείονι ὑπαγόμενοι ῥᾳδίως ὑπήκουον· ἄλλως τε[4] νομίζοντες, εἰ δὴ ξυλλάβοιεν αὐτῷ, τῶν προσῳκειωμένων[5] οὐχ ἧσσον καρπώσεσθαι[6] τὴν βασιλείαν
428 ὡς αὐτοὶ τοῦ κρατῆσαι πρόφασις γενηθέντες. τῶν δὲ Ἰουδαίων οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ Ὑρκανὸς εἰσῄεσαν ὡς τὴν βασίλισσαν καὶ ἐδέοντο ὑποθέσθαι γνώμην περὶ τῶν ἐνεστώτων· τὸν γὰρ Ἀριστόβουλον τῶν πάντων σχεδὸν ἤδη κυριεύειν, ὁπότε χωρίων τοσούτων κρατήσειεν· ἄτοπον δέ, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα κάμνοι, περιούσης αὐτῆς κατὰ σφᾶς βουλεύεσθαι· περιεστάναι δὲ τὸν κίνδυνον οὐ διὰ
429 μακροῦ σφίσιν. ἡ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσε πράττειν ὅ

[1] δείσαντες FLAMW: ἐδεδειέεσαν δὲ (om. μάλιστα) P.
[2] τε P: om. rell.
[3] συχνὰ συναιηνέχθη Hudson: συχνὰ ἀνήχθη P: συνανηνέχθη FVW: συνήχθη L: συχνὰ ἀνηνέχθη AM: συχνὰ συνήχθη E.
[4] Naber: δὲ codd.
[5] μὴ προσωκειομένων Holwerda: μὴ προσδυκωμένων (P) FLVW: ᾠκειωμένων AM.
[6] καρπώσασθαι PLW.

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[a] The Baris, later called Antonia, as Josephus explains in *B.J.* i. 118; *cf.* above, § 307 note *a*.

to submit to his will—, then at last both the queen and her people were in the greatest dismay. For they knew that Aristobulus was not far from being able to seize the throne for himself, and they were very much afraid that he might exact satisfaction for the excesses which they had practised on his house. They therefore decided to place his wife and children in the fortress overlooking the temple.[a] And Aristobulus received such large contributions from many sources[b] that there was already a veritable royal train about him. For in barely fifteen days he had occupied twenty-two fortresses, and obtaining resources from these, he gathered an army from Lebanon, Trachonitis and the local princes. These men readily submitted to him, being drawn to the stronger side, and at the same time believing that if they aided Aristobulus they could exploit his kingdom no less than those who were closely related to him,[c] on the ground that they had been the means of his conquering it. Meanwhile the elders of the Jews and Hyrcanus went to the queen and begged her to give them some counsel about the present situation. For, they said, Aristobulus was already master of almost the entire country by virtue of having occupied so many fortresses; but it was not their place, however seriously ill she might be, to make plans by themselves while she was still alive; and yet the danger was not at all far off.[d] Thereupon she told them to do whatever they thought expedient,

[b] Text slightly uncertain.

[c] Or "no less than the lands acquired by them," *cf.* above, § 319; text slightly emended; most mss. have "those not expected," which is meaningless.

[d] This last clause is Thucydidean, *cf.* Thuc. iv. 34. 3 and vi. 91. 3; it has a parallel in *Ant.* xvii. 5.

τι δοκοῦσι χρήσιμον εἶναι· πολλὰς δὲ ἀφορμὰς αὐτοῖς λείπεσθαι, τὸ ἔθνος ἐρρωμένον καὶ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς γαζοφυλακίοις χρήματα· αὐτῇ μὲν γὰρ μικρὸν ἔτι μέλειν[1] τῶν πραγμάτων ὡς[2] ὑπολείποντος ἤδη τοῦ σώματος.

430 (6) Ταῦτ' εἰποῦσα μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἐτελεύτησε, βασιλεύσασα ἔτη ἐννέα, τὰ δὲ σύμπαντα βιώσασα τρία καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα, γυνὴ τῷ ἀσθενεῖ τοῦ φύλου κατ' οὐδὲν χρησαμένη· δεινὴ γὰρ εἰς τὸ φίλαρχον ἐν ταῖς μάλιστα γενομένη διήλεγξεν ἔργοις τό τε πρακτικὸν τῆς ἐν αὐτῇ γνώμης καὶ τὸ ἀσύνετον τῶν ἀεὶ πταιόντων[3] περὶ τὰς δυναστείας ἀνδρῶν·
431 τὸ γὰρ παρὸν κρεῖττον ἀξιοῦσα τοῦ μέλλοντος καὶ πάντα δεύτερα τιθεμένη τοῦ ἐγκρατῶς ἄρχειν, οὔτε καλοῦ οὔτε δικαίου ἕνεκά γε τούτων ἐπεστρέφετο. εἰς γοῦν τοῦτο τῷ οἴκῳ ἀτυχίας τὰ πράγματα περιέστησεν, ὥστε ἣν μετὰ πλείστων κινδύνων καὶ ταλαιπωρίας περιεκτήσατο[4] δυναστείαν ἐπιθυμίᾳ τῶν μὴ προσηκόντων γυναικί, χρόνοις οὐ πολλοῖς ὕστερον ἀφαιρεθῆναι, τοῖς μὲν δυσμενῶς ἔχουσιν πρὸς τὸ γένος αὐτῶν τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην προθεῖσα,[5] τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν ἔρημον τῶν προκηδομένων[6] ποιησα-
432 μένη. καὶ ξυμφορῶν δὲ ἐνέπλησε καὶ ταραχῆς, ἐξ

[1] V: μέλοι P: μέλλειν rell. [2] + ἂν P.
[3] ἀεὶ πταιόντων] ἐν ἀκμῇ παρόντων coni. Havercamp.
[4] περιεκτήσαντο LAMW.
[5] προσθεῖσα P: τὴν αὐτῆς γνώμην προσθεῖσα coni. Post.
[6] Dindorf: προσκηδομένων AM: προσηγεμόνων P: προηγεμόνων FLW: προηγουμένων V: potentium amicorum gubernatione Lat.

saying that there were many resources left to them, namely a nation in a sound condition, an army, and money in the various treasuries. As for herself, she was no longer greatly concerned about affairs of state, as her physical strength was almost spent.

The death and character of Queen Alexandra.

(6) Not long after she had spoken these words, she died, having reigned nine years[a] and having lived seventy-three years in all. She was a woman who showed none of the weakness of her sex[b]: for being one of those inordinately desirous of the power to rule, she showed by her deeds the ability to carry out her plans, and at the same time she exposed the folly of those men who continually fail to maintain sovereign power.[c] For she valued the present more than the future, and making everything else secondary to absolute rule,[d] she had, on account of this, no consideration for either decency or justice. At least matters turned out so unfortunately for her house that the sovereign power which it[e] had acquired in the face of the greatest dangers and difficulties was not long afterward taken from it because of her desire for things unbecoming a woman, and because she expressed the same opinions as did those[f] who were hostile to her family, and also because she left the kingdom without anyone who had their interests at heart.[g] And even after her death she caused the

[a] 76 to 67 B.C. [b] Compare §§ 408 ff.

[c] Apparently this means "who never have enough power in their grasp"; conj. "who are at the height of their power."

[d] ἐγκρατῶς ἄρχειν is also Thucydidean, *cf.* Thuc. i. 76. 1.

[e] Or "she"; variant "they."

[f] Prof. Post conjectures, "she lent the weight of her authority to those who," etc.

[g] Text slightly emended; some MSS. have "without any to guide it (*i.e.* the kingdom)."

ὧν ζῶσα ἐπολιτεύσατο, καὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν τὸ βασίλειον· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καίπερ οὕτως ἄρξασα ἐν εἰρήνῃ[1] τὸ ἔθνος διεφύλαξεν. τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ Ἀλεξάνδραν[2] τοῦτο εἶχε τὸ τέλος.[3]

[1] + καὶ ἀταραξίᾳ P.
[2] + τὴν βασίλισσαν P.
[3] post τέλος verba ἔρχομαι δὲ λέξων τὰ τοῖς υἱέσιν αὐτῆς συμβεβηκότα Ἀριστοβούλῳ καὶ Ὑρκανῷ μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνης τελευτὴν ἐν τῇ μετὰ ταύτην μου βίβλῳ add. P.

palace to be filled with misfortunes and disturbances which arose from the public measures taken during her lifetime. Nevertheless, in spite of reigning in this manner, she had kept the nation at peace. Such, then, was the end of Alexandra.[a]

[a] One MS. (P) adds, "In the following book I shall proceed to relate what befell her sons Aristobulus and Hyrcanus after her death."

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΙΔ

(i. 1) Τῶν δὲ περὶ Ἀλεξάνδραν τὴν βασίλισσαν καὶ τὸν θάνατον αὐτῆς ἐν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης ἡμῖν βίβλῳ δεδηλωμένων, τὰ τούτοις ἀκόλουθα καὶ προσεχῆ νῦν ἐροῦμεν, οὐκ ἄλλου τινὸς ἢ τοῦ μηδὲν παραλιπεῖν τῶν πραγμάτων ἢ δι' ἄγνοιαν ἢ διὰ
2 κάματον τῆς μνήμης προμηθούμενοι.[1] τὴν γὰρ ἱστορίαν καὶ τὴν μήνυσιν τῶν ἀγνοουμένων τοῖς πολλοῖς πραγμάτων διὰ τὴν ἀρχαιότητα δεῖ μὲν[2] καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀπαγγελίας[3] κάλλος, ὅσον δὴ τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἔκ τε τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ τῆς τούτων ἁρμονίας καὶ ὅσα πρὸς τούτοις συμβάλλεται κόσμον
3 τῷ λόγῳ, τοῖς ἀναγνωσομένοις ἔχειν, ὡς ἂν μετὰ χάριτός τινος καὶ ἡδονῆς τὴν ἐμπειρίαν παραλαμβάνοιεν, πάντων δὲ μᾶλλον τῆς ἀκριβείας τοὺς συγγραφεῖς στοχάζεσθαι,[4] μηδὲν[5] τοῦ τἀληθῆ λέγειν τοῖς περὶ ὧν οὐκ ἴσασιν αὐτοὶ πιστεύειν αὐτοῖς μέλλουσιν προτιμῶντας.[6]

[1] προθυμούμενοι PF¹.
[2] δεῖ μὲν P Lat.: δίϊμεν rell.
[3] P: ἐπαγγελίας rell.
[4] + δεῖ FLVW et Lat. vid.: + δεῖν AM.
[5] καὶ FLAMVW.
[6] προτιμῶντας om. LAMVW.

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[a] Variant "to be accurate and speak."
[b] For similar observations on the duty of the historian see *B.J.* i. 16, *Ant.* i. 4 *et al.* Reinach stresses the fact that

BOOK XIV

(i. 1) Having related the history of Queen Alexandra and her death in the preceding book, we shall now speak of the events that followed immediately thereafter, keeping in mind one thing above all else, which is not to omit anything whether through ignorance or fault of memory. For while the relation and recording of events that are unknown to most people because of their antiquity require charm of exposition, such as is imparted by the choice of words and their proper arrangement and by whatever else contributes elegance to the narrative, in order that readers may receive such information with a certain degree of gratification and pleasure, nevertheless what historians should make their chief aim is to be accurate and hold everything else of less importance than speaking[a] the truth to those who must rely upon them in matters of which they themselves have no knowledge.[b] Introduction to Book XIV.

with Book XIV Josephus begins to use Nicolas of Damascus as his chief source (continuing to *Ant.* xvii. 206), but it should be noted that Josephus has freely drawn on Nicolas in the preceding book as well, as some of the notes indicate ; see also the Appendix on sources in the last volume of this translation. The reader may also be referred to the detailed but often speculative study of the parallelism between *Ant.* xiv. and *B.J.* i. by R. Laqueur in *Der jüdische Historiker Flavius Josephus*, 1920, pp. 128-221.

4 (2) Παραλαβόντος γὰρ τὴν βασιλείαν[1] Ὑρκανοῦ
τῷ τρίτῳ ἔτει τῆς ἑβδόμης καὶ ἑβδομηκοστῆς πρὸς
ταῖς ἑκατὸν ὀλυμπιάδος, ὑπατεύοντος Ῥωμαίων
Κυίντου Ὁρτησίου καὶ Κυίντου Μετέλλου, ὃς δὴ
καὶ Κρητικὸς ἐπεκαλεῖτο, πόλεμον εὐθὺς ἐκφέρει
πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀριστόβουλος, καὶ τῆς μάχης αὐτῷ
γενομένης πρὸς Ἱεριχοῦντι πολλοὶ τῶν στρατιω-
5 τῶν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτομολοῦσιν. οὗ
γενομένου φεύγει πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν Ὑρκανός,
ἔνθα συνέβαινε κατεῖρχθαι[2] τὴν Ἀριστοβούλου γυ-
ναῖκα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῆς μητρός,
καθὼς προειρήκαμεν[3]· καὶ τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτας δὲ
καταφυγόντας εἰς τὸν τοῦ ἱεροῦ περίβολον αἱρεῖ
6 προσβαλών.[4] καὶ λόγους ποιησάμενος πρὸς τὸν
ἀδελφὸν περὶ συμβάσεως καταλύεται τὴν ἔχθραν
ἐπὶ τῷ βασιλεύειν μὲν Ἀριστόβουλον, αὐτὸν δὲ
ζῆν ἀπραγμόνως, καρπούμενον ἀδεῶς τὴν ὑπάρ-
7 χουσαν αὐτῷ κτῆσιν. ταῦτα ἐπὶ τοῖς[5] ἐν τῷ

[1] παραλαβόντος . . . βασιλείαν PF: ἀρξαμένου τοίνυν τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης rell., om. Lat.

[2] κρατεῖσθαι LAMWE marg.

[3] post προειρήκαμεν lacunam statuit Niese.

[4] + δὲ LAMWE: καθὼς . . . προσβαλών om. Lat.

[5] τούτοις Hudson.

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[a] §§ 4-8 have partial parallels in *B.J.* i. 120-123.

[b] Variant "the high priesthood." The reading "royal power" (βασιλείαν) is supported by *B.J.* i. 120 and other passages, referred to in the following notes.

[c] The Olympiad and consular years correspond to 70/69 B.C.: thus Hyrcanus would have assumed royal power two years before the death of Alexandra, if she died in 67 B.C., as is most probable. Moreover we are told in *Ant.* xiv. 97 and xx. 244 that Aristobulus reigned 3 years and

Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II make an agreement whereby Aristobulus becomes king.

(2) [a] Now when Hyrcanus assumed royal power,[b] in the third year of the hundred and seventy-seventh Olympiad, the Roman consuls being Quintus Hortensius and Quintus Metellus, the same who was surnamed Creticus,[c] Aristobulus promptly declared war on him, and in the battle which he fought near Jericho many of the soldiers of Hyrcanus deserted to his brother. Upon this he fled to the citadel, where Aristobulus' wife and children had been confined by his mother, as we have said before.[d] And those of the opposite faction who had taken refuge in the precincts of the temple he attacked and seized.[e] And after proposing to his brother that they come to an agreement, he ended hostilities on the terms that Aristobulus should be king, while he himself should live without taking part in public affairs, and be undisturbed in the enjoyment of the possessions that he then had.[f] This pact they made under the auspices

6 months, and in *Ant.* xv. 180 that after Alexandra's death Hyrcanus was king 3 months; this makes a total of 3 years and 9 months for the two reigns; reckoning back from 63 B.C., when Pompey ended Aristobulus's reign, we arrive at 67 B.C. for the accession of Hyrcanus. Schürer, i. 256 n. 1, is probably right in assuming that Josephus has here relied on a chronological hand-book and has given a date inconsistent with native tradition.

[d] *Ant.* xiii. 426.

[e] *B.J.* i. 120 says more concretely that Hyrcanus seized Aristobulus' wife and children as hostages.

[f] Josephus here and in the parallel, *B.J.* i. 121, does not make it clear whether Hyrcanus gave up the high priesthood as well as the throne to Aristobulus, though the language in both passages (especially *Ant.* xiv. 7) suggests that he did. However, in *Ant.* xiv. 41, 97 and xx. 243-244 Josephus says plainly that Aristobulus became high priest in place of Hyrcanus. There is therefore no reason to assume, as some scholars do, that Hyrcanus continued as high priest between 67 and 63 B.C. See further A. Schalit, *BJPOS* 6 (1939), 145-148.

ἱερῷ συνθέμενοι καὶ ὅρκοις καὶ δεξιαῖς πιστωσά-
μενοι τὰς ὁμολογίας καὶ κατασπασάμενοι τοῦ
πλήθους παντὸς ὁρῶντος ἀλλήλους ἀνεχώρησαν, ὁ
μὲν εἰς τὰ βασίλεια, Ὑρκανὸς δ' ὡς ἰδιώτης
τυγχάνων[1] εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν Ἀριστοβούλου.
8 (3) Φίλος δέ τις Ὑρκανοῦ Ἰδουμαῖος, Ἀντί-
πατρος λεγόμενος, πολλῶν μὲν εὐπορῶν χρημάτων,
δραστήριος δὲ τὴν φύσιν ὢν καὶ στασιαστής,
ἀλλοτρίως εἶχε πρὸς τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον καὶ διαφό-
9 ρως διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Ὑρκανὸν εὔνοιαν. Νικόλαος
μέντοι φησὶν ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς τοῦτον εἶναι γένος ἐκ
τῶν πρώτων Ἰουδαίων τῶν ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος εἰς τὴν
Ἰουδαίαν ἀφικομένων. ταῦτα δὲ λέγει χαριζό-
μενος Ἡρώδῃ τῷ παιδὶ αὐτοῦ, βασιλεῖ τῶν Ἰου-
δαίων ἐκ τύχης τινὸς γενομένῳ, περὶ οὗ κατὰ
10 καιρὸν δηλώσομεν. οὗτος τοίνυν ὁ Ἀντίπατρος
Ἀντίπας τὸ πρῶτον ἐκαλεῖτο, καὶ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ
τοῦτο[2] ἦν τὸ ὄνομα, ὃν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως
καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ στρατηγὸν ἀποδειξάντων
ὅλης τῆς Ἰδουμαίας, ποιήσασθαι φιλίαν πρὸς τοὺς

[1] τυγχάνων om. FLAMVWE.
[2] + γὰρ P.

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[a] Laqueur, pp. 134-136, pointing out that *Ant.* gives Hyrcanus a less important position than *B.J.* (which says that "Hyrcanus, while abdicating the throne, should enjoy all his other honours as the king's brother"), attributes this slight difference, as similar ones, to Josephus' altered attitude toward the Herodians, whose ancestor Antipater was responsible for Hyrcanus' later triumph over Aristobulus.

[b] Justin Martyr, *Dial. c. Tryph.* 52, says that Antipater was an Ascalonite; Julius Africanus, *ap.* Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* i. 7. 11, says that Antipater's father Herod was a temple-slave of Apollo at Ascalon and that Antipater was

of the temple, and after confirming their agreement by oaths and pledges and embracing one another in the sight of all the people, they withdrew, Aristobulus to the palace, and Hyrcanus, as one who was now a private citizen,[a] to the house of Aristobulus.

(3) But there was a certain friend of Hyrcanus, an Idumaean called Antipater, who, having a large fortune and being by nature a man of action and a trouble-maker, was unfriendly to Aristobulus and quarrelled with him because of his friendliness toward Hyrcanus. Nicolas of Damascus, to be sure, says that his family belonged to the leading Jews who came to Judaea from Babylon.[b] But he says this in order to please Antipater's son Herod, who became king of the Jews by a certain turn of fortune, as we shall relate in the proper place.[c] This Antipater, it seems, was first called Antipas, which was also the name of his father,[d] whom King Alexander[e] and his wife appointed governor of the whole of Idumaea, and they say that he made friends of the neighbouring

The rise of the Idumaean Antipater.

carried off by Idumaean robbers as a boy; see further next note.

[c] In *Ant.* xv. In *B.J.* i. 123 Josephus says merely tha Antipater was an Idumaean by race and that "his ancestry, wealth and other advantages put him in the front rank of his nation." For a discussion of Josephus' varying attitude toward the father of Herod the Great and his apologist, Nicolas of Damascus, see Schürer i. 292 n. 3, Laqueur, pp. 136-139, Otto, *Her.* pp. 15, 17-18 and Jacoby, *FGH* ii. 381 and Commentary to fr. 96, p. 255. The latter argues that Nicolas really did invent a Babylonian Jewish ancestry for Herod, and that Hölscher, in *PW* ix. 1971 f., is wrong in believing that a Jewish polemicist has falsified Nicolas' account.

[d] According to Julius Africanus (see above, note *b*), Antipater's father was named Herod.

[e] Jannaeus.

ὁμοροῦντας αὐτῷ Ἄραβας καὶ Γαζαίους καὶ Ἀσκαλωνίτας λέγουσι, πολλαῖς αὐτοὺς καὶ μεγάλαις
11 ἐξιδιωσάμενον δωρεαῖς. τὴν οὖν τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλου δυναστείαν ὁ νεώτερος Ἀντίπατρος ὑφορώμενος, καὶ δεδιὼς μή τι πάθῃ διὰ τὸ πρὸς αὐτὸν μῖσος, ἐπισυνιστᾷ κατ' αὐτοῦ κρύφα διαλεγόμενος τῶν Ἰουδαίων τοὺς δυναστεύοντας, ἄδικον εἶναι λέγων περιορᾶν Ἀριστόβουλον ἀδίκως ἔχοντα τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ τὸν μὲν ἀδελφὸν ταύτης ἐκβεβληκότα πρεσβύτερον ὄντα, κατέχοντα δ' αὐτὴν οὖσαν ἐκεί-
12 νου διὰ τὸ πρεσβεῖον. τούτους δὲ[1] συνεχῶς πρὸς τὸν Ὑρκανὸν ποιούμενος διετέλει τοὺς λόγους, καὶ ὅτι κινδυνεύσει τὸ ζῆν, εἰ μὴ φυλάξαιτο ποιήσας αὑτὸν[2] ἐκποδών· τοὺς γὰρ φίλους τοὺς Ἀριστοβούλου μηδένα παραλείπειν καιρὸν ἔλεγε συμβουλεύοντας αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν ὡς τότε βεβαίως ἕξοντα
13 τὴν ἀρχήν. τούτοις Ὑρκανὸς ἠπίστει τοῖς λόγοις, φύσει χρηστὸς ὢν καὶ διαβολὴν δι' ἐπιείκειαν οὐ προσιέμενος ῥᾳδίως. ἐποίει δ' αὐτὸν τὸ ἄπραγμον καὶ τὸ παρειμένον τῆς διανοίας τοῖς ὁρῶσιν ἀγεννῆ καὶ ἄνανδρον δοκεῖν· τῆς δ' ἐναντίας φύσεως ἦν Ἀριστόβουλος, δραστήριος καὶ διεγηγερμένος τὸ φρόνημα.

14 (4) Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ὁ Ἀντίπατρος οὐ προσέχοντα ἑώρα τοῖς λόγοις τὸν Ὑρκανόν, οὐ διέλιπεν ἑκάστης ἡμέρας πλαττόμενος καὶ διαβάλλων πρὸς αὐτὸν

[1] τε PFV. [2] Niese: αὐτὸν codd. E.

Arabs and Gazaeans and Ascalonites, and completely won them over by many large gifts. Now the younger Antipater looked jealously on Aristobulus' power,[a] and fearing that he might suffer harm because of his hatred for him, he stirred up the powerful[a] Jews against him in secret conversations, saying that it was wrong to ignore the fact that Aristobulus wrongly held royal power and had driven his brother from the throne although he was the elder, and now occupied it though it belonged to the other by right of seniority. These were the arguments he unceasingly continued to address to Hyrcanus, adding that he was in danger of losing his life unless he insured his safety by taking himself out of his way.[b] For Aristobulus' friends, he said, were losing no opportunity of advising him to do away with Hyrcanus, as he would then hold power securely. But Hyrcanus gave no credence to these words, for he was naturally a decent man and because of his kindliness did not readily listen to slander. But his ineffectualness[c] and weakness of will made him seem ignoble and unmanly to those who observed him. Aristobulus, however, was of the opposite nature, being a man of action[c] and alert spirit.

(4) [d] And so when Antipater saw that Hyrcanus was paying no attention to what he said, he did not let a day go by without bringing false charges against Aristobulus before him, and slandering him by saying

Antipater persuades Hyrcanus to seek help from the Arab king Aretas against Aristobulus

[a] Gr. δυναστείαν . . . δυναστεύοντας. Two similar repetitions of a root occur in this section: ἄδικον . . . ἀδίκως and πρεσβύτερον . . . πρεσβεῖον.

[b] Text slightly emended. MSS.: "putting him (Aristobulus) out of the way."

[c] On this Thucydidean contrast of τὸ ἄπραγμον and δραστήριος see *Ant.* xiii. 408 note *a*.

[d] §§ 14-19 have partial parallels in *B.J.* i. 124-126.

τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον ὡς ἀποκτεῖναι θέλοντα, καὶ
μόλις ἐγκείμενος πείθει πρὸς Ἀρέταν αὐτῷ συμβου-
λεύσας φυγεῖν τὸν Ἀράβων βασιλέα· πεισθέντι
15 γὰρ ἔσεσθαι καὶ αὐτὸς σύμμαχος ὑπισχνεῖτο. ὁ
δὲ ταῦτ' ἀκούων συμφέρειν, ἦν[1] ἐπὶ τῷ[2] πρὸς τὸν
Ἀρέταν ἀποδρᾶναι, ἔστι δὲ ὅμορος τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ ἡ
Ἀραβία, καὶ δὴ πέμπει πρῶτον Ὑρκανὸς πρὸς τὸν
τῶν Ἀράβων βασιλέα τὸν Ἀντίπατρον ληψόμενον
πίστεις ὡς οὐκ ἐκδώσει τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἱκέτην αὐτοῦ
16 γενόμενον. λαβὼν δὲ τὰς πίστεις ὁ Ἀντίπατρος
ὑπέστρεψε πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ
μετ' οὐ πολὺ παραλαβὼν αὐτὸν καὶ τῆς πόλεως
ὑπεξελθὼν νύκτωρ καὶ πολλὴν ἀνύσας ὁδόν, ἧκεν
ἄγων αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν καλουμένην Πέτραν, ὅπου τὰ
17 βασίλεια ἦν τοῦ Ἀρέτα. μάλιστα δὲ ὢν φίλος τῷ
βασιλεῖ κατάγειν τὸν Ὑρκανὸν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν
παρεκάλει· καὶ τοῦθ' ἑκάστης ἡμέρας ποιῶν καὶ
οὐκ ἀνιείς, ἀλλὰ καὶ δωρεὰς προϊέμενος, πείθει τὸν
18 Ἀρέταν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ Ὑρκανὸς ὑπέσχετο
αὐτῷ καταχθεὶς καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν κομισάμενος
ἀποδώσειν τήν τε χώραν καὶ τὰς δώδεκα[3] πόλεις
ἃς Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ τῶν Ἀράβων
ἀφείλετο. ἦσαν δ' αὗται Μήδαβα, Λίββα, Δα-

[1] συμφέρειν ἦν P: ἔλεγε σύμφορον (συμφέρον V) εἶναι rell.
[2] ἐπὶ τῷ] ἐπὶ τὸ FL: τὸ V. [3] decem Lat.

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[a] Aretas III; *cf. Ant.* xiii. 360 note *e*.
[b] *Cf. Ant.* xiii. 391 note *f*.
[c] Petra is more than a hundred miles from Jerusalem as the crow flies. For a convenient account of the Hellenistic

that he wished to kill Hyrcanus; and by dint of constant pressure he persuaded him to take his advice and flee to Aretas,[a] the Arab king, promising that if he followed his advice, he too would be his ally. When Hyrcanus heard that this would be to his advantage, he was ready to flee to Aretas, for Arabia borders on Judaea.[b] However, he first sent Antipater to the Arab king to receive sworn assurances that if he came to him as a suppliant, Aretas would not deliver him up to his enemies. When Antipater had received these sworn assurances, he returned to Hyrcanus at Jerusalem; and not long afterward he slipped out of the city by night, taking Hyrcanus with him, and after travelling a great distance,[c] brought him to the city called Petra, where the palace of Aretas was. Being a very good friend of the king, he urged him to bring Hyrcanus back to Judaea; and as he did this every day without intermission and offered him gifts in addition, he finally persuaded Aretas.[d] Moreover Hyrcanus also promised him that if he were restored and received his throne, he would return to him the territory and the twelve cities which his father Alexander had taken from the Arabs.[e] These were Medaba,[f] Libba,[g] Dabaloth,[h] Ara-

city see G. Robinson, *The Sarcophagus of an Ancient Civilization*, 1930.

[d] Antipater also used flattery, according to *B.J.* i. 124-126.

[e] Some of the cities (which are not mentioned in *B.J.*) had been captured by Hyrcanus I. The correct forms of some of the names are very doubtful; *cf.* the list in *Ant.* xiii. 395.

[f] *Cf. Ant.* xiii. 255.

[g] Variants "Libanthra," "Livias."

[h] Conjectured, by Abel, *GP* ii. 148, for MS. "Nabaloth," "Naballo"; it is prob. bibl. Beth Diblathaim, mod. *Deleilât*, *c.* 5 miles N.E. of Libba.

βαλώθ,[1] Ἀράβαθα,[2] Ἄγαλλα, Ἀθώνη,[3] Ζώαρα, Ὠρωναΐν, Γοβολίς, Ἄρυδδα,[4] Ἄλουσα,[5] Ὤρυβδα.[6]

19 (ii. 1) Τούτων αὐτῷ τῶν ὑποσχέσεων γενομένων Ἀρέτας ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον μετὰ πέντε μυριάδων ἱπποτῶν ἅμα καὶ πεζῆς στρατιᾶς, καὶ νικᾷ τῇ μάχῃ. πολλῶν δὲ μετὰ τὴν νίκην πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν αὐτομολησάντων μονωθεὶς ὁ Ἀρι-
20 στόβουλος ἔφυγεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἀράβων βασιλεὺς πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιὰν ἀγαγὼν καὶ προσβαλὼν τῷ ἱερῷ τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον ἐπολιόρκει, προστιθεμένου καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῷ Ὑρκανῷ καὶ συμπολιορκοῦντος αὐτῷ, μόνων δὲ τῶν ἱερέων
21 τῷ Ἀριστοβούλῳ προσμενόντων. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀρέτας ἑξῆς βαλόμενος στρατόπεδα τῶν Ἀράβων καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων[7] ἰσχυρῶς ἐνέκειτο τῇ πολιορκίᾳ. τούτων δὲ γινομένων κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς τῶν ἀζύμων ἑορτῆς, ἣν φάσκα[8] λέγομεν, οἱ δοκιμώτατοι τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐκλιπόντες τὴν χώραν εἰς Αἴγυπτον
22 ἔφυγον. Ὀνίας δέ τις ὄνομα, δίκαιος ἀνὴρ καὶ

[1] Λίββα Δαβαλώθ Abel: Λίββα Ναβαλώθ P: Ναβαλλὼ Λιββανθρα F: Ναβαλλὼ Λιβίας LAMVW.

[2] Ῥαβαθά F: Βαρβαθα L: Θαράβαθα A^1 M^1: Θαραβασὰ V: Θαραβαθὰ W.

[3] Γάλαν Θώνη P: Γαλανθῶν F.

[4] Ὀρωναΐν, Γοβολίς, Ἄρυδδα Niese: Ὠρωναιδιγωβασιλισσαρυδδα P: Ὀρωναὶ Γοβολὸς Σαρυδδά F: *ορων Λιγμων* Ῥύδδα L: Ὀρὼν Λιγμὼ(ν) Μάρι(σ)σα rell.

[5] Λοῦσα LA^1W: Λούσσα V: om. M.

[6] Ὄρυβα LAMVW.

[7] Ἰδουμαίων P.

[8] πάσχα PF^1E.

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[a] Variants "Rabatha," "Barbatha," "Tharabatha"; it is bibl. Rabbath Moab, mod. *Rabba*, *c.* 15 miles E. of the Dead Sea and S. of its centre.

[b] Variant "Galan"; *cf. Ant.* xiii. 397 note *t*.

batha,[a] Agalla,[b] Athone,[c] Zoara,[d] Oronain,[e] Gobolis,[f] Arydda,[g] Alusa[h] and Orybda.[i]

(ii. 1) Because of these promises which were made to him, Aretas marched against Aristobulus with an army of fifty thousand horsemen and footsoldiers as well,[j] and defeated him in battle. After his victory many deserted to Hyrcanus, and Aristobulus, being left alone, fled to Jerusalem. Thereupon the Arab king took his whole army and attacked the temple, where he besieged Aristobulus; and the citizens, joining Hyrcanus' side, assisted him in the siege, while only the priests remained loyal to Aristobulus. And so Aretas placed the camps of the Arabs and Jews[k] next to one another, and pressed the siege vigorously. But as this action took place at the time of observing the festival of Unleavened Bread, which we call *Phaska*,[l] the Jews of best repute left the country and fled to Egypt. Now there was a certain Onias,[m] who, being a righteous man and dear to God,

Aretas and the partisans of Hyrcanus besiege Aristobulus in the temple during Passover.

The saintly Onias prays for peace but is stoned to death.

[c] Variant "Thone"; *cf. Ant.* xiii. 397 note *u*.

[d] *Cf. Ant.* xiii. 397 note *v*.

[e] The following three names are restored by Niese. On Oronain *cf. Ant.* xiii. 397 note *s*.

[f] According to Abel, *GP* ii. 148, this is Gabalos, mod. *el-Jebalin*, *c.* 6 miles E. of Zoara; *cf.* also *Ant.* ii. 6 note *o*.

[g] The mss. have "Sarydda," "Rydda," "Marisa." Abel locates Arydda near mod. *Naqb el-ʿArūd* in the Negeb.

[h] Variant "Lus(s)a." Elusa, mod. *Khalaṣa*, was an important city of the Negeb in Roman and Byzantine times.

[i] Variant "Oryba." Abel, *GP* ii. 148, suggests mod. *ʿAbda*, *c.* 20 miles S.E. of Elusa.

[j] *B.J.* i. 126, "fifty thousand, both horsemen and foot-soldiers."

[k] Variant "Idumaeans."

[l] Variant "Pascha," *cf. Ant.* ix. 263 note *a*. This Passover must have fallen in April 65 B.C., see below, § 25.

[m] For the rabbinic parallel to the following story of Onias see Derenbourg, pp. 112-113.

θεοφιλής, ὃς ἀνομβρίας ποτὲ οὔσης ηὔξατο τῷ θεῷ λῦσαι τὸν αὐχμὸν καὶ γενόμενος ἐπήκοος ὁ θεὸς ὗσεν, ἔκρυψεν ἑαυτὸν διὰ τὸ τὴν στάσιν ὁρᾶν ἰσχυρὰν ἐπιμένουσαν, ἀναχθέντα δ' εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἠξίουν ὡς ἔπαυσε τὴν ἀνομβρίαν εὐξάμενος, ἵν' οὕτως ἀρὰς θῇ κατὰ Ἀριστοβούλου καὶ τῶν συστασιαστῶν[1] αὐτοῦ.
23 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀντιλέγων καὶ παραιτούμενος ἐβιάσθη ὑπὸ
24 τοῦ πλήθους, στὰς μέσος αὐτῶν εἶπεν· "ὦ θεὲ βασιλεῦ τῶν ὅλων, ἐπεὶ οἱ μετ' ἐμοῦ νῦν ἑστῶτες σὸς δῆμός ἐστι καὶ οἱ πολιορκούμενοι δὲ ἱερεῖς σοί, δέομαι μήτε κατὰ τούτων ἐκείνοις ἐπακοῦσαι μήτε κατ' ἐκείνων ἃ οὗτοι παρακαλοῦσιν εἰς τέλος ἀγαγεῖν." καὶ τὸν μὲν ταῦτα εὐξάμενον περιστάντες οἱ πονηροὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων κατέλευσαν.

25 (2) Ὁ δὲ θεὸς ταύτης αὐτοὺς παραχρῆμα ἐτιμωρήσατο τῆς ὠμότητος, καὶ δίκην εἰσεπράξατο τοῦ Ὀνίου φόνου τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ· πολιορκουμένων τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλου συνέβη τὴν ἑορτὴν ἐπιστῆναι τὴν καλουμένην φάσκα, καθ'
26 ἣν ἔθος ἐστὶν ἡμῖν πολλὰ θύειν τῷ θεῷ. ἀποροῦντες δὲ θυμάτων οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον ἠξίωσαν αὐτοῖς τοὺς ὁμοφύλους παρασχεῖν, χρήματα λαβόντας ἀντὶ τῶν θυμάτων ὅσα θέλουσιν. τῶν δέ, εἰ βούλονται λαβεῖν, χιλίας δραχμὰς ὑπὲρ ἑκάστης κεφαλῆς καταβαλεῖν κελευόντων, προθύμως ὅ τε Ἀριστόβουλος καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς ὑπέστησαν, καὶ διὰ τῶν τειχῶν καθιμήσαντες ἔδωκαν αὐτοῖς
27 τὰ χρήματα. κἀκεῖνοι λαβόντες οὐκ ἀπέδωκαν τὰ

[1] στρατιωτῶν LAMW.

[a] This second mention of Passover (*cf.* § 21) and the two

had once in a rainless period prayed to God to end the drought, and God had heard his prayer and sent rain: this man hid himself when he saw that the civil war continued to rage, but he was taken to the camp of the Jews and was asked to place a curse on Aristobulus and his fellow-rebels, just as he had, by his prayers, put an end to the rainless period. But when in spite of his refusals and excuses he was forced to speak by the mob, he stood up in their midst and said, "O God, king of the universe, since these men standing beside me are Thy people, and those who are besieged are Thy priests, I beseech Thee not to hearken to them against these men nor to bring to pass what these men ask Thee to do to those others." And when he had prayed in this manner the villains among the Jews who stood round him stoned him to death.

(2) But God straightway punished them for this savagery, and exacted satisfaction for the murder of Onias in the following manner. While the priests and Aristobulus were being besieged, there happened to come round the festival called *Phaska*, at which it is our custom to offer numerous sacrifices to God.[a] But as Aristobulus and those with him lacked victims, they asked their countrymen to furnish them with these, and take as much money for the victims as they wished. And when these others demanded that they pay a thousand drachmas for each animal they wished to get, Aristobulus and the priests willingly accepted this price and gave them the money, which they let down from the walls by a rope. Their

God punishes the Jews for killing Onias.

different reasons given, in §§ 25 and 28, for the divine visitation show that Josephus has been careless in combining his sources.

θύματα, ἀλλ' εἰς τοῦτο πονηρίας ἦλθον ὥστε παραβῆναι τὰς πίστεις καὶ ἀσεβῆσαι εἰς τὸν θεόν, τὰ πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν μὴ παρασχόντες τοῖς δεομένοις.
28 παρασπονδηθέντες δὲ οἱ ἱερεῖς ηὔξαντο τῷ θεῷ δίκην αὐτῶν εἰσπράξασθαι παρὰ τῶν ὁμοφύλων, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἀνεβάλετο τὴν τιμωρίαν, ἀλλὰ πνεῦμα πολὺ καὶ βίαιον ἐπιπέμψας τὸν καρπὸν ἁπάσης τῆς χώρας διέφθειρεν, ὡς τὸν μόδιον τοῦ σίτου τότε αὐτοὺς[1] ἐξωνεῖσθαι δραχμῶν ἕνδεκα.

29 (3) Ἐν τούτῳ πέμπει καὶ[2] Σκαῦρον εἰς Συρίαν Πομπήιος, αὐτὸς ὢν ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ καὶ πολεμῶν ἔτι Τιγράνῃ. ὁ δὲ ἀφικόμενος εἰς Δαμασκὸν Λόλλιον μὲν[3] καὶ Μέτελλον νεωστὶ τὴν πόλιν ᾑρηκότας
30 εὑρὼν αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἠπείγετο. παραγενομένου δὲ πρέσβεις ἧκον πρὸς αὐτὸν παρά τε Ἀριστοβούλου καὶ Ὑρκανοῦ, συμμαχεῖν[4] ἀξιούντων ἑκατέροις. ὑπισχνουμένου δὲ Ἀριστοβούλου μὲν τετρακόσια δώσειν τάλαντα, τοῦ δὲ Ὑρκανοῦ τούτων οὐκ ἐλάττονα παρέξειν, προσδέχεται τὴν
31 Ἀριστοβούλου ὑπόσχεσιν· καὶ γὰρ εὔπορος χρημάτων καὶ μεγαλόψυχος ἦν καὶ μετριωτέρων ἠξίου τυγχάνειν, ὁ δὲ καὶ πένης ἦν καὶ γλίσχρος καὶ περὶ

[1] A: αὐτοῖς rell. E.
[2] καὶ om. P.
[3] μὲν om. P.
[4] συμμαχίαν P: εἰ βούλοιτο συμμαχεῖν FLAMW.

[a] In the rabbinic story the besiegers send up a pig for sacrifice.

[b] Graetz, *ap.* Derenbourg, p. 114 n. 3, in this connexion cites a passage from Dio Cassius, xxxvii. 11, concerning an earthquake in Asia in 64 B.C.

[c] The *modius* = *c.* ¼ bushel. On the price of wheat in this period see *Ant.* xii. 140 note *a* and, further, F. Heichelheim,

countrymen, however, after receiving the money did not deliver the victims, but went to such lengths of villainy that they violated their pledges and acted impiously toward God by not furnishing the sacrificial victims to those who were in need of them.[a] But the priests, on suffering this breach of faith, prayed to God to exact satisfaction on their behalf from their countrymen; and He did not delay their punishment, but sent a mighty and violent wind to destroy the crops of the entire country,[b] so that people at that time had to pay eleven drachmas for a *modius* of wheat.[c]

(3) [d] Meanwhile Pompey sent Scaurus also [e] to Syria, as he himself was in Armenia, still making war on Tigranes.[f] And when Scaurus came to Damascus, he found that Lollius and Metellus had just taken the city, and so he hurried on to Judaea. On his arrival envoys came to him from both Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, each of whom asked him to come to his aid. Aristobulus offered to give him four hundred [g] talents; and though Hyrcanus promised him no less a sum, he accepted the offer of Aristobulus, for he was both wealthy and generous and asked for more moderate terms, whereas Hyrcanus was poor and

The Roman general Scaurus favours Aristobulus and forces Aretas to raise the siege of the temple.

"Syria," in T. Frank, *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, vol. iv. 1938.

[d] §§ 29-34 have partial parallels in *B.J.* i. 127-131.

[e] *i.e.* in addition to Gabinius. One MS. omits "also."

[f] Tigranes surrendered to Pompey in the autumn of 66 B.C. Scaurus was sent to Damascus the following spring. M. Cary in *CAH* ix. 381 n. 1 states that "The chronology of the Roman occupation of Syria as given in Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities* (§§ 34-36 as against 29-33) is sadly confused." He does not make clear, however, wherein the confusion lies.

[g] 300, according to *B.J.* i. 128.

μειζόνων τὴν ἄπιστον προύτεινεν ἐπαγγελίαν. οὐ
γὰρ ἴσον ἦν βίᾳ πόλιν ἑλεῖν ἐν ταῖς μάλιστα ὀχυρὰν
καὶ δυνατήν, ἢ φυγάδας ἐκβαλεῖν μετὰ τοῦ Ναβα-
ταίων πλήθους οὐκ εὖ πρὸς πόλεμον διακειμένων.
32 τούτῳ τοίνυν προσθέμενος διὰ τὰς προειρημένας
αἰτίας, λαβὼν τὰ χρήματα λύει τὴν πολιορκίαν,
κελεύσας ἀναχωρεῖν τὸν Ἀρέταν ἢ πολέμιον αὐτὸν
33 ἀποδειχθήσεσθαι Ῥωμαίων. καὶ Σκαῦρος μὲν εἰς
Δαμασκὸν πάλιν ἀνεχώρησεν, Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ
μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως ἐπί τε Ἀρέταν καὶ Ὑρ-
κανὸν ἐστράτευσε, καὶ συμβαλὼν αὐτοῖς περὶ[1] τὸν
καλούμενον Παπυρῶνα[2] νικᾷ τῇ μάχῃ καὶ κτείνει
περὶ ἑξακισχιλίους τῶν πολεμίων, μεθ᾽ ὧν ἔπεσε
καὶ Φαλλίων[3] ὁ Ἀντιπάτρου ἀδελφός.
34 (iii. 1) Μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ δὲ Πομπηίου εἰς Δαμασκὸν
ἀφικομένου καὶ κοίλην Συρίαν ἐπιόντος ἧκον παρ᾽
αὐτὸν πρέσβεις ἐξ ὅλης Συρίας καὶ Αἰγύπτου καὶ
ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας· ἔπεμψε γὰρ αὐτῷ μέγα δῶρον
Ἀριστόβουλος, ἄμπελον χρυσῆν ἐκ πεντακοσίων
35 ταλάντων. μέμνηται δὲ τοῦ δώρου καὶ Στράβων
ὁ Καππάδοξ, λέγων οὕτως· "ἦλθε δὲ καὶ ἐξ
Αἰγύπτου πρεσβεία καὶ στέφανος ἀπὸ χρυσῶν
τετρακισχιλίων καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας εἴτε ἄμπελος

[1] PE: ἐπὶ rell. [2] Capiron Lat.
[3] καὶ Φαλλίων] Κεφαλλίων LA²: Κεφαλίων A¹WE: Cephalon Lat.

[a] *B.J.* i. 128 has "Three hundred talents offered by Aristobulus outweighed considerations of justice." Laqueur, pp. 143-145, attributes the more favourable attitude toward Aristobulus and the criticism of Hyrcanus in *Ant.* to Josephus' later anti-Herodian bias.

[b] Schlatter, p. 393 n. 1, conjectures that this place, otherwise unknown, was somewhere near Jericho.

niggardly and held out untrustworthy promises for greater concessions.[a] Nor was it as easy to take by force a city which was among the most strongly fortified and powerful, as to drive out some fugitives together with the host of Nabataeans, who were not well fitted for warfare. And so he took Aristobulus' side for the reasons mentioned above, and accepting the money, put an end to the siege by commanding Aretas to withdraw or else be declared an enemy of the Romans. Then Scaurus again withdrew to Damascus, while Aristobulus with a large force marched against Aretas and Hyrcanus, and on engaging them at a place called Papyron,[b] defeated them in battle and killed some six thousand of the enemy, among the fallen being Phallion,[c] the brother of Antipater.

Pompey at Damascus receives gifts from the Jews.

(iii. 1) When Pompey not long afterward came to Damascus and was advancing into Coele-Syria,[d] there came to him envoys from all of Syria and Egypt and Judaea. Aristobulus, for example, sent him a fine gift, which was a golden vine worth five hundred talents. This gift is also mentioned by Strabo of Cappadocia in the following words. "There also came from Egypt an embassy and a crown worth four thousand pieces of gold, and from Judaea

[c] Variant "Cephalion." He is not mentioned elsewhere, except in *B.J.*, which has "Phallion."

[d] Note that §§ 34-36 refer to the spring of 63 B.C., while §§ 37 ff. (also from Strabo) go back to the autumn of 64 B.C. Josephus has again been careless in combining his new source, Strabo, with his earlier source in *B.J.*, namely Nicolas of Damascus. Pompey's relations with the Jewish factions are also described in Diodorus xl. 2. *Cf.* further Laqueur, pp. 145-148, who conjectures that the common source of Strabo and Diodorus was Theophanes of Mytilene, the friend and biographer of Pompey.

εἴτε κῆπος· τερπωλὴν ὠνόμαζον τὸ δημιούργημα.
36 τοῦτο μέντοι τὸ δῶρον ἱστορήκαμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀνακείμενον ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Καπετωλίου, ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχον Ἀλεξάνδρου[1] τοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων βασιλέως. ἐτιμήθη δὲ εἶναι πεντακοσίων ταλάντων. Ἀριστόβουλον μὲν οὖν τοῦτο λέγεται πέμψαι τὸν Ἰουδαίων δυνάστην."

37 (2) Μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἧκον πάλιν πρέσβεις πρὸς αὐτὸν[2] Ἀντίπατρος μὲν ὑπὲρ Ὑρκανοῦ, Νικόδημος[3] δὲ ὑπὲρ Ἀριστοβούλου, ὃς δὴ καὶ κατηγόρει τῶν λαβόντων χρήματα Γαβινίου μὲν πρότερον Σκαύρου δὲ ὕστερον,[4] τοῦ μὲν τριακόσια τοῦ δὲ τετρακόσια τάλαντα, πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ τούτους ἐχθροὺς
38 αὐτῷ κατασκευάζων. κελεύσας δὲ ἥκειν[5] τοὺς διαμφισβητοῦντας, ἐνισταμένου τοῦ ἔαρος ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ τῶν χειμαδίων ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ

[1] Ἀριστοβούλου E: Aristoboli filii Alexandri Lat.
[2] πρὸς τὸν Πομπήϊον L: πρὸς αὐτὸν Πομπήϊον AM.
[3] Nicomedes Lat.
[4] δεύτερον LAMW.
[5] ad Damascum venire Lat.

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[a] From the description of the object as a vine or garden it may be conjectured that its Heb. name was *'ēden* = "delight."

[b] Does the citation from Strabo end with the preceding sentence, as Naber assumes, or continue to the words "five hundred talents," as Niese assumes, or further, to the words "ruler of the Jews," as Reinach and, apparently, Schürer assume? On this depends the answer to the problem who is meant by "we ourselves." Schürer, i. 295 n. 12, points out that if Josephus were here writing in the first person he would have mentioned the burning of the temple of Jupiter in A.D. 69. Reinach, moreover, argues that the phrase τὸν Ἰουδαίων δυνάστην, "ruler of the Jews," is not in the style of either Josephus or Nicolas. Though this is not

either a vine or garden; *terpōlē* (delight)[a] is what they called this work of art. Moreover we ourselves[b] have examined this gift, which has been set up in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus at Rome, and has an inscription reading, 'From Alexander,[c] the king of the Jews.' It was valued at five hundred talents. And it is said to have been sent by Aristobulus, the ruler of the Jews."

(2) And not long afterward[d] envoys again came to him, Antipater on behalf of Hyrcanus, and Nicodemus[e] on behalf of Aristobulus: the latter, indeed, also accused Gabinius[f] and Scaurus of taking money from him, Gabinius first getting three hundred talents, and Scaurus later four hundred talents; and so Aristobulus made these men his enemies in addition to the others he had. Pompey thereupon told the disputants to come to him,[g] and at the beginning of spring, took his force from their winter quarters, and set out for the region of Damascus.

Pompey, after campaigning in Syria, hears the charges of the Jews against Hyrcanus and Aristobulus.

certain, so far as Nicolas is concerned, it must be admitted that it is more in the style of Strabo. For these reasons I also have assumed that "we ourselves" means Strabo.

[c] The Epitome has "Aristobulus," Lat. has "Aristobulus, son of Alexander"; these are probably scribal corrections. It is quite possible that Aristobulus presented a gift with the name of his father Alexander (Jannaeus) inscribed on it, the gift having originally been meant for presentation by Alexander. One may also render the Gr. here, "having an inscription of Alexander, the king of the Jews," *i.e.* Alexander's name may not have appeared as that of the donor. See Reinach, *Textes*, p. 93 n. 3.

[d] In the autumn of 64 B.C. (see § 34 note *d*), when Pompey was at Aspis (exact location unknown) in Syria, according to Dio Cassius xxxvii. 7.

[e] Lat. "Nicomedes."

[f] Gabinius has not been mentioned before; *cf.* § 29 note *e*.

[g] Lat. "to come to Damascus."

τῆς Δαμασκηνῆς. καὶ τήν τε ἄκραν ἐν παρόδῳ τὴν
ἐν Ἀπαμείᾳ κατέσκαψεν, ἣν ὁ Κυζικηνὸς ἐτείχισεν
39 Ἀντίοχος, καὶ τὴν Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Μενναίου
χώραν κατεπόνησεν,[1] ἀνδρὸς πονηροῦ καὶ οὐδὲν
ἐλάττονος[2] Διονυσίου τοῦ Τριπολίτου τοῦ πελε-
κισθέντος, ὅσπερ καὶ κηδεύων ἐτύγχανεν αὐτῷ,
χιλίοις μέντοι ταλάντοις ἐξωνησαμένου τὴν ὑπὲρ
τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων τιμωρίαν, οἷς Πομπήιος τοὺς
40 στρατιώτας ἐμισθοδότησεν. ἐξεῖλε δὲ καὶ Λυσιάδα
χωρίον, οὗ τύραννος ἦν Σίλας ὁ Ἰουδαῖος. δι-
ελθὼν δὲ τὰς πόλεις τήν τε Ἡλιούπολιν καὶ τὴν
Χαλκίδα καὶ τὸ διεῖργον ὄρος ὑπερβαλὼν τὴν κοίλην
προσαγορευομένην Συρίαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλης[3] εἰς
41 Δαμασκὸν ἧκεν.[4] ἔνθα δὴ καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων δι-
ήκουσε καὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων αὐτῶν, οἳ πρός τε
ἀλλήλους διεφέροντο ὅ τε Ὑρκανὸς καὶ Ἀριστό-
βουλος, καὶ τὸ ἔθνος πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους, τὸ μὲν οὐκ
ἀξιοῦν βασιλεύεσθαι· πάτριον γὰρ εἶναι τοῖς ἱερεῦσι
τοῦ τιμωμένου παρ' αὐτοῖς θεοῦ πειθαρχεῖν, ὄντας
δὲ τούτους ἀπογόνους τῶν ἱερέων εἰς ἄλλην μετ-
άγειν ἀρχὴν τὸ ἔθνος ζητῆσαι, ὅπως καὶ δοῦλον
42 γένοιτο. Ὑρκανὸς δὲ κατηγόρει ὅτι πρεσβύτερος

[1] Dindorf: κατενόησεν codd. E.
[2] ἔλαττον Niese cum E.
[3] Πέλλης FLAMV: Πέλλεις W.
[4] καὶ τὸ . . . ἧκεν] in medio positum montem ascendit et ad inferiorem Syriam Damascumque pervenit Lat.

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[a] Text slightly emended.
[b] *Cf. Ant.* xiii. 392, 418.
[c] Possibly to be identified with the Bacchius Judaeus men-

And on the way he demolished the citadel at Apamea, which Antiochus Cyzicenus had built, and he also devastated [a] the territory of Ptolemy, the son of Mennaeus,[b] a worthless fellow, no less than was Dionysius [c] of Tripolis, a relative of his by marriage, who was beheaded; but Ptolemy escaped punishment for his sins by paying a thousand talents, with which Pompey paid the wages of his soldiers. He also destroyed the fortress of Lysias,[d] of which the Jew Silas was lord. And passing the cities of Heliopolis and Chalcis, he crossed the mountain that divides the region called Coele-Syria from the rest of Syria,[e] and came to Damascus. Here he heard the case of the Jews and their leaders, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, who were quarrelling with one another, while the nation was against them both and asked not to be ruled by a king, saying that it was the custom of their country to obey the priests of the God who was venerated by them, but that these two, who were descended from the priests, were seeking to change their form of government in order that they might become a nation of slaves. As for Hyrcanus, he charged that though he was the elder

Hyrcanus and Aristobulus accuse each other before Pompey.

tioned on a coin of A. Plautius, aedile in 54 B.C., as suggested by Reinach, *ap.* Schürer i. 295 n. 14.

[d] Exact site unknown, but somewhere in the Lebanon region.

[e] The variant "Pella" is excluded by the context. Pompey marched from N. to S.—Apamea to Heliopolis to Chalcis to Damascus. The distinction between Coele-Syria = Palestine and Transjordan and the rest of Syria = Northern Syria is also made in § 79 (if we accept Niese's reading) and Philo, *Leg. ad Gaium* 36, as earlier commentators have pointed out. The mountain referred to is Anti-Lebanon. For Talmudic reference to this mountainous country see Derenbourg, p. 100 n.

ὧν ἀφαιρεθείη τὸ πρεσβεῖον ὑπὸ Ἀριστοβούλου, καὶ μικρὸν ἔχοι μέρος τῆς χώρας ὑφ' αὑτῷ, τὴν δὲ
43 ἄλλην βίᾳ λαβὼν Ἀριστόβουλος· τάς τε καταδρομὰς τὰς ἐπὶ τοὺς ὁμόρους καὶ τὰ πειρατήρια τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν συστήσαντα διέβαλεν, οὐκ ἂν οὐδ' ἀποστῆναι λέγων τὸ ἔθνος αὐτοῦ, εἰ μὴ βίαιός τε[1] καὶ ταραχώδης ὑπῆρχεν. συνηγόρουν δὲ αὐτῷ ταῦτα λέγοντι πλείους ἢ χίλιοι τῶν δοκιμωτάτων Ἰουδαίων Ἀντιπάτρου παρα-
44 σκευάσαντος. ὁ δὲ τοῦ μὲν ἐκπεσεῖν αὐτὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς τὴν ἐκείνου φύσιν ᾐτιᾶτο, ἄπρακτον οὖσαν καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' εὐκαταφρόνητον, αὐτὸν δὲ ἔλεγε φόβῳ[2] τοῦ μὴ πρὸς ἄλλους μεταστῆναι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐξ ἀνάγκης αὐτὴν ὑπελθεῖν, προσαγορεύεσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦτο ὅπερ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν πατέρα.
45 καὶ δὴ μάρτυρας τούτων ἐκάλει τοὺς νέους καὶ σοβαρωτέρους, ὧν ἐβδελύττοντο τὰς πορφυρίδας καὶ τὰς κόμας καὶ τὰ φάλαρα καὶ τὸν ἄλλον κόσμον, ὃν ὥσπερ οὐ δίκην ὑφέξοντες, ἀλλ' ὡς εἰς πομπὴν προϊόντες περιέκειντο.[3]
46 (3) Πομπήιος δὲ τούτων ἀκούσας καὶ καταγνοὺς Ἀριστοβούλου βίαν, τότε μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀπέπεμψε διαλεχθεὶς πρᾴως, ἐλθὼν δ' εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἔλεγε διατάξειν ἕκαστα,[4] ἐπειδὰν τὰ τῶν Ναβαταίων πρῶτον ἴδῃ. τέως δὲ ἐκέλευσεν ἡσυχίαν

[1] τις P.
[2] non tantum pro regni ambitione quantum metu Lat.
[3] ὑπέκειντο FLVW.
[4] + καλῶς LAMW.

[a] Probably in Idumaea, where Antipater was strongest.
[b] We do not know what part Aristobulus played in the pirate raids which were a great menace in the early part of

brother, he had been deprived of his rights as first-born by Aristobulus, and that he had but a small part of the country under his rule,[a] while Aristobulus had the rest, which he had taken by force. He also denounced him as the one who had instigated the raids against neighbouring peoples and the acts of piracy at sea,[b] and added that the nation would not have rebelled against him if he had not been a man given to violence and disorder. In making these accusations he was supported by more than a thousand of the most reputable Jews, whom Antipater had provided for that purpose. Aristobulus, on the other hand, blamed Hyrcanus' fall from power on his own character, which was ineffectual and therefore invited contempt; as for himself, he said that he had of necessity taken over the royal power for fear[c] that it might pass into the hands of others, and that his title was exactly the same as that of his father Alexander. He then called, as witnesses to these statements, some young swaggerers, who offensively displayed their purple robes, long hair, metal ornaments and other finery, which they wore as if they were marching in a festive procession instead of pleading their cause.[d]

(3) When Pompey had heard these claims, he condemned Aristobulus for his violence, but for the moment dismissed the claimants with a courteous speech, saying that he would settle all these matters[e] when he came to their country, after he had first seen how things were with the Nabataeans. Until

Pompey defers his decision. Aristobulus prepares to resist.

the 1st century B.C., especially off the coast of Cilicia, and which Pompey was appointed to suppress in 67 B.C.

[c] Lat. "not so much out of desire to reign as for fear."

[d] *Cf.* the description of Herod's appearance on a similar occasion in § 173.

[e] The variant adds "satisfactorily."

ἄγειν, θεραπεύων ἅμα τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον, μὴ τὴν
χώραν ἀποστήσῃ καὶ διακλεισθῇ[1] τῶν παρόδων.
47 ἔτυχε μέντοι τοῦτο ἐξ Ἀριστοβούλου γενόμενον·
οὐ γὰρ ἀναμείνας οὐδὲν ὧν διελέχθη πρὸς αὐτὸν
ὁ Πομπήιος, εἰς Δῖον[2] πόλιν ἦλθε, κἀκεῖθεν εἰς
τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀπῆρεν.
48 (4) Ὀργίζεται δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις Πομπήιος, καὶ τὴν
ἐπὶ τοὺς Ναβαταίους ἀναλαβὼν στρατιὰν[3] ἔκ τε
Δαμασκοῦ καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Συρίας ἐπικουρίαν, σὺν
τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν αὐτῷ Ῥωμαίων τάγμασιν ἐ-
49 στράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον. ὡς δὲ παρ-
αμειψάμενος Πέλλαν καὶ Σκυθόπολιν εἰς Κορέας
ἧκεν, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ τῆς Ἰουδαίας διεξιόντι τὴν
μεσόγειον, ἐνταῦθα εἴς τι περικαλλὲς ἔρυμα ἐπ᾽
ἄκρου τοῦ ὄρους ἱδρυμένον Ἀλεξάνδρειον[4] Ἀριστο-
βούλου[5] συμπεφευγότος, πέμψας ἐκέλευσεν ἥκειν
50 πρὸς αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ παραινούντων πολλῶν μὴ πο-
λεμεῖν Ῥωμαίοις κάτεισι, καὶ δικαιολογησάμενος
πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς, πάλιν εἰς τὴν
ἀκρόπολιν ἀναβαίνει Πομπηίου συγχωρήσαντος.
51 καὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἐποίησε δὶς καὶ τρίς, ἅμα μὲν κολακεύων

[1] Niese: διακλεισθείη codd. E.
[2] ex B.J. Spanheim: Δεῖλον P: Δήλιον rell.
[3] στρατείαν Lat.
[4] VE: Ἀλεξάνδριον rell.
[5] εἰς ὃ (ὃ om. W) Ἀριστοβούλου FLAMVW Lat. vid.: εἴσω Ἀριστοβούλου Gutschmid.

[a] Conjectured from *B.J.* (Διοσπόλεως) for ms. Deilum or Delium. On the site of Dium *cf. Ant.* xiii. 393 note *c*. Some scholars take *B.J.* i. 132 to mean that Pompey led Aristobulus from Damascus to Dium before the latter set out for Judaea. But this is a doubtful interpretation.

then he told them to keep the peace; at the same time he treated Aristobulus with deference for fear that he might incite the country to rebellion and block his passage through it. This, however, was, as it happened, the very thing which Aristobulus did, for without waiting for any of the things to be done of which Pompey had spoken to him, he came to the city of Dium,[a] and from there set out for Judaea.

(4) [b] But Pompey, who was angered by this action, took the army that he had prepared against the Nabataeans, and the auxiliaries from Damascus and the rest of Syria, as well as the Roman legions already at his disposal, and marched against Aristobulus. After passing through Pella and Scythopolis, he came to Coreae,[c] which is the beginning of Judaea as one goes through the interior, and from there sent to Aristobulus, who had taken refuge in Alexandreion,[d] a very beautiful[e] stronghold situated on the top of a mountain, and commanded him to come to him. Thereupon Aristobulus, whom many of his men urged not to make war on the Romans,[f] came down and after arguing with his brother about his right to the throne, again went up to the citadel with Pompey's consent; and this he did two or three times, for on

Pompey orders Aristobulus to yield, and is unwillingly obeyed.

[b] On the parallelism between §§ 48-56 and *B.J.* i. 133-140 see Laqueur, pp. 158-161.

[c] Mod. *Tell Mazār* near *Qarawā*, *c.* 3 miles N.W. of the confluence of the Jabbok and Jordan rivers, and the same distance N.E. of Alexandreion: *cf.* Abel, *GP* ii. 301 and Moulton in *BASOR* 62 (April 1936), 14.

[d] Mod. *Qarn Sartabeh*, *cf.* *Ant.* xiii. 417 note *c*.

[e] *B.J.* "lavishly equipped."

[f] *B.J.* mentions "the irresistible might of the Romans." Laqueur thinks that this phrase is omitted in *Ant.* because Josephus "had freed himself from the official Roman *Politik*." But *cf.* § 72 note *b* (p. 484).

τὴν[1] ἀπ' αὐτοῦ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐλπίδα καὶ πρὸς ἕκαστον ὧν κελεύσειε Πομπήιος ὑπακούειν ὑποκρινόμενος, ἅμα δὲ ἀναχωρῶν εἰς τὸ ἔρυμα[2] ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ καταλύειν αὑτὸν[3] καὶ πρὸς τὸ πολεμεῖν ἀφορμὴν αὑτῷ[4] παρασκευαζόμενος, δεδιὼς μὴ τὴν
52 ἀρχὴν[5] εἰς Ὑρκανὸν περιστήσῃ. κελεύοντος δὲ Πομπηίου παραδιδόναι τὰ ἐρύματα καὶ τοῖς φρουράρχοις ἐπιστέλλειν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χειρί (παραδέχεσθαι δὲ ἄλλως ἀπείρητο), πείθεται μέν, δυσανασχετῶν δὲ ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ ἐν παρασκευῇ
53 τοῦ πολεμεῖν ἐγίνετο. καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ Πομπηίῳ στρατιὰν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἄγοντι καθ' ὁδὸν ἀφικόμενοί τινες ἐκ Πόντου τὴν Μιθριδάτου τελευτὴν ἐμήνυον τὴν ἐκ[6] Φαρνάκου τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτῷ γενομένην.
54 (iv. 1) Στρατοπεδευσάμενος δὲ περὶ Ἱεριχοῦντα, οὗ τὸν φοίνικα τρέφεσθαι συμβέβηκε καὶ τὸ ὀποβάλσαμον μύρων ἀκρότατον, ὃ τῶν θάμνων τεμνομένων ὀξεῖ λίθῳ ἀναπιδύει ὥσπερ ὀπός,
55 ἕωθεν ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων ἐχώρει. καὶ μετανοήσας Ἀριστόβουλος ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς Πομπήιον, καὶ χρήματα διδοὺς καὶ τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις αὐτὸν εἰσδεχόμενος παρεκάλει παύσασθαι τοῦ πολέμου καὶ πράττειν μετ' εἰρήνης ὅ τι βούλεται. συγγνοὺς

[1] διὰ τὴν Gutschmid.
[2] τὰ ἐρύματα LAMW Lat.
[3] A: αὐτὸν rell.
[4] A: αὐτῷ rell.
[5] post ἀρχὴν verba ἑαυτὸν ἀφελόμενος excidisse coni. Richards et Shutt.
[6] τὴν ἐκ PE: διὰ rell.

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[a] Conjectured variant "he flattered him (Pompey) because of the hope."
[b] Variant "strongholds."
[c] It has been conjectured that the words "depose him

the one hand he cherished the hope [a] that he would obtain the kingdom from Pompey, and so feigned obedience to everything he commanded, and on the other hand, he retired to the stronghold [b] in order not to weaken his force and to prepare for himself supplies for making war, as he feared that Pompey might transfer [c] the royal power to Hyrcanus. Pompey, however, commanded him to deliver up his strongholds and give the orders therefor to his garrison commanders in his own handwriting—for they had been forbidden to accept orders in any other form,—and so he obeyed, but retired resentfully to Jerusalem and set about preparing for war. And not long afterward Pompey led his army against him; and on the way there came to him messengers from Pontus, who informed him of the death of Mithridates at the hands of his son Pharnaces.[d]

(iv. 1) He then encamped near Jericho,[e] where they cultivate the palm tree and opobalsamum, that most excellent of ointments, which, when the shrubs are cut with a sharp stone, oozes out like sap, and at dawn set out for Jerusalem.[f] And Aristobulus, thinking better of his plan,[g] came to Pompey and promising to give him money and admit him into Jerusalem, begged him to stop the war and do as he liked peace-

Aristobulus fails to carry out his agreement with Pompey and is placed under arrest.

and" have fallen out before "transfer." *Ant.* is rather fuller on the subject of Aristobulus' motives than the parallel in *B.J.*

[d] In the spring of 63 B.C. Appian, *Mithr.* 111-112, says that Mithridates was killed, at his own request, by one of his bodyguard after his son's revolt.

[e] According to *B.J.* i. 138 the news of Mithridates' death reached Pompey near Jericho.

[f] A full description of Jericho and its vegetation is given in *B.J.* iv. 459-475.

[g] He was "terrified," according to *B.J.* i. 139.

δὲ ὁ Πομπήιος αὐτῷ δεομένῳ, πέμπει Γαβίνιον καὶ
56 στρατιώτας ἐπί τε τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὴν πόλιν. οὐ
μὴν ἐπράχθη τι τούτων, ἀλλ' ἐπανῆλθεν ὁ Γαβίνιος
τῆς τε πόλεως ἀποκλεισθεὶς καὶ τὰ χρήματα μὴ
λαβών, τῶν Ἀριστοβούλου στρατιωτῶν[1] οὐκ ἐπι-
57 τρεψάντων τὰ συγκείμενα γενέσθαι. ὀργὴ δ' ἐπὶ
τούτοις Πομπήιον λαμβάνει, καὶ τὸν Ἀριστό-
βουλον ἐν φυλακῇ καταστήσας αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν
ἔρχεται, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα οὖσαν ὀχυράν, μόνῳ
δὲ τῷ βορείῳ μέρει φαύλως ἔχουσαν· περιέρχεται
γὰρ αὐτὴν φάραγξ εὐρεῖά τε καὶ βαθεῖα, ἐντὸς
ἀπολαμβάνουσα τὸ ἱερόν, λιθίνῳ περιβόλῳ καρ-
τερῶς πάνυ τετειχισμένον.

58 (2) Ἦν δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔνδον στάσις οὐχ
ὁμονοούντων περὶ τῶν ἐνεστώτων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν
ἐδόκει παραδιδόναι Πομπηίῳ τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δὲ τὰ
Ἀριστοβούλου φρονοῦντες ἀποκλείειν τε καὶ πο-
λεμεῖν παρῄνουν τῷ κἀκεῖνον ἔχεσθαι δεδεμένον.
φθάσαντες δὲ οὗτοι τὸ ἱερὸν καταλαμβάνουσι, καὶ
τὴν τείνουσαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γέφυραν εἰς τὴν πόλιν
59 ἔκοψαν,[2] εἰς πολιορκίαν εὐτρεπιζόμενοι. οἱ δὲ
ἕτεροι δεξάμενοι τὴν στρατιὰν ἐνεχείρισαν Πομ-
πηίῳ τήν τε πόλιν καὶ τὰ βασίλεια. Πομπήιος δὲ
Πείσωνα τὸν ὑποστράτηγον πέμψας σὺν στρατιᾷ
τήν τε πόλιν καὶ τὰ βασίλεια ἐφρούρει, καὶ τὰς
οἰκίας τὰς πρὸς τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ ὅσα ἦν ἔξω περὶ τὸ
60 ἱερὸν ὠχύρου. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον λόγους συμ-

[1] στασιωτῶν Niese. [2] ἔκοψαν om. PE Lat.

[a] Conjectured variant "partisans," which would agree more closely with *B.J.* i. 140.

ably. On his making this request Pompey pardoned him and sent Gabinius and some soldiers to get the money and take over the city. None of these promises was carried out, however, and Gabinius returned after being shut out of the city and failing to receive the money; for Aristobulus' soldiers [a] had not permitted the agreement to be carried out. And [b] Pompey, being seized with anger at this, placed Aristobulus under arrest, and himself went to the city, which was strongly fortified on all sides except on the north, where it was weak. For it is surrounded by a broad and deep ravine which takes in the temple, and this is very strongly protected by an encircling wall of stone.[c]

The partisans of Aristobulus in Jerusalem prepare to resist Pompey.

(2) But among the men within the city there was dissension, for they were not of one mind concerning their situation; to some it seemed best to deliver the city to Pompey, while those who sympathized with Aristobulus urged that they shut Pompey out and make war on him because he held Aristobulus prisoner. It was this party that made the first move and occupied the temple, and cutting the bridge that stretches from it to the city,[d] prepared themselves for a siege. But those of the other faction admitted Pompey's army and handed over to him the city and the palace. Pompey thereupon sent his legate Piso with an army to guard the city and the palace,[e] and fortified the houses adjoining the temple and the places round the temple outside. His first step was to

[b] §§ 57-79 have parallels in *B.J.* i. 141-158; on the parallelism see Laqueur, pp. 161-163.

[c] See the fuller description of Jerusalem and its natural divisions in *B.J.* v. 136-141.

[d] The Upper City, on the western hill.

[e] Of the Hasmonaeans, *cf. B.J.* ii. 344.

βατηρίους τοῖς ἐντὸς προσέφερεν, οὐχ ὑπακουόντων δὲ εἰς ἃ προεκαλεῖτο[1] τὰ πέριξ ἐτείχιζε[2] χωρία, πρὸς ἅπαντα Ὑρκανοῦ προθύμως ὑπηρετοῦντος. Πομπήιος δὲ ἔωθεν[3] στρατοπεδεύεται κατὰ τὸ βό-
61 ρειον τοῦ ἱεροῦ μέρος, ὅθεν ἦν ἐπίμαχον. ἀνεστήκεσαν δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθα μεγάλοι πύργοι καὶ τάφρος τε ὀρώρυκτο καὶ βαθείᾳ περιείχετο φάραγγι· ἀπερρώγει γὰρ καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν (τῆς γεφύρας ἀνατετραμμένης) ἐφ' οὗ δὴ[4] Πομπήιος καὶ τὸ χῶμα ὁσημέραι ταλαιπώρως[5] ἐγήγερτο, τεμνόν-
62 των τὴν πέριξ ὕλην Ῥωμαίων. καὶ ἐπειδὴ τοῦτ' εἶχεν ἱκανῶς, μόλις πλησθείσης τῆς τάφρου διὰ βάθος ἄπειρον, προσβαλὼν μηχανὰς καὶ ὄργανα ἐκ Τύρου κομισθέντα ἐπιστήσας κατήρασσε τὸ ἱερὸν
63 τοῖς πετροβόλοις. εἰ δὲ μὴ πάτριον ἦν ἡμῖν ἀργεῖν τὰς ἑβδομάδας ἡμέρας, οὐκ ἂν ἠνύσθη τὸ χῶμα κωλυόντων ἐκείνων· ἄρχοντας μὲν γὰρ μάχης καὶ τύπτοντας ἀμύνασθαι δίδωσιν ὁ νόμος, ἄλλο δέ τι δρῶντας τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκ ἐᾷ.
64 (3) Ὃ δὴ καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι συνιδόντες, κατ' ἐκείνας τὰς ἡμέρας, ἃς δὴ σάββατα καλοῦμεν, οὔτ' ἔβαλλον

[1] E: προσεκαλεῖτο codd.
[2] ἐτείχισε FLAMVW.
[3] P Lat.: ἔσωθεν rell. E: ἔξωθεν Dindorf.
[4] ἐφ' οὗ δὴ P: ἐφ' οὗ διῆγε rell.: in qua valle Lat.
[5] ταλαιπωρούμενος P: ταλαιπωρούμενον FLV: ταλαιπωρουμένοις E.

[a] A Thucydidean phrase (Thuc. v. 76. 1). The parallel in *B.J.* i. 144 has λόγοις συμβῆναι. A variation of the Thucydidean phrase is λόγων συμβατικῶν in *Ant.* xviii. 102.

offer conciliatory terms[a] to those within, but as they would not listen to his proposals, he fortified the surrounding places with walls, with Hyrcanus willingly assisting him in all ways. And at dawn[b] Pompey pitched his camp on the north[c] side of the temple, where it was open to attack. But even here stood great towers,[d] and a trench had been dug, and the temple was surrounded by a deep ravine; for there was a steep slope on the side toward the city after the bridge was destroyed, and at this spot Pompey by great labour day by day had caused earthworks to be raised, for which the Romans cut down the timber round about. And when these were high enough, though the trench was filled up with difficulty because of its immense depth, he moved up and set in place the siege engines and instruments of war that had been brought from Tyre, and began to batter the temple with his catapults. But if it were not our national custom to rest on the Sabbath day, the earthworks would not have been finished, because the Jews would have prevented this; for the Law permits us to defend ourselves against those who begin a battle and strike us, but it does not allow us to fight against an enemy that does anything else.[e]

Pompey captures Jerusalem. The heroism of the Jewish priests.

(3) [f] Of this fact the Romans were well aware, and on those days which we call the Sabbath, they did

[b] Variant "within" (the city): conjectured variant "without."

[c] *Cf.* § 57. What follows here indicates that Pompey attacked the temple from the west as well as north.

[d] The towers are not mentioned in *B.J.* They were probably those of the Hasmonaean fortress N.W. of the temple (the later Antonia), *cf. Ant.* xiii. 307 note.

[e] *Cf. Ant.* xii. 277 (and note) for a different formulation of this principle.

[f] §§ 64-68 have only a few verbal parallels in *B.J.* i. 146-148.

τοὺς Ἰουδαίους οὔτ᾽ εἰς χεῖρας αὐτοῖς ὑπήντων, χοῦν δὲ καὶ πύργους ἀνίστασαν καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα προσῆγον, ὥστε αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἐνεργὰ

65 ταῦτα εἶναι. μάθοι δ᾽ ἄν τις ἐντεῦθεν τὴν ὑπερβολὴν ἧς ἔχομεν περὶ τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβείας καὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν νόμων, μηδὲν ὑπὸ τῆς πολιορκίας διὰ φόβον ἐμποδιζομένων πρὸς τὰς ἱερουργίας, ἀλλὰ δὶς τῆς ἡμέρας πρωΐ τε καὶ περὶ ἐνάτην ὥραν ἱερουργούντων ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ, καὶ μηδ᾽ εἴ τι περὶ τὰς προσβολὰς δύσκολον εἴη τὰς θυσίας παριέντων.[1]

66 καὶ γὰρ ἁλούσης τῆς πόλεως περὶ τρίτον μῆνα τῇ τῆς νηστείας ἡμέρᾳ κατὰ τὴν ἐνάτην καὶ ἑβδομηκοστὴν καὶ ἑκατοστὴν ὀλυμπιάδα ὑπατευόντων Γαΐου Ἀντωνίου καὶ Μάρκου Τυλλίου[2] Κικέρωνος, οἱ πολέμιοι μὲν εἰσπεσόντες ἔσφαττον τοὺς ἐν τῷ

67 ἱερῷ, οἱ δὲ πρὸς ταῖς θυσίαις οὐδὲν ἧττον ἱερουργοῦντες διετέλουν, οὔτε ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου τοῦ περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς οὔτε ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἤδη φονευομένων ἀναγκασθέντες ἀποδρᾶναι, πᾶν δ᾽ ὅ τι δέοι παθεῖν τοῦτο παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ὑπομεῖναι τοῖς βωμοῖς κρεῖττον εἶναι νομίζοντες ἢ παρελθεῖν τι τῶν

[1] παυόντων P.
[2] Τυλαίου P: Τουλίου FLAMW.

[a] 3 P.M. On these daily sacrifices see *Ant.* iii. 237 note *d*.
[b] Not the third month of the Jewish year (roughly June) but the third month of the siege, as we are told in *B.J.* i. 149; see next note.
[c] The 179th Olympiad (first year) extended from July 64 to July 63 B.C.; the consulship of Antonius and Cicero was in 63 B.C.; the combination of the two dates gives us the first half of 63 B.C. for the capture of the city. This date cannot be harmonized with the mention of the Fast Day, if by this Josephus means the Day of Atonement, which falls on the 10th of Tishri (roughly October). A plausible ex-

not shoot at the Jews or meet them in hand to hand combat, but instead they raised earthworks and towers, and brought up their siege-engines in order that these might be put to work the following day. And one may get an idea of the extreme piety which we show toward God and of our strict observance of the laws from the fact that during the siege the priests were not hindered from performing any of the sacred ceremonies through fear, but twice a day, in the morning and at the ninth hour,[a] they performed the sacred ceremonies at the altar, and did not omit any of the sacrifices even when some difficulty arose because of the attacks. And indeed when the city was taken, in the third month,[b] on the Fast Day, in the hundred and seventy-ninth Olympiad, in the consulship of Gaius Antonius and Marcus Tullius Cicero,[c] and the enemy rushed in and were slaughtering the Jews in the temple, those who were busied with the sacrifices none the less continued to perform the sacred ceremonies; nor were they compelled, either by fear for their lives or by the great number of those already slain, to run away, but thought it better to endure whatever they might have to suffer there beside the altars than to neglect any of the

planation of the difficulty was given long ago by Herzfeld (cited by Schürer i. 298 n. 23 and Reinach). Josephus is here supplementing Nicolas' account from those of Strabo and other historians, who, like many pagan writers, erroneously referred to the Sabbath as a fast day; *cf.* Strabo xvi. 763, who says Pompey took Jerusalem "on a fast day, they say, when the Jews refrain from all work," and Dio Cassius xxvii. 16, who says that the city was taken "on the day of Kronos" (=the Sabbath). The city probably fell about July 63 B.C. if, as Josephus (or Nicolas) says, the siege lasted three months, since Pompey apparently started operations in the spring of 63 B.C. (*cf.* § 53 note *d*).

68 νομίμων. ὅτι δὲ οὐ λόγος ταῦτα μόνον ἐστὶν
ἐγκώμιον ψευδοῦς εὐσεβείας ἐμφανίζων, ἀλλ' ἀλή-
θεια, μαρτυροῦσι πάντες οἱ τὰς κατὰ Πομπήιον
πράξεις ἀναγράψαντες, ἐν οἷς καὶ Στράβων καὶ
Νικόλαος καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῖς Τίτος Λίβιος ὁ τῆς
Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἱστορίας συγγραφεύς.

69 (4) Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ μηχανήματος προσαχθέντος
σεισθεὶς ὁ μέγιστος τῶν πύργων κατηνέχθη καὶ
παρέρρηξέν τι χωρίον, εἰσεχέοντο μὲν οἱ πολέμιοι,
πρῶτος δὲ αὐτῶν Κορνήλιος Φαῦστος Σύλλα παῖς
σὺν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώταις ἐπέβη τοῦ τείχους,
μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν Φούριος[1] ἑκατοντάρχης ἅμα τοῖς
ἑπομένοις κατὰ θάτερον μέρος, διὰ μέσων δὲ
Φάβιος καὶ αὐτὸς ἑκατοντάρχης σὺν στίφει καρ-
70 τερῷ. φόνου δ' ἦν πάντα ἀνάπλεα. καὶ τῶν
Ἰουδαίων οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, οἱ δὲ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων[a]
ἀνῃροῦντο, εἰσὶν δ' οἳ καὶ κατὰ κρημνῶν ἑαυτοὺς
ἐρρίπτουν καὶ πῦρ ἐνιέντες εἰς τὰς οἰκίας ἐνεπίμ-
πραντο, τὰ γινόμενα καρτερεῖν οὐχ ὑπομένοντες.
71 ἔπεσον δὲ τῶν μὲν Ἰουδαίων εἰς μυρίους[2] καὶ
δισχιλίους, Ῥωμαίων δὲ πάνυ ὀλίγοι. ἐλήφθη δὲ
αἰχμάλωτος καὶ Ἀψάλωμος, θεῖος ἅμα καὶ πεν-
θερὸς Ἀριστοβούλου. παρενομήθη δὲ οὐ μικρὰ
περὶ τὸν ναὸν ἄβατόν τε ὄντα ἐν τῷ πρὶν χρόνῳ
72 καὶ ἀόρατον· παρῆλθε γὰρ εἰς τὸ ἐντὸς ὁ Πομπήιος
καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν οὐκ ὀλίγοι, καὶ εἶδον ὅσα μὴ

[1] ed. pr. Lat.: Φρουρίας P: Φρούριος rell.
[2] δισμυρίους LAMW Lat.

[a] That is, by Jews of the opposite faction, as we are told in *B.J.* i. 150.

ordinances. And that this is not merely a story to set forth the praises of a fictitious piety, but the truth, is attested by all those who have narrated the exploits of Pompey, among them Strabo and Nicolas and, in addition, Titus Livius, the author of a History of Rome.

The Romans slaughter the defenders of the temple.

(4) Now when the siege-engine was brought up, the largest of the towers was shaken and fell, making a breach through which the enemy poured in; first among them was Cornelius Faustus, the son of Sulla, who with his soldiers mounted the wall, and after him the centurion Furius, with those who followed him, on the other side, and between them Fabius, another centurion, with a strong and compact body of men. And there was slaughter everywhere. For some of the Jews were slain by the Romans, and others by their fellows [a]; and there were some who hurled themselves down the precipices,[b] and setting fire to their houses, burned themselves within them, for they could not bear to accept their fate. And so of the Jews there fell some twelve thousand,[c] but of the Romans only a very few.[d] One of those taken captive was Absalom, the uncle and at the same time father-in-law of Aristobulus.[e] And not light was the sin committed against the sanctuary,[f] which before that time had never been entered or seen. For Pompey and not a few of his men went into it and

Pompey respects the sanctity of the temple.

[b] A Thucydidean phrase (Thuc. vii. 44. 8), also found in the parallel in *B.J.*

[c] Variant "twenty-two thousand"; *B.J.* has "twelve thousand."

[d] *B.J.* adds that many Romans were wounded.

[e] *Cf. Ant.* xiii. 323.

[f] The Temple building itself, called τὸ ἅγιον in *B.J.* (*cf. Ant.* viii. 71), as opposed to its precincts.

θεμιτὸν ἦν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ἢ μόνοις τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν. ὄντων[1] δὲ τραπέζης τε χρυσῆς[2] καὶ λυχνίας ἱερᾶς[3] καὶ σπονδείων[4] καὶ πλήθους[5] ἀρωμάτων, χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς ἱερῶν χρημάτων εἰς δύο χιλιάδας ταλάντων, οὐδενὸς ἥψατο δι' εὐσέβειαν, ἀλλὰ κἀν τούτῳ τῆς περὶ
73 αὐτὸν ἀξίως ἔπραξεν ἀρετῆς. τῇ τε ὑστεραίᾳ καθαίρειν παραγγείλας τὸ ἱερὸν τοῖς ναοπόλοις καὶ τὰ νόμιμα ἐπιφέρειν τῷ θεῷ, τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀπέδωκεν Ὑρκανῷ διά τε τἆλλα ὅσα χρήσιμος ὑπῆρξεν αὐτῷ, καὶ ὅτι τοὺς κατὰ τὴν χώραν Ἰουδαίους Ἀριστοβούλῳ συμπολεμεῖν ἐκώλυσε, καὶ τοὺς αἰτίους τοῦ πολέμου τῷ πελέκει διεχρήσατο. τὸν δὲ Φαῦστον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὅσοι τῷ τείχει προθύμως ἐπέβησαν τῶν πρεπόντων ἀρι-
74 στείων ἠξίωσεν. καὶ τὰ μὲν Ἱεροσόλυμα ὑποτελῆ φόρου Ῥωμαίοις ἐποίησεν, ἃς δὲ πρότερον οἱ ἔνοικοι πόλεις ἐχειρώσαντο τῆς κοίλης Συρίας ἀφελόμενος ὑπὸ τῷ σφετέρῳ στρατηγῷ ἔταξε, καὶ

[1] εὑρὼν L[1]AMW: invenerunt Lat.
[2] χρυσᾶς τραπέζας L: τραπέζας χρυσᾶς AM: τραπέζας τε χρυσᾶς W: mensam auream Lat.
[3] πέριξ LAMW Lat. [4] σπονδεῖα LW: σπονδία AM.
[5] πλῆθος LAMW Lat.

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[a] So also says Cicero, *Pro Flacco* 67. However, Dio Cassius, xxvii. 16. 4, says that "all these things were plundered." Meyer, *Ursprung*, ii. 312 n. 1, calls the latter statement "unquestionably false." There seems to be no allusion to any plundering by Pompey in the apocryphal collection, *Psalms of Solomon*, which date from about this period.

[b] Pompey's "piety" and "virtuous character" are not mentioned in *B.J.* This omission in *B.J.*, not commented

saw what it was unlawful for any but the high priests to see. But though the golden table was there and the sacred lampstand and the libation vessels and a great quantity of spices, and beside these, in the treasury, the sacred moneys amounting to two thousand talents, he touched none of these[a] because of piety, and in this respect also he acted in a manner worthy of his virtuous character.[b] And on the morrow he instructed the temple servants to cleanse the temple and to offer the customary sacrifice to God, and he restored the high priesthood to Hyrcanus because in various ways he had been useful to him and particularly because he had prevented the Jews throughout the country from fighting on Aristobulus' side; and those responsible for the war he executed by beheading. He also bestowed on Faustus and the others who had mounted the wall with alacrity fitting rewards for their bravery. And he made Jerusalem tributary[c] to the Romans, and took from its inhabitants the cities of Coele-Syria which they had formerly subdued,[d] and placed them under his own governor[e]; Pompey's reorganization of the Jewish state.

upon by Laqueur, seems to contradict his theory (*cf.* § 50 note *f*) that *Ant.* conforms less to the "official Roman *Politik*" than does *B.J.* On the other hand it must be admitted that his theory is supported by the fact that *Ant.* omits, in § 73, the statement in *B.J.* i. 153, "by these methods, in which goodwill played a larger part than terrorism, he (Pompey), like the able general he was, conciliated the people."

[c] ὑποτελῆ φόρου is a Thucydidean phrase (Thuc. i. 66), not found in the parallel, *B.J.* i. 154, which has ἐπιτάσσει φόρον.

Jerusalem is here mentioned as the political centre of the Jewish state.

[d] *Cf.* the partial list of conquered cities in *Ant.* xiii. 395.

[e] The legate of the province of Syria, *cf.* § 76.

τὸ σύμπαν ἔθνος, ἐπὶ μέγα πρότερον αἰρόμενον,
75 ἐντὸς τῶν ἰδίων ὅρων συνέστειλεν. καὶ Γάδαρα
μὲν μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν κατασκαφεῖσαν[1] ἀνέκτισε,
Δημητρίῳ χαριζόμενος τῷ Γαδαρεῖ ἀπελευθέρῳ
ἑαυτοῦ· τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς Ἵππον καὶ Σκυθόπολιν καὶ
Πέλλαν καὶ Δῖον καὶ Σαμάρειαν ἔτι τε Μάρισαν
καὶ Ἄζωτον καὶ Ἰάμνειαν καὶ Ἀρέθουσαν τοῖς
76 οἰκήτορσιν ἀπέδωκεν. καὶ ταύτας μὲν ἐν τῇ
μεσογείῳ χωρὶς τῶν κατεσκαμμένων, Γάζαν δὲ
πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ καὶ Ἰόππην καὶ Δῶρα καὶ
Στράτωνος πύργον (ᾗ, κτίσαντος αὐτὴν Ἡρώδου
μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ λιμέσιν τε καὶ ναοῖς κοσμή-
σαντος, Καισάρεια μετωνομάσθη) πάσας ὁ Πομπήιος
ἀφῆκεν ἐλευθέρας καὶ προσένειμε τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ.
77 (5) Τούτου τοῦ πάθους τοῖς[2] Ἱεροσολύμοις αἴτιοι
κατέστησαν Ὑρκανὸς καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος πρὸς ἀλ-
λήλους στασιάσαντες· τήν τε γὰρ ἐλευθερίαν ἀπ-
εβάλομεν καὶ ὑπήκοοι Ῥωμαίοις κατέστημεν, καὶ
τὴν χώραν ἣν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐκτησάμεθα τοὺς Σύρους
ἀφελόμενοι, ταύτην ἠναγκάσθημεν ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς
78 Σύροις, καὶ προσέτι πλείω ἢ μύρια τάλαντα
Ῥωμαῖοι ἐν βραχεῖ χρόνῳ παρ' ἡμῶν εἰσεπράξαντο,
καὶ ἡ βασιλεία πρότερον[3] τοῖς κατὰ γένος ἀρχ-

[1] καταστραφεῖσαν P: dirutam Lat.
[2] τοῖς ἐν AMW.
[3] ἡ πρότερον AMVW.

[a] *Cf. Ant.* xiii. 356, where its capture, but not its destruction, is mentioned.

[b] Dium is not mentioned in the parallel in *B.J.*

[c] Arethusa, not mentioned previously in *Ant.*, should be a city on the coast, to judge from its position in the list, and is therefore presumably to be distinguished from the Arethusa (mod. *Restān*) in northern Syria, near Emesa (*Homs*).

[d] To this list of cities we should add several more in the

and the entire nation, which before had raised itself so high, he confined within its own borders. He also rebuilt Gadara,[a] which had been demolished a little while before, to please Demetrius the Gadarene, his freedman; and the other cities, Hippus, Scythopolis, Pella, Dium,[b] Samaria, as well as Marisa, Azotus, Jamneia and Arethusa,[c] he restored to their own inhabitants.[d] And not only these cities in the interior, in addition to those that had been demolished, but also the coast cities of Gaza, Joppa, Dora and Straton's Tower—this last city, which Herod refounded magnificently and adorned with harbours and temples, was later renamed Caesarea[e]—all these Pompey set free and annexed them to the province.[f]

(5) [g] For this misfortune which befell Jerusalem[h] Hyrcanus and Aristobulus were responsible, because of their dissension. For we lost our freedom and became subject to the Romans, and the territory which we had gained by our arms and taken from the Syrians we were compelled to give back to them, and in addition the Romans exacted of us in a short space of time more than ten thousand talents; and the royal power which had formerly been bestowed

The Jewish leaders' responsibility for the national misfortune.

Decapolis, as Schürer remarks, i. 299 n. 25, the era of which begins with their liberation by Pompey. Josephus here mentions only the most important cities in this region.

[e] *Cf. Ant.* xv. 331 ff.

[f] Of Syria, as *B.J.* i. 157 explicitly says. On the civic status of Judaea and the surrounding territory under Roman rule between 63 and 37 B.C., see works cited in Appendix L.

[g] §§ 77-78 have no parallel in *B.J.* Laqueur, p. 162, sees in these sections another (indirect) attack of Josephus on the Herodian usurpers. One wonders why Josephus should here disguise a sentiment expressed so clearly elsewhere in *Ant.*, *e.g.* § 491.

[h] Variant "those in Jerusalem."

ἱερεῦσιν διδομένη, τιμὴ[1] δημοτικῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐγένετο. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων κατὰ χώραν ἐροῦμεν.

79 Πομπήιος δὲ τήν τε κοίλην καὶ τὴν ἄλλην[2] Συρίαν ἕως Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ καὶ Αἰγύπτου Σκαύρῳ παραδοὺς καὶ δύο τάγματα Ῥωμαίων, ἐπὶ Κιλικίαν ᾤχετο, ἐπειγόμενος εἰς Ῥώμην. ἐπήγετο δὲ μετὰ τῆς γενεᾶς καὶ Ἀριστόβουλον δεδεμένον· δύο γὰρ ἦσαν αὐτῷ θυγατέρες καὶ τοσοῦτοι υἱεῖς, ὧν εἷς[3] Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν ἀπέδρα, ὁ δὲ νεώτερος[4] Ἀντίγονος συναπεκομίζετο[5] εἰς Ῥώμην ἅμα ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς.

80 (v. 1) Σκαύρου δ' ἐπὶ Πέτραν τῆς Ἀραβίας στρατεύσαντος καὶ διὰ τὸ δυσεμβολωτάτην[6] εἶναι τὰ ἐν κύκλῳ δῃοῦντος αὐτῆς, καὶ τοῦ στρατεύματος λιμήναντος,[7] Ἀντίπατρος κατ' ἐντολὴν Ὑρκανοῦ σῖτον ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, ὅσων ἐνέδει,

81 παρεῖχεν.[8] πεμφθείς τε πρὸς Ἀρέταν πρεσβευτὴς ὑπὸ Σκαύρου διὰ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν[9] ξενίαν, πείθει καὶ[10] αὐτὸν ἀργύριον ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ δῃωθῆναι τὴν χώραν δοῦναι, καὶ αὐτὸς[11] ἐγγυητὴς τριακοσίων

[1] τιμὴ om. AM Lat.
[2] τήν τε κοίλην καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Niese: τήν τε κοίλην ἄλλην P: τὴν κοίλην rell. Lat.
[3] εἷς om. P.
[4] νεώτατος PAMW Lat.
[5] συνεπεκομίζετο FAMW: συνεπικομίζετο L: συνεκομίζετο V: ἀνεκομίζετο Gutschmid.
[6] δυσάλωτον P.
[7] P: λιμώττοντος rell.
[8] παρείχετο FLV.
[9] P: ὑποῦσαν rell.
[10] καὶ om. P.
[11] αὐτοῖς P.

on those who were high priests by birth became the privilege of commoners. But of this we shall speak in the proper place.[a] Now[b] Pompey gave over to Scaurus Coele-Syria and the rest of Syria[c] as far as the Euphrates river and Egypt, and two Roman legions, and then went off to Cilicia, making haste to reach Rome.[d] And with him he took Aristobulus in chains, together with his family; for he had two daughters and as many sons; but one of them, Alexander, got away, while the younger son, Antigonus, was carried off to Rome together with his sisters.[e]

Pompey carries Aristobulus and his family as captives to Rome.

(v. 1) Scaurus then[f] marched against Petra in Arabia, and because it was difficult of access,[g] ravaged the country round about it, but as his army suffered from hunger, Antipater, at the command of Hyrcanus, furnished him with grain from Judaea and whatever other provisions he needed. And when Antipater was sent by Scaurus as an envoy to Aretas because of their friendly relations, he persuaded him to pay a sum of money to save his country from being ravaged, and himself be-

Antipater reconciles Scaurus with Aretas.

[a] In *Ant.* xv.

[b] On the parallelism between §§ 79-126 and *B.J.* i. 157-186, see Laqueur, pp. 163-165.

[c] Conjectured by Niese. ms. P omits "and" after "Coele-Syria"; the other mss. omit "and the rest of Syria." Niese's conjecture is supported by *B.J.* i. 157.

[d] Pompey spent the winter of 63–62 B.C. in Asia Minor, and did not reach Rome until the following winter, 62–61 B.C. Here too, as in § 34, Josephus' chronology is rather confused.

[e] Antigonus later escaped from Rome with his father, *cf.* § 96.

[f] The "then" (Gr. δέ) is merely transitional. *B.J.* has "meanwhile," which is chronologically smoother, as Scaurus marched on Petra in 62 B.C.

[g] Variant "difficult to capture."

ταλάντων γίνεται. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔλυσε τὸν πόλεμον Σκαῦρος, οὐχ ἧττον αὐτὸς ἢ συνέβαινεν Ἀρέταν ἐπιθυμεῖν τοῦτο γενέσθαι βουλόμενος.

82 (2) Χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Ἀλεξάνδρου τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καταтρέχοντος τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλου παιδός, στρατηγὸς Γαβίνιος ἐκ Ῥώμης εἰς Συρίαν ἧκεν, ὃς ἄλλα τε λόγου ἄξια διεπράξατο καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἐστράτευσε, μηκέτι Ὑρκανοῦ πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνου ῥώμην ἀντέχειν δυναμένου, ἀλλ' ἀνεγείρειν ἤδη καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων τεῖχος ἐπιχειροῦντος, ὅπερ
83 καθεῖλε[1] Πομπήιος. ἀλλὰ τούτου μὲν αὐτὸν ἐπέσχον οἱ ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαῖοι. περιιὼν δὲ ἐν κύκλῳ τὴν χώραν πολλοὺς ὥπλιζε τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ συνέλεξε ταχὺ μυρίους μὲν ὁπλίτας πεντακοσίους δὲ πρὸς τοῖς χιλίοις ἱππεῖς, Ἀλεξάνδρειόν τε ὠχύρου τὸ πρὸς ταῖς Κορέαις ἔρυμα καὶ Μαχαι-
84 ροῦντα πρὸς τοῖς Ἀραβίοις ὄρεσιν. ἔρχεται οὖν ἐπ' αὐτὸν Γαβίνιος, Μᾶρκον Ἀντώνιον προπέμψας σὺν ἄλλοις ἡγεμόσιν· οἱ δὲ ὁπλίσαντες Ῥωμαίων τοὺς ἑπομένους καὶ σὺν τούτοις τοὺς ὑπηκόους Ἰουδαίους, ὧν Πειθόλαος ἡγεῖτο καὶ Μάλιχος, προσλαβόντες δὲ καὶ τὸ Ἀντιπάτρου ἑταιρικὸν

[1] P Lat.: εἷλε rell.

[a] *Cf. B.J.* i. 159, "and the Arab king was persuaded to pay three hundred talents." Laqueur does not comment on this discrepancy, which, incidentally, is difficult to reconcile with his theory about the anti-Herodian changes in *Ant.*

[b] Gabinius had been consul in 58 B.C. and came to Syria as proconsul in 57 B.C. In *B.J.* i. 160 Josephus says that he came as successor to Scaurus, overlooking the two intervening governors, *cf.* Dr. Thackeray's note *ad loc.* On Gabinius' extortions from the provincials see Dio Cassius xxxix. 55-56 and Cicero, *Pro Sestio* 43.

came surety for three hundred talents.[a] And on these terms Scaurus ended the war, being no less eager to have this come about than was Aretas.

Gabinius becomes governor of Syria and defeats Alexander the son of Aristobulus

(2) But some time later, while Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, was overrunning Judaea, Gabinius came to Syria from Rome as governor,[b] and after achieving many other things worthy of note, also marched against Alexander; for Hyrcanus was no longer able to hold out against the strength of Alexander, who was actually attempting to raise again the wall of Jerusalem which Pompey had destroyed. But this he was stopped from doing by the Romans there.[c] He then went round the country and armed many of the Jews, and soon collected ten thousand heavy-armed soldiers and fifteen hundred horse, and fortified the strongholds of Alexandreion near Coreae and Machaerūs[d] near the mountains of Arabia.[e] Gabinius therefore went out against him, sending ahead Mark Antony with some other officers. These armed the Romans who accompanied them,[f] and beside them the Jews who were submissive, led by Peitholaus and Malichus, and taking along

[c] Schalit, p. 35, suggests that these Romans were *negotiatores* or business agents who had come to exploit Judaea's farms and industries.

[d] On these two fortresses see *Ant.* xiii. 417 notes *c* and *d*. Aristobulus had earlier yielded them to Pompey, *cf.* §§ 50-52. Presumably Alexander now refortified them.

[e] *Ant.* omits the fortress of Hyrcania, mentioned in *B.J.* i. 161 (on its location see *Ant.* xiii. 417 note *b*). Laqueur, p. 217, explains its omission here by supposing that Josephus was ignorant of its location. This seems doubtful, particularly because of its being mentioned together with the other two fortresses below, in § 89.

[f] These Romans (perhaps also *negotiatores*, *cf.* above, note *c*) are not mentioned in *B.J.*

ὑπήντων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ· ἠκολούθει δὲ καὶ Γαβίνιος
85 σὺν τῇ φάλαγγι. καὶ ἀναχωρεῖ μὲν ἐγγὺς Ἱεροσολύμων Ἀλέξανδρος, συμπεσόντων δὲ ἀλλήλοις ἐκεῖ καὶ μάχης γενομένης κτείνουσι μὲν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τῶν πολεμίων περὶ τρισχιλίους, ζωγροῦσι δὲ οὐκ ἐλάττους.

86 (3) Ἐν τούτῳ Γαβίνιος ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρειον ἐλθὼν προυκαλεῖτο τοὺς ἔνδον εἰς διαλύσεις, συγγνώσεσθαι περὶ τῶν πρόσθεν αὐτοῖς ἡμαρτημένων ὁμολογῶν. στρατοπεδευομένων δὲ πολλῶν πρὸ τοῦ ἐρύματος πολεμίων, ἐφ' οὓς ἀνῄεσαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος ἐπιφανῶς ἀγωνισάμενος καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποκτείνας ἔδοξεν ἠριστευκέναι.
87 Γαβίνιος μὲν οὖν μέρος τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐνταυθοῖ καταλιπών, ἕως[1] ἂν ἐκπολιορκηθῇ[2] τὸ χωρίον, αὐτὸς ἐπῄει τὴν ἄλλην Ἰουδαίαν, καὶ ὅσαις γε[3] ἐπετύγχανε καθῃρημέναις τῶν πόλεων κτίζειν παρ-
88 εκελεύετο. καὶ ἀνεκτίσθησαν Σαμάρεια καὶ Ἄζωτος καὶ Σκυθόπολις καὶ Ἀνθηδὼν καὶ Ῥαφία καὶ Ἄδωρα[4] Μάρισά τε καὶ Γάζα καὶ ἄλλαι οὐκ ὀλίγαι. τῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων πειθομένων οἷς ὁ Γαβίνιος προσέταττε, βεβαίως οἰκηθῆναι τότε συνέβαινε τὰς πόλεις, πολὺν χρόνον ἐρήμους γενομένας.

89 (4) Ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐπάνεισιν ἐπὶ[5] τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρειον, καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν

[1] Niese: ὡς codd. E: ut Lat.
[2] ἐκπολιορκηθείη FLAMW. [3] γε om. P.
[4] P: Δῶρα rell. [5] PE: εἰς rell.

[a] ἑταιρικόν is a Thucydidean term (Thuc. viii. 48. 3), for which B.J. has οἱ ἐπίλεκτοι.

[b] Josephus omits to say here, as he does in B.J. i. 163, that

Antipater's guard[a] also, went to meet Alexander. Gabinius himself followed them with his main body. Alexander therefore retired to the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, where the two forces fell upon each other and a battle took place, in which the Romans killed about three thousand of the enemy, and captured as many alive.[b]

(3) Meanwhile Gabinius came to Alexandreion and invited those within to cease hostilities,[c] agreeing to pardon them for their past offences. But as many of the enemy were encamped before the stronghold, the Romans set upon them; and Mark Antony, who fought with distinction[d] and killed many men, was voted the prize for bravery. Finally Gabinius left a part of his army there until the fortress should be taken by siege, and himself went through the rest of Judaea, and whenever he came upon a ruined city, he gave directions for it to be rebuilt. And so there were rebuilt Samaria, Azotus, Scythopolis, Anthedon, Raphia, Adora, Marisa, Gaza and not a few others.[e] And as the people obeyed Gabinius' orders, these cities, which had long been desolate, could now be safely inhabited.[f]

Gabinius rebuilds ruined cities in Judaea.

(4) Having taken these measures throughout the country, Gabinius returned to Alexandreion, and as

Alexander submits to Gabinius.

Alexander fled to Alexandreion, which explains why Gabinius attacked it, *cf.* §§ 86, 89.

[c] προυκαλεῖτο εἰς διαλύσεις is another Thucydidean borrowing (Thuc. iv. 19. 1), not found in *B.J.*

[d] According to *B.J.* i. 165 Antony had always fought bravely on every battlefield (πανταχοῦ . . . ἀεί).

[e] *B.J.* adds Apollonia, Jamneia and Gamala (variants: Gabala, Gadara). Possibly "Gamala" is a corruption of "Gaza."

[f] βεβαίως οἰκηθῆναι is the third Thucydidean phrase (Thuc. i. 2. 1) in this passage.

αὐτοῦ κρατύνοντος,[1] διαπρεσβεύεται πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρος, συγγινώσκειν τε αὐτῷ τῶν ἡμαρτημένων δεόμενος καὶ παραδιδοὺς τῶν ἐρυμάτων Ὑρκανίαν τε καὶ Μαχαιροῦντα, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ
90 Ἀλεξάνδρειον. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Γαβίνιος κατέσκαψεν. τῆς δ' Ἀλεξάνδρου μητρὸς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθούσης, ἣ ἐφρόνει τὰ Ῥωμαίων τοῦ τε ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τέκνων ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐχομένων, συνεχώρησεν αὐτῇ ταῦθ' ἅπερ ἠξίου, καὶ διοικησάμενος τὰ πρὸς αὐτήν, Ὑρκανὸν κατῆγεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, σχήσοντα τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐπιμέλειαν.
91 πέντε δὲ συνέδρια καταστήσας εἰς ἴσας μοίρας διένειμε τὸ ἔθνος, καὶ ἐπολιτεύοντο οἱ μὲν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις οἱ δὲ ἐν Γαδάροις[2] οἱ δὲ ἐν Ἀμαθοῦντι, τέταρτοι δ' ἦσαν οἱ ἐν Ἱεριχοῦντι, καὶ τὸ πέμπτον ἐν Σαπφώροις[3] τῆς Γαλιλαίας.[4] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπηλλαγμένοι δυναστείας ἐν ἀριστοκρατίᾳ διῆγον.[5]
92 (vi. 1) Ἀριστοβούλου δὲ διαδράντος ἐκ Ῥώμης εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, καὶ τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρειον ὅπερ ἦν νεωστὶ κατεσκαμμένον ἀνακτίζειν[6] προαιρουμένου,

[1] P: κρατύναντος rell. E. [2] Γαδώροις P.
[3] Σαφούροις P: Σεπφόροις F: Σεπφώρει A²LM: Σαπφόροις V: Σαμφώροις W: Σαπφύροις E: Sefforis Lat.
[4] Ἰουδαίας AMVW. [5] ἦσαν PF¹LE.
[6] P Lat.: ἀνατειχίζειν rell.

[a] *B.J.* i. 168 adds "to prevent their serving as a base of operations for another war."
[b] For *synhedria* *B.J.* has "synods" (συνόδους).
[c] On these terms and the nature of Gabinius' administrative measures in Judaea see works cited in Appendix L.
[d] So also *B.J.*, but with the majority of scholars we must correct "Gadara" to "Gazara" (in N.W. Judaea); *cf.*

he pressed the siege strongly, Alexander sent envoys to him, asking pardon for his offences and giving up the strongholds of Hyrcania and Machaerūs, and afterwards Alexandreion as well. And so Gabinius demolished them.[a] For Alexander's mother, who was on the side of the Romans, since her husband and her other children were held at Rome, came to him with the request that he do this, and he granted it; and after settling matters with her, he brought Hyrcanus to Jerusalem, to have charge of the temple. He also set up five councils (*synhedria*),[b] and divided the nation into as many districts[c]; these centres of government were: first, Jerusalem, next, Gadara,[d] third, Amathūs,[e] fourth, Jericho, and fifth, Sepphoris in Galilee.[f] And so the people were removed from monarchic rule and lived under an aristocracy.[g]

The five districts set up by Gabinius.

(vi. 1) But Aristobulus escaped from Rome to Judaea,[h] and proposed to rebuild Alexandreion, which had just been demolished, whereupon Gabinius sent

Aristobulus escapes from Rome and raises an army in Judaea.

Schürer i. 339 n. 5, whose historical argument is sound, although his explanation of "Gadara" as an Aramaized form of "Gazara" is philologically questionable, since *d* in Aramaic corresponds to *z* in Heb. only when the latter = proto-Semitic *ḏ* (but *cf.* W. F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, p. 336 n. 10. It may be that Josephus or a scribe wrote "Gadara" for "Gazara" because the former city lay near Amathūs, the next on the list. Albright, in *JBL* 56 (1937), p. 162 n. 52, insists that Gadara is not Gazara but "one of the many towns derived from the stem *gdr*." Schalit, p. 31, also reading "Gadara," identifies it with Gadora (mod. *Tell Jadūr* near *es-Salt*) in Transjordan; but Schürer's objections to the similar theory of Schlatter, p. 224, still hold.

[e] In Transjordan, *cf. Ant.* xiii. 356 note *d*.

[f] The variant "Judaea" must be a scribal error.

[g] By "aristocracy" Josephus means priestly rule, as he explains in *Ant.* xi. 111.

[h] In 56 B.C.

πέμπει Γαβίνιος ἐπ'[1] αὐτὸν στρατιώτας καὶ ἡγε-
μόνας Σισένναν τε καὶ Ἀντώνιον καὶ Σερουίλιον[2]
κωλύσοντάς τε τὸ χωρίον αὐτὸν κατασχεῖν καὶ
93 συλληψομένους αὐτόν. πολλοὶ δ' Ἀριστοβούλῳ
τῶν Ἰουδαίων κατὰ τὴν παλαιὰν εὔκλειαν προσ-
έρρεον, καὶ δὴ καὶ νεωτέροις χαίροντες ἀεὶ[3]
πράγμασιν· Πειθόλαος γοῦν τις, ὑποστράτηγος ἐν
Ἱεροσολύμοις ὤν, μετὰ χιλίων ηὐτομόλησε πρὸς
αὐτόν· πολλοὶ δὲ[4] τῶν προστιθεμένων ἦσαν ἄνοπλοι.
94 διεγνωκὼς δὲ εἰς Μαχαιροῦντα ἀπανίστασθαι Ἀρι-
στόβουλος τούτους μὲν ἀπέλυσεν ἀπόρους ὄντας
(οὐ γὰρ ἐγίνοντο αὐτῷ χρήσιμοι πρὸς τὰ ἔργα)·
τοὺς δὲ ὡπλισμένους περὶ ὀκτακισχιλίους ὄντας
95 ἀναλαβὼν ᾤχετο. καὶ προσπεσόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν
Ῥωμαίων καρτερῶς ἡττῶνται τῇ μάχῃ, γενναίως[5]
οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ[6] προθύμως ἀγωνισάμενοι, βιασα-
μένων τε τῶν πολεμίων εἰς φυγὴν τρέπονται. καὶ
φονεύονται μὲν αὐτῶν εἰς πεντακισχιλίους, οἱ δὲ
λοιποὶ σκεδασθέντες ὡς ἐδύναντο σώζειν αὑτοὺς
96 ἐπειρῶντο. χιλίων μέντοι πλείονας ἔχων Ἀριστό-
βουλος εἰς Μαχαιροῦντα διέφυγεν, ὠχύρου τε τὸ
χωρίον, καὶ πράττων κακῶς οὐδὲν ἧττον ἐλπίδος
ἀγαθῆς εἴχετο. δύο δ' ἡμέρας ἀντισχὼν τῇ πο-
λιορκίᾳ καὶ πολλὰ τραύματα λαβὼν αἰχμάλωτος

[1] PE: πρὸς rell.
[2] edd.: Σερουΐλον P: Σερουΐδιον FL: Σαρουΐδιον AMW: Σερουϊλιον V.
[3] ἀεὶ P: om. rell. Lat.
[4] πολλοὶ δὲ] οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ PE.
[5] γενναίως om. FLAMV Lat.
[6] καίπερ AM et Lat. vid.

[a] Variants "Servidius" and (in *B.J.*) "Servianus."
[b] "always" is found only in MS. P.

against him a body of soldiers led by Sisenna, Antony and Servilius[a] to prevent him from occupying the place and to arrest him. For many of the Jews had flocked to Aristobulus, both on account of his former glory and especially because they always[b] welcomed revolutionary movements. Among others a certain Peitholaus, who was legate[c] at Jerusalem, deserted to him with a thousand men. Many[d] of those who joined him, however, were unarmed. But Aristobulus, who had decided to retire to Machaerūs, dismissed these men, who were without equipment—for they were of no use to him in action,—and taking the men who were armed, amounting to some eight thousand, marched away. And as the Romans fell upon them valiantly, they were defeated in battle; for though the Jews fought manfully[e] and eagerly, the enemy were too strong for them, and they were put to flight. Some five thousand of them were slain, while the rest were scattered and tried to save themselves as best they could. Aristobulus, however, escaped[f] to Machaerūs with more than a thousand men, and fortified the place, and though he was faring badly, none the less he was still of good hope.[g] But after withstanding a siege of two days and receiving many wounds,[h] he was taken prisoner and brought to

Aristobulus is taken captive to Rome a second time.

[c] "Legate" (Lat. *legatus*) here probably has the sense of "deputy-governor" of the province.

[d] Variant "most."

[e] Most MSS. omit "manfully."

[f] *B.J.* i. 172 says that two thousand took refuge on a hill, and that Aristobulus and the remaining thousand cut their way through the Roman lines.

[g] Of raising another army, according to *B.J.* i. 173.

[h] His wounds are not mentioned in *B.J.*, which says instead that he held out "beyond his strength" (ὑπὲρ δύναμιν); perhaps Josephus refers to the wounds of his men rather than his own.

μετ' Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ παιδός, ὃς δὴ καὶ συνέφυγεν
97 ἐκ Ῥώμης αὐτῷ, πρὸς Γαβίνιον ἄγεται. καὶ τοιαύτῃ μὲν Ἀριστόβουλος χρησάμενος τύχῃ πάλιν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀναπέμπεται, καὶ δεθεὶς αὐτόθι κατείχετο, βασιλεύσας μὲν καὶ ἀρχιερατεύσας ἔτη τρία καὶ μῆνας ἕξ, ἀνὴρ δὲ λαμπρὸς καὶ μεγαλόψυχος γενόμενος. τὰ μέντοι τέκνα αὐτοῦ ἀνῆκεν ἡ σύγκλητος Γαβινίου γράψαντος τοῦθ' ὑποσχέσθαι τῇ μητρὶ παραδούσῃ τὰ ἐρύματα. καὶ ταῦτα[1] μὲν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν[2] ἐπανέρχεται.

98 (2) Γαβινίῳ δὲ ἐπὶ Πάρθους στρατεύοντι καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἤδη πεπεραιωμένῳ μετέδοξεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ὑποστρέψαντι καταστῆσαι Πτολεμαῖον εἰς αὐτήν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δεδήλωται.
99 Γαβινίῳ μέντοι κατὰ τὴν στρατείαν[3] καθ' ἃ Ὑρκανὸς ἐπέστειλεν αὐτῷ[4] Ἀντίπατρος ὑπηρέτησε σῖτον καὶ ὅπλα καὶ χρήματα, καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ Πηλούσιον τῶν Ἰουδαίων οὗτος[5] αὐτῷ προσηγάγετο καὶ συμμάχους ἐποίησε, φύλακας ὄντας τῶν εἰς
100 τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐμβολῶν. ἐπανελθὼν δὲ ἐκ τῆς

[1] E Lat.: μετὰ ταῦτα P: τότε rell.
[2] Ἰδουμαίαν AMVW.
[3] E: στρατιὰν codd. Lat.
[4] καθ' ἃ Ὑρκανὸς ἐπέστειλεν αὐτῷ coni.: ἣν ἐφ' Ὑρκανὸν ἐστείλατο codd. E: ἣν ἐπ' Ἀρχέλαον ἐστείλατο Hudson: ἣν ἐστείλατο Ὑρκανὸς (καὶ Ἀντίπατρος ὑπηρέτησαν) Montacutius: ἣν ὑπὲρ Ὑρκανοῦ Holwerda: ἣν ἀφ' Ὑρκανοῦ Gutschmid.
[5] αὐτὸς P: ὄντας Naber.

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[a] This refers to the period before Pompey's capture of Jerusalem in 63 B.C., *cf.* § 4 note *e*.
[b] Variants "after this," "then."
[c] The variant "Idumaea" is a scribal error.
[d] Gabinius came to Egypt in the spring of 55 B.C. with Ptolemy XI Auletes, to restore him to the throne then held

Gabinius together with his son Antigonus, who had, by the way, fled from Rome with him. And having met with such ill fortune, Aristobulus was sent to Rome a second time; and there he was kept in chains, after being king and high priest three years and six months[a]; he was, moreover, a man of distinction and magnanimity. His children, however, were released by the Senate because Gabinius wrote that he had promised their mother this when she surrendered the strongholds. And so[b] they returned to Judaea.[c]

(2) Now while Gabinius was on an expedition against the Parthians and had already crossed the Euphrates, he changed his mind and returned to Egypt to restore Ptolemy to his kingdom.[d] But these events have been related elsewhere.[e] On this campaign, moreover, Gabinius, in accordance with Hyrcanus' instructions to him,[f] was supplied with grain, arms and money by Antipater, who also won over the Jews above Pelusium to his side and made them his allies to act as guards of the entrances to Egypt.[g] But when Gabinius returned from Egypt,

Gabinius in Egypt is assisted by Antipater and Hyrcanus.

by a certain Archelaus of Pontus who had married Queen Berenice III, *cf.* Bevan, *Ptol.* pp. 355-357.

[e] *i.e.* by other historians.

[f] *i.e.* to Antipater. The text has been slightly emended; the MSS. read "on the campaign which he (Gabinius) had undertaken against Hyrcanus." Some scholars correct "Hyrcanus" to "Archelaus" (see note *d* above), but my emendation is supported by *B.J.* i. 175 which mentions Hyrcanus together with Antipater; *cf.* also § 80 above, where Antipater performs a similar service κατ' ἐντολὴν Ὑρκανοῦ.

[g] On Jews as river-guards in Egypt see *Ap.* ii. 64 (cited by Dr. Thackeray in his note on *B.J.* i. 175) and Fuchs, pp. 65-66. *Cf.* also below, §§ 130-131.

Αἰγύπτου καταλαμβάνει τὴν Συρίαν στάσει καὶ ταραχῇ νοσοῦσαν· ὁ γὰρ Ἀριστοβούλου παῖς Ἀλέξανδρος παρελθὼν ἐξ ὑστέρου πάλιν ἐπὶ[1] τὴν ἀρχὴν κατὰ βίαν πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀπέστησε, στρατεύματι δὲ μεγάλῳ τὴν χώραν ἐπερχόμενος ἔκτεινε πάντας ὅσοις[2] ἐπιτύχοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων εἴς τε[3] ὄρος τὸ καλούμενον Γαριζεὶν συμφυγόντας προσέκειτο[4] πολιορκῶν.

101 (3) Ὁ δὲ Γαβίνιος τοιαῦτα τὰ[5] κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν καταλαβών, Ἀντίπατρον (συνετὸς γὰρ ἦν) προπέμπει πρὸς τοὺς νενοσηκότας, εἰ παῦσαι δυνηθείη τῆς παραφροσύνης αὐτοὺς καὶ πεῖσαι πρὸς τὸν
102 ἀμείνω λογισμὸν ἐπανελθεῖν. ὁ δὲ ἐλθὼν πολλοὺς μὲν ἐσωφρόνισε καὶ προσηγάγετο τῷ δέοντι, τὸν δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον οὐκ ἠδυνήθη κατασχεῖν· στρατοῦ γὰρ ἔχων οὗτος τρεῖς μυριάδας Ἰουδαίων ἀπήντησε Γαβινίῳ, καὶ συμβαλὼν ἡττᾶται, πεσόντων αὐτῷ μυρίων περὶ τὸ Ἰταβύριον ὄρος.

103 (4) Καταστησάμενος δὲ Γαβίνιος τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν, ὡς ἦν Ἀντιπάτρῳ θέλοντι, ἐπὶ Ναβαταίους ἔρχεται, καὶ κρατεῖ μὲν τούτων τῇ μάχῃ, Πάρθων δὲ φυγάδας Μιθριδάτην καὶ Ὀρσάνην πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντας προύπεμψε, τῷ δὲ λόγῳ

[1] εἰς P. [2] Niese: ὅσους codd.
[3] τε P: τὸ rell. [4] καὶ προσέκειτο FLAMVW.
[5] τὰ add. Gutschmid.

[a] Antipater's "good sense" is not mentioned in the parallel in *B.J.* This fact may be adduced as another detail

he found Syria a prey to uprisings and disorder; for Aristobulus' son Alexander had later come into power a second time and had forced many of the Jews to revolt, and was marching over the country with a large army and killing all the Romans he met, and was closely besieging those who had taken refuge on Mount Gerizim, as it is called.

(3) On finding Syria in this condition, Gabinius sent Antipater, who was a man of good sense,[a] to the unruly elements, to see whether he could put a stop to their mad behaviour and persuade them to return to a more reasonable frame of mind. And so he came and brought many of them to their senses and induced them to do their duty; but he could not restrain Alexander, who with an army of thirty thousand Jews went to meet Gabinius, and was defeated in an engagement near Mount Tabor, in which ten thousand of his men fell.[b]

Gabinius defeats Alexander a second time.

(4) Gabinius then settled affairs at Jerusalem in accordance with the wishes of Antipater,[c] and marched against the Nabataeans, whom he overcame in battle[d]; and he also sent on their way Mithridates[e] and Orsanes,[f] fugitives from the Parthians, who had come to him, though the story was that they escaped from

Gabinius, after a successful career as governor of Judaea returns to Rome.

in the argument against Laqueur's theory that *Ant.* is more anti-Herodian than *B.J.*

[b] *B.J.* i. 177 adds "and the remainder fled and dispersed."

[c] ὡς ἦν θέλοντι is reminiscent of the Thucydidean phrase βουλομένῳ ἦν (Thuc. ii. 3. 2, iv. 80. 2 *et al.*), not imitated in the parallel in *B.J.*; the precise Thucydidean phrase is used in *Ant.* xv. 48.

[d] In the spring of 55 B.C.

[e] Mithridates III of Parthia, *cf.* Debevoise, pp. 75-95.

[f] Debevoise gives the name as "Orsames," a form I have not found in the ancient sources; if this form is correct, it probably represents Iranian *Aršama*, written *'ršm* in the Aramaic papyri of Elephantine.

104 ἀπέδρασαν αὐτόν. καὶ Γαβίνιος μὲν ἔργα μεγάλα καὶ λαμπρὰ κατὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν[1] δράσας ἀπῆρεν εἰς Ῥώμην, Κράσσῳ παραδοὺς τὴν ἀρχήν. περὶ δὲ τῆς Πομπηίου καὶ Γαβινίου στρατείας ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίους γράφει Νικόλαος ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς καὶ Στράβων ὁ Καππάδοξ, οὐδὲν ἕτερος ἑτέρου καινότερον λέγων.

105 (vii. 1) Κράσσος δὲ ἐπὶ Πάρθους μέλλων στρατεύειν ἧκεν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ χρήματα, ἃ Πομπήιος καταλελοίπει (δισχίλια δὲ ἦν τάλαντα) βαστάσας οἷός τε ἦν καὶ τὸν χρυσὸν ἅπαντα (τάλαντα δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἦν ὀκτακισχίλια)
106 περιδύειν τοῦ ναοῦ. λαμβάνει δὲ καὶ δοκὸν ὁλοσφυρήλατον χρυσῆν ἐκ μνῶν τριακοσίων πεποιημένην· ἡ δὲ μνᾶ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἰσχύει[2] λίτρας δύο καὶ ἥμισυ. παρέδωκε δὲ αὐτῷ ταύτην τὴν δοκὸν ὁ τῶν χρημάτων[3] φύλαξ ἱερεὺς Ἐλεάζαρος ὄνομα, οὐ
107 διὰ πονηρίαν (ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ἦν καὶ δίκαιος) ἀλλὰ πεπιστευμένος τὴν τῶν καταπετασμάτων τοῦ ναοῦ φυλακήν, ὄντων θαυμασίων τὸ κάλλος καὶ πολυτελῶν τὴν κατασκευήν, ἐκ δὲ τῆς δοκοῦ ταύτης ἐκκρεμαμένων, ἐπεὶ τὸν Κράσσον ἑώρα περὶ τὴν τοῦ χρυσοῦ[4] γινόμενον συλλογήν, δείσας περὶ τῷ

[1] στρατιὰν P: στρατείαν V Lat.
[2] ἴσχει PFAMVW: existimantur Lat.
[3] PF[2]E Lat.: θησαυρῶν rell.
[4] χρυσίου P.

[a] τῷ δὲ λόγῳ ἀπέδρασαν αὐτόν is also Thucydidean (Thuc. i. 128. 5): *cf.* Dr. Thackeray's note on another phrase from the same passage in Thucydides in the parallel, *B.J.* i. 178.

[b] Variant "during the campaign."

[c] M. Licinius Crassus came to Syria as proconsul in the spring of 54 B.C.; on his Parthian campaign see the full bibliography in Debevoise, p. 78 n. 36.

him.[a] And so, having performed great and brilliant deeds during his term as governor,[b] Gabinius sailed for Rome, handing over his province to Crassus.[c] Now the expeditions of Pompey and Gabinius against the Jews have been written about by Nicolas of Damascus and Strabo of Cappadocia, neither of whom differs in any respect from the other.[d]

(vii. 1) Crassus, intending to march against the Parthians, came to Judaea and carried off the money in the temple, amounting to two thousand talents, which Pompey had left, and was prepared to strip the sanctuary of all its gold, which amounted to eight thousand talents.[e] He also took a bar of solid beaten gold, weighing three hundred *minae*; the *mina* with us is equal to two and a half pounds.[f] This bar was given to him by the guardian of the money,[g] a priest named Eleazar, not because of rascality—for he was a good and upright man,—but because, being entrusted with the keeping of the curtains of the sanctuary, which were of admirable beauty and costly workmanship, and hung from this bar, he saw Crassus intent on gathering up the gold, and had fears for

Crassus succeeds Gabinius and plunders the temple at Jerusalem.

[d] This bibliographical note indicates that for part of §§ 106-118, which have no parallel in *B.J.*, Josephus has used Strabo to supplement his earlier source, Nicolas; *cf.* the Appendix on Josephus' sources in the last volume of this translation.

[e] That is, the gold was worth 8000 talents of silver, as Reinach remarks.

[f] In the only other reference to the *mina* in Josephus, *Ant.* ii. 33, he equates it loosely with the Heb. *shekel*. According to Krauss, *Talmudische Archäologie* ii. 406, the Heb. *mina* weighed only $1\frac{3}{4}$ Roman pounds. Reinach gives 728 grammes for the Heb. *mina* and 818 for $2\frac{1}{2}$ Roman pounds. Thus Josephus' equation here is inaccurate.

[g] Variant "treasuries."

παντὶ κόσμῳ τοῦ[1] ναοῦ, τὴν δοκὸν αὐτῷ τὴν
108 χρυσῆν λύτρον ἀντὶ πάντων ἔδωκεν, ὅρκους παρ'
αὐτοῦ λαβὼν μηδὲν ἄλλο κινήσειν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ,
μόνῳ δὲ ἀρκεσθήσεσθαι τῷ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δοθησομένῳ,
πολλῶν ὄντι μυριάδων ἀξίῳ. ἡ δὲ δοκὸς αὕτη ἦν
ἐν ξυλίνῃ δοκῷ κενῇ, καὶ τοῦτο τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους
ἐλάνθανεν ἅπαντας, ὁ δὲ Ἐλεάζαρος μόνος ἠπί-
109 στατο. ὁ μέντοι Κράσσος καὶ ταύτην, ὡς οὐδενὸς
ἁψόμενος ἄλλου τῶν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, λαμβάνει, καὶ
παραβὰς τοὺς ὅρκους ἅπαντα τὸν ἐν τῷ ναῷ χρυσὸν
ἐξεφόρησεν.

110 (2) Θαυμάσῃ δὲ μηδεὶς εἰ τοσοῦτος ἦν πλοῦτος
ἐν τῷ ἡμετέρῳ ἱερῷ,[2] πάντων τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκου-
μένην Ἰουδαίων καὶ σεβομένων τὸν θεόν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ
τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης εἰς αὐτὸ
111 συμφερόντων ἐκ πολλῶν πάνυ χρόνων. οὐκ ἔστι
δὲ ἀμάρτυρον τὸ μέγεθος τῶν προειρημένων χρη-
μάτων, οὐδὲ ὑπὸ ἀλαζονείας ἡμετέρας καὶ περιτ-
τολογίας ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐξαίρεται πλῆθος, ἀλλὰ
πολλοί τε ἄλλοι τῶν συγγραφέων ἡμῖν μαρτυροῦσι
112 καὶ Στράβων ὁ Καππάδοξ λέγων οὕτως· "πέμψας
δὲ Μιθριδάτης εἰς Κῶ[3] ἔλαβε τὰ χρήματα ἃ παρ-
έθετο ἐκεῖ Κλεοπάτρα ἡ βασίλισσα, καὶ τὰ τῶν
113 Ἰουδαίων[4] ὀκτακόσια τάλαντα." ἡμῖν δὲ δημόσια
χρήματα οὐκ ἔστιν ἢ μόνα τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ δῆλον
ὅτι ταῦτα μετήνεγκαν εἰς Κῶ τὰ χρήματα οἱ ἐν

[1] VE et Lat. vid.: καὶ τοῦ rell.
[2] ναῷ F²LAMW.
[3] εἰς Κῶ om. P.
[4] τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων] τὰ δημόσια τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὄντα περὶ Holwerda.

the whole ornamentation of the sanctuary; and so he gave him the bar of gold as a ransom for all the rest, receiving his sworn assurance that he would not remove anything else from the sanctuary but would be content merely with what was to be given him by the priest—a present worth many tens of thousands (of drachmas). Now this bar was in a hollow wooden bar, a fact which was unknown to all others, and which Eleazar alone knew. Crassus, however, although he took this bar with the understanding that he would not touch anything else in the temple, violated his oath and carried off all the gold in the sanctuary.

The wealth and influence of the Jews of the Diaspora.

(2) But no one need wonder that there was so much wealth in our temple, for all the Jews throughout the habitable world, and those who worshipped God,[a] even those from Asia and Europe, had been contributing to it for a very long time. And there is no lack of witnesses[b] to the great amount of the sums mentioned, nor have they been raised to so great a figure through boastfulness or exaggeration on our part, but there are many historians who bear us out, in particular Strabo of Cappadocia, who writes as follows. "Mithridates[c] sent to Cos and took the money which Queen Cleopatra had deposited there, and eight hundred talents of the Jews." Now there is no public money among us except that which is God's, and it is therefore evident that this money was transferred to Cos by the Jews of Asia because

[a] These were undoubtedly pagan semi-proselytes; *cf.* the ancient references in Juster i. 274 n. 6.

[b] οὐκ ἀμάρτυρον is another Thucydidean phrase (Thuc. ii. 41. 4).

[c] Mithridates VI Eupator, who defeated the Roman army in Asia Minor in 88 B.C.

τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Ἰουδαῖοι διὰ τὸν ἐκ Μιθριδάτου φόβον· οὐ γὰρ εἰκὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ, πόλιν τε ὀχυρὰν ἔχοντας καὶ τὸν ναόν, πέμπειν χρήματα εἰς Κῶ, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοὺς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ κατοικοῦντας Ἰουδαίους πιθανὸν τοῦτ' ἐστὶ ποιῆσαι, μηδὲν
114 Μιθριδάτην δεδιότας. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῳ τόπῳ ὁ αὐτὸς[1] Στράβων ὅτι καθ' ὃν καιρὸν διέβη Σύλλας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πολεμήσων Μιθριδάτῃ καὶ Λεύκουλλον πέμψας[2] ἐπὶ τὴν ἐν Κυρήνῃ στάσιν[3] τοῦ ἔθνους ἡμῶν, ὡς αὐτῶν[4] ἡ οἰκουμένη πεπλή-
115 ρωτο, λέγων οὕτως· "τέτταρες δ' ἦσαν ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν Κυρηναίων,[5] ἥ τε τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ ἡ τῶν γεωργῶν, τρίτη δ' ἡ τῶν μετοίκων τετάρτη δ' ἡ

[1] αὐτὸς ὁ tr. FLAMVW.
[2] πέμψαι FLAMVW: ἔπεμψεν Gutschmid.
[3] post στάσιν lacunam statuit Niese.
[4] ὡς αὐτῶν Holwerda: ὧν FLAMVW: om. P: quae (totum orbem complevit) Lat.
[5] Κυρηναίων PF: Κυρηναίων μερίδες coni. Richards et Shutt.

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[a] On Cleopatra III of Egypt and her deposit of money in Cos in 102 B.C. see *Ant.* xiii. 349. Reinach conjectures that the 800 talents were deposited at the same time by her Jewish generals Chelkias and Ananias, since the sum is much too large to represent the contributions of the Jews of Asia Minor. Similarly Willrich, *Urkundenfälschung*, p. 74, insists that it was the Jews of Egypt who took away their money in fear of Ptolemy Lathyrus, and he charges Josephus with ignorance of the real situation in 88 B.C. But Strabo's language suggests that the 800 talents came from a different period (otherwise he would have written, "the money which Cleopatra and the Jews had deposited"). Moreover the

of their fear of Mithridates.[a] For it is not likely that those in Judaea, who possessed a fortified city and the temple, would have sent money to Cos, nor is it probable that the Jews living in Alexandria would have done this either, since they had no fear of Mithridates. And this same Strabo in another passage testifies that at the time when Sulla crossed over to Greece to make war on Mithridates, and sent Lucullus to put down the revolt of our nation in Cyrene,[b] the habitable world was filled with Jews, for he writes as follows. "There were four classes in the state of Cyrene; the first consisted of citizens, the second of farmers, the third of resident aliens Strabo on the Jews of Cyrene.

sum of 800 talents is not incredible if we remember that contributions to the temple from Jews in the Diaspora consisted of many gifts in addition to the annual didrachm payment, *cf.* Heichelheim, *Rom. Syria*, p. 74. However, it would be much easier to accept Josephus' explanation if he had mentioned 80 talents instead of 800. See now J. Cohen, *Judaica et Aegyptiaca* (1941), pp. 60-64.

[b] The last king of Cyrene, Ptolemy Apion, natural son of Ptolemy VII Physcon, on his death in 96 B.C. bequeathed his kingdom to Rome. For several years the Romans left the government in the hands of the Greek cities of Cyrenaica, which did not become a Roman province until 74 B.C. In the winter of 87/6 B.C. Sulla sent Lucullus to restore order in Cyrene, which, according to Plutarch, *Lucullus* 2, had been disturbed by "continual tyrannies and wars." The Jews are not mentioned. The passage in Plutarch is probably based on Strabo (Jacoby, *FGH* ii. C, p. 294 is non-committal about Plutarch's use of Strabo here), and Strabo, in turn, probably used Posidonius as a source, *cf.* Schürer i. 42. It may be that Josephus' text originally contained a reference to the Jewish revolt, which has been accidentally omitted, as Niese supposes, or that he has added the reference to the Jewish uprising on his own account, as Jacoby holds. If we accept the former view, we may suppose that the Cyrenaean Jews were dissatisfied with the civic status granted them by the Greek authorities.

τῶν Ἰουδαίων. αὕτη δ' εἰς πᾶσαν πόλιν ἤδη[1] παρελήλυθε,[2] καὶ τόπον οὐκ ἔστι ῥᾳδίως εὑρεῖν τῆς οἰκουμένης ὃς οὐ παραδέδεκται τοῦτο τὸ φῦλον,[3]
116 μηδ' ἐπικρατεῖται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. τῆς τε Αἰγύπτου[4] τὴν Κυρηναίαν, ἅτε τῶν αὐτῶν ἡγεμόνων τυχοῦσαν, τῶν τε ἄλλων συχνὰ ζηλῶσαι συνέβη καὶ δὴ τὰ συντάγματα τῶν Ἰουδαίων θρέψαι διαφερόντως καὶ συναυξῆσαι χρώμενα τοῖς πατρίοις τῶν Ἰου-
117 δαίων νόμοις.[5] ἐν γοῦν Αἰγύπτῳ κατοικίᾳ[6] τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐστὶν ἀποδεδειγμένη χώρα,[7] καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων πόλεως ἀφώρισται μέγα μέρος τῷ ἔθνει τούτῳ. καθίσταται δὲ καὶ ἐθνάρχης αὐτῶν, ὃς διοικεῖ τε τὸ ἔθνος καὶ διαιτᾷ κρίσεις καὶ συμβολαίων ἐπιμελεῖται καὶ προσταγμάτων, ὡς ἂν
118 πολιτείας ἄρχων αὐτοτελοῦς. ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ μὲν οὖν ἴσχυσε τὸ ἔθνος διὰ τὸ Αἰγυπτίους εἶναι ἐξ ἀρχῆς

[1] ἤδη καὶ P. [2] P: παρεληλύθει rell.
[3] τούτου τὸ φῦλον τὸ πλῆθος FL: τούτου τοῦ φύλου τὸ πλῆθος AMW.
[4] τῆς τε Αἰγύπτου Niese: τήν τε Αἴγυπτον codd. Lat.
[5] τῆς τε Αἰγύπτου . . . νόμοις] nam Aegyptus et Cyrenaea dum sub unum regnum fuissent omnem conversationem horum aemulatae sunt ita ut scripturis eorum uterentur et praesertim pecunias secundum patrias leges Iudeorum congregarent Lat.
[6] Gutschmid: κατοικία codd.
[7] Gutschmid: χωρὶς codd.

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[a] That the Jews had a separate status from that of metics is quite in accord with what we know of their position in the Hellenistic states; *cf.* the Appendix on this subject in the last volume of this translation.

[b] Variant "had." The change of tenses in this quotation indicates that Strabo was speaking, in this sentence, and also further on, not of the period of Sulla but also of his own

(metics), and the fourth of Jews.[a] This people has[b] already made its way into every city, and it is not easy to find any place in the habitable world which has not received this nation and in which it has not made its power felt.[c] And it has come about that Cyrene, which had the same rulers[d] as Egypt, has imitated it in many respects, particularly in notably encouraging and aiding the expansion of the organized groups of Jews, which observe the national Jewish laws.[e] In Egypt, for example, territory has been set apart for a Jewish settlement,[f] and in Alexandria a great part of the city has been allocated to this nation.[g] And an ethnarch of their own has been installed, who governs the people and adjudicates suits and supervises contracts and ordinances, just as if he were the head of a sovereign state.[h] And so this nation has flourished in Egypt because the Jews

period, the age of Augustus. This has been pointed out by Bousset-Gressmann, *Die Religion des Judentums*, p. 67, n.1.

[c] Or "in which it has not become dominant," as Chamonard and Reinach (*Textes*, p. 92) translate. Although ἐπικρατεῖν usually means "to gain the mastery," "prevail," it may also mean, as I think it does here, "to make one's power felt." It seems to me unlikely that Strabo (or even Posidonius, who was not particularly friendly to the Jews) would have gone so far as to say that the Jews of the Diaspora dominated the various cities in which they lived. But I should hesitate to press the point. It may be added that one might also translate "which has not been occupied by it."

[d] *i.e.* the Ptolemies, *cf.* § 114 note *b*.

[e] Text and meaning uncertain. Reinach translates συντάγματα as "colonies," which seems doubtful. It may mean "classes" or "orders." The old Latin translation makes no sense.

[f] Text slightly emended.

[g] *Cf. Ap.* ii. 33-36.

[h] This must have been written before Augustus replaced the ethnarch by a senate, *cf.* Philo, *In Flaccum* 74 ff.

τοὺς[1] Ἰουδαίους καὶ διὰ τὸ πλησίον θέσθαι[2] τὴν κατοικίαν τοὺς ἀπελθόντας ἐκεῖθεν, εἰς δὲ τὴν Κυρηναίαν μετέβη διὰ τὸ καὶ ταύτην ὅμορον εἶναι τῇ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀρχῇ καθάπερ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, μᾶλλον δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκείνης πρότερον." Στράβων μὲν δὴ ταῦτα λέγει.

119 (3) Κράσσος δὲ πάντα διοικήσας ὃν αὐτὸς ἐβούλετο τρόπον, ἐξώρμησεν ἐπὶ τὴν Παρθυαίαν· καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν σὺν παντὶ διεφθάρη τῷ στρατῷ, ὡς καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δεδήλωται, Κάσσιος δὲ εἰς Συρίαν φυγὼν καὶ περιποιησάμενος αὐτὴν Πάρθοις ἐμποδὼν ἦν ἐκτρέχουσιν ἐπ' αὐτὴν διὰ τὴν κατὰ

120 Κράσσου νίκην. αὖθις δὲ εἰς Τύρον ἀφικόμενος ἀνέβη καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν. Ταριχαίας μὲν οὖν προσπεσὼν εὐθέως[3] αἱρεῖ, καὶ περὶ τρισμυρίους ἀνθρώπους ἀνδραποδίζει, Πειθόλαόν τε τὸν τὴν Ἀριστοβούλου στάσιν διαδεδεγμένον κτείνει, πρὸς

121 τοῦτο αὐτὸν Ἀντιπάτρου παραστησαμένου, ὃν πολύ τε καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ συνέβαινε δύνασθαι καὶ πλείστου τότε ἄξιος ἦν καὶ παρ' Ἰδουμαίοις,[4] παρ' ὧν[5] ἄγεται γυναῖκα τῶν ἐπισήμων ἐξ Ἀραβίας Κύπρον[6] ὄνομα, ἐξ ἧς αὐτῷ τέσσαρες ἐγένοντο παῖδες,

[1] τοὺς om. FLAMVW. [2] Bekker: ἔσεσθαι codd.
[3] εὐθέως (εὐθὺς P) προσπεσὼν PV. [4] Ἰουδαίων οἷς P.
[5] παρ' ὧν A¹VWE Lat.: παρὼν rell.
[6] Κύπριν FLAM Lat.

[a] Text slightly uncertain. That this statement about the Egyptian origin of the Jews, which is refuted by Josephus in *Ap.* i. 104, 223, 278, ii. 28 *et al.*, is here allowed to stand indicates that he has been pretty accurate in quoting Strabo.

[b] By other historians. Crassus was defeated near Carrhae in Mesopotamia in the spring of 53 B.C. and soon after was killed. Debevoise writes, p. 95, "The disaster which the Roman arms had suffered at Carrhae made certain the

were originally Egyptians and because those who left that country made their homes near by [a]; and they migrated to Cyrene because this country bordered on the kingdom of Egypt, as did Judaea—or rather, it formerly belonged to that kingdom." These are Strabo's own words.

(3) Now when Crassus had arranged everything the way he wished, he set out for Parthia and perished together with his entire army, as has been related elsewhere.[b] Cassius,[c] however, fled to Syria and took possession of it,[d] thus standing in the way of the Parthians who were making incursions into the country as a result of their victory over Crassus. Later he came to Tyre, and then went up to Judaea. Here he fell upon Tarichaeae,[e] which he quickly took, and made slaves of some thirty thousand men. He also killed Peitholaus, who had continued the revolt led by Aristobulus; and this he did at the instigation of Antipater, who at that time had great influence with him, and was then held in the greatest esteem by the Idumaeans also, from among whom [f] he took a wife of a distinguished Arab family, named Cypros [g]; and by her he had four sons, Phasael,

Crassus is killed in Parthia. Cassius invades Judaea.

Antipater's great influence.

supremacy, at least for the time being, of pro-Parthian over pro-Roman sentiment among the Jews." But this could have been true only of a section of the Jews in Palestine during the early Herodian period.

[c] C. Cassius Longinus, who had been the quaestor of Crassus.

[d] Cassius governed Syria 53 to 51 B.C.

[e] By "Judaea" Josephus (or his source) here means Jewish territory in Palestine. Tarichaeae was, of course, in Galilee (see the map in vol. iii. of this translation).

[f] Text slightly uncertain. It is Josephus' new source that now introduces Antipater for the first time, it seems.

[g] Variant "Cypris," as in the MSS. of *B.J.*

Φασάηλος καὶ Ἡρώδης, ὃς ὕστερον βασιλεὺς γίνεται, Ἰώσηπός τε καὶ Φερώρας, θυγάτηρ δὲ
122 Σαλώμη. οὗτος ὁ Ἀντίπατρος ἐπεποίητο καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους δυνάστας φιλίαν καὶ ξενίαν, μάλιστα δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ἄραβα, ᾧ καὶ τὰ τέκνα πολεμῶν πρὸς Ἀριστόβουλον παρέθετο. Κάσσιος μὲν οὖν ἀναστρατοπεδευσάμενος[1] ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἠπείγετο, ὑπαντιάσων τοῖς ἐκεῖθεν ἐπιοῦσιν, ὡς καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλων δεδήλωται.
123 (4) Χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Καῖσαρ κατασχὼν Ῥώμην μετὰ τὸ Πομπήιον καὶ τὴν σύγκλητον φυγεῖν πέραν τοῦ Ἰονίου, παραλύσας τῶν δεσμῶν Ἀριστόβουλον εἰς Συρίαν διεγνώκει πέμπειν, δύο παραδοὺς αὐτῷ τάγματα, ὡς ἂν εὐτρεπίζοι[2] τὰ κατ' αὐτὴν δυνατὸς
124 ὤν. Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ οὐκ ἀπώνατο[3] τῶν ἐλπίδων ἐφ' αἷς ἔτυχε τῆς παρὰ Καίσαρος ἐξουσίας, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν φθάσαντες οἱ τὰ Πομπηίου φρονοῦντες φαρμάκῳ διαφθείρουσι, θάπτουσι δ' αὐτὸν οἱ τὰ Καίσαρος θεραπεύοντες πράγματα, καὶ ὁ νεκρὸς αὐτοῦ ἔκειτο ἐν μέλιτι κεκηδευμένος ἐπὶ χρόνον πολὺν ἕως Ἀντώνιος αὐτὸν ὕστερον ἀποπέμψας εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐν ταῖς βασιλικαῖς θήκαις ἐποίησε
125 τεθῆναι. Σκιπίων δέ, ἐπιστείλαντος αὐτῷ Πομπηίου ἀποκτεῖναι Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Ἀριστοβούλου, αἰτιασάμενος τὸν νεανίσκον ἐπὶ τοῖς τὸ πρῶτον εἰς Ῥωμαίους ἐξημαρτημένοις τῷ πελέκει διεχρήσατο.

[1] ἀναστρατευσάμενος PF[1].
[2] ἀνευτρεπίζοι Post. [3] ὤνατο PVE.

[a] *Cf.* §§ 14 ff. [b] In January, 49 B.C.
[c] This statement is confirmed by Dio Cassius xli. 18. 1.
[d] The preservation of corpses in honey is mentioned by Herodotus i. 198 (among the Babylonians, *cf.* R. Campbell

Herod, who later became king, Joseph and Pheroras, and a daughter, Salome. This Antipater had formed relations of friendship and hospitality with other princes, especially with the king of the Arabs, the same to whom he had entrusted his children when making war on Aristobulus.[a] And so Cassius removed his camp and hastened to the Euphrates, to meet the enemy who were coming against him from that direction, as has been related by others.

(4) Some time later, when Caesar became master of Rome after Pompey and the Senate had fled across the Ionian sea,[b] he released Aristobulus from prison, and having decided to send him to Syria,[c] put two legions at his disposal in order that he might win support in that country, now that he had the means to do so. Aristobulus, however, could not enjoy the fulfilment of the hopes which he had of the power given him by Caesar, for the partisans of Pompey got to him first and made an end of him by poison; and he was buried by those who favoured Caesar's cause,[d] his corpse lying preserved in honey for a long while, until Antony finally sent it back to Judaea and had it placed in the royal sepulchres. And Scipio,[e] whom Pompey had instructed to kill Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, charged the youth with his original offences against the Romans, and executed him by

Caesar releases Aristobulus and sends him to fight the Pompeians in Syria, where he is poisoned.

Thompson in *AJSL* 47 (1930), p. 23 n. 1), Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xiv. 13 (cited by Hudson), in the Bab. Talmud, *Baba Bathra* 3 b (*cf.* Krauss, *Talmudische Archäologie* ii. 474 n. 416). Other ancient references are given in the following works, listed by my friend Dr. Allan Roos: Thos. Greenhill, *Nekrokēdeia*, 1705; Jean Nicolas Gannal, *History of Embalming* (trans. by R. Harlan), 1840; B. F. Beck, *Honey and Health*, 1938.

[e] Q. Metellus Scipio, father-in-law of Pompey and proconsul of Syria, 49–48 B.C.

126 καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τελευτᾷ. τοὺς δὲ ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Μενναίου παρέλαβε, δυναστεύων Χαλκίδος τῆς ὑπὸ τῷ Λιβάνῳ ὄρει, καὶ πέμψας τὸν υἱὸν Φιλιππίωνα εἰς Ἀσκάλωνα παρὰ τὴν Ἀριστοβούλου γυναῖκα, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῇ συναποστέλλειν τὸν υἱὸν Ἀντίγονον καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας, ὧν τῆς ἑτέρας ἐρασθεὶς Ἀλεξάνδρας ὁ Φιλιππίων ἄγεται γυναῖκα. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀνελὼν αὐτὸν ὁ πατὴρ Πτολεμαῖος γαμεῖ τε τὴν Ἀλεξάνδραν, καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτῆς πρόνοιαν ποιούμενος διετέλει.

127 (viii. 1) Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Πομπηίου θάνατον καὶ τὴν νίκην τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, Καίσαρι πολεμοῦντι κατ' Αἴγυπτον εἰς[1] πολλὰ χρήσιμον αὐτὸν παρέσχεν Ἀντίπατρος ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐπιμελητής, ἐξ ἐν-
128 τολῆς Ὑρκανοῦ. Μιθριδάτῃ γὰρ[2] τῷ Περγαμηνῷ κομίζοντι ἐπικουρικὸν καὶ ἀδυνάτως ἔχοντι διὰ Πηλουσίου ποιήσασθαι τὴν πορείαν, περὶ δὲ Ἀσ-

[1] εἰς om. PE.
[2] M: τε γὰρ rell. E.

[a] *Cf.* above § 39 note *b*.

[b] On the parallelism between §§ 127-155 and *B.J.* i. 187-200 see Laqueur, pp. 165-171, 223. Here again Laqueur tries to show that Josephus' attitude toward Antipater and Herod is less favourable in *Ant.* than is that of his source (Nicolas) in *B.J.*: at the same time he admits that Nicolas had probably exaggerated the services of Antipater at the expense of Hyrcanus. So too Motzo in a monograph on this subject, cited by Momigliano, *Ricerche*, pp. 189-190. See further works cited in Appendix L.

[c] Caesar defeated Pompey at Pharsalus in August (Julian reckoning), 48 B.C. Pompey was killed when he landed in Egypt in September, 48 B.C.

[d] ἐπιμελετής, the title also given to Antipater in the

beheading. In this manner he died at Antioch. But his brother and sisters were taken by Ptolemy, the son of Mennaeus,[a] who was prince of Chalcis at the foot of Mount Lebanon. And he sent his son, Philippion, to Ascalon to Aristobulus' wife, telling her to send back with him her son Antigonus and her daughters, one of whom, Alexandra, Philippion fell in love with and married. But afterwards his father Ptolemy put him to death and married Alexandra, and continued to look after her brother and sister.

(viii. 1) [b] When Caesar, after his victory over Pompey and the latter's death,[c] was fighting in Egypt, Antipater, the governor [d] of the Jews, under orders from Hyrcanus [e] proved himself useful to Caesar in many ways. For when Mithridates of Pergamum, who was bringing an auxiliary force,[f] was unable to make his way through Pelusium and was delayed

Antipater and Hyrcanus assist Caesar in Egypt.

quotation from Strabo in § 139, usually = Lat. *curator* or *praefectus*, rarely = *procurator* (*Judaeae*), as in *Ant.* xviii. 89. In xvii. 6 it is applied to Saturninus, governor of Syria (= *legatus Augusti pro praetore*), who is elsewhere called ἡγεμών; in *B.J.* i. 225 Herod is appointed ἐπιμελετής of all Syria, while in the parallel *Ant.* xiv. 280 he is called στρατηγός. From these passages it would seem that Antipater was given a special office in 48 B.C. by Caesar, or earlier (*cf.* § 103) by Gabinius. He was not made procurator of Judaea, ἐπίτροπος, until 47 B.C., *cf.* § 143. Schürer, i. 343 n. 14, suggests that Gabinius had made him procurator, but if so this office must have been *extra ordinem*, since Judaea had been divided into five districts by Gabinius, as is pointed out by Momigliano, *Ricerche*, p. 207. It may be, however, that Josephus here anticipates; Caesar came to Egypt in the autumn of 48 B.C. but did not get help from Mithridates and Antipater until the spring of 47 B.C. On this campaign see W. Judeich, *Cäsar im Orient*, 1885.

[e] Hyrcanus is not mentioned in the parallel, *B.J.* i. 187; *cf.* above, note *b*.

[f] In addition to the 37th legion sent from Syria.

κάλωνα διατρίβοντι, ἧκεν Ἀντίπατρος ἄγων Ἰουδαίων ὁπλίτας τρισχιλίους, ἐξ Ἀραβίας τε συμμάχους ἐλθεῖν ἐπραγματεύσατο τοὺς ἐν τέλει·
129 καὶ δι' αὐτὸν οἱ κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν ἅπαντες ἐπεκούρουν, ἀπολείπεσθαι τῆς ὑπὲρ Καίσαρος προθυμίας οὐ θέλοντες, Ἰάμβλιχός τε ὁ δυνάστης καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Σοαίμου[1] Λίβανον ὄρος οἰκῶν[2] αἵ τε πόλεις
130 σχεδὸν ἅπασαι. Μιθριδάτης δὲ ἄρας ἐκ Συρίας εἰς Πηλούσιον ἀφικνεῖται, καὶ μὴ δεχομένων αὐτὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπολιόρκει τὴν πόλιν. ἠρίστευσε δὲ Ἀντίπατρος, καὶ πρῶτος κατασύρας τι τοῦ τείχους ὁδὸν εἰσπεσεῖν παρέσχετο τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰς τὴν πόλιν. καὶ τὸ μὲν Πηλούσιον οὕτως εἶχεν.
131 τοὺς δὲ περὶ Ἀντίπατρον καὶ Μιθριδάτην ἀπιόντας πρὸς Καίσαρα διεκώλυον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι[3] οἱ τὴν Ὀνίου λεγομένην χώραν[4] κατοικοῦντες. πείθει δὲ καὶ τούτους τὰ αὐτῶν φρονῆσαι κατὰ τὸ ὁμόφυλον Ἀντίπατρος, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπιδείξας αὐτοῖς τὰς Ὑρκανοῦ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἐπιστολάς, ἐν αἷς αὐτοὺς φίλους εἶναι Καίσαρος παρεκάλει καὶ ξένια καὶ
132 πάντα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια χορηγεῖν τῷ στρατῷ. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὡς ἑώρων τὸν Ἀντίπατρον καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα

[1] ὁ Σοαίμου Niese: ὁ ουαιμου P: ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ AMW Lat.: ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ Θολομαῖος ὁ Σοέμου FL.
[2] οἰκοῦντες Lat.
[3] οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι P: Ἰουδαῖοι Αἰγύπτιοι rell. E Lat.
[4] χώραν secl. Niese.

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[a] As Dr. Thackeray notes in *B.J.* i. 187, Ascalon was 6 days' march from Pelusium, so that Mithridates must have been warned well in advance of the refusal of passage.

[b] Text slightly uncertain. This Ptolemy is to be distinguished from the son of Mennaeus in the same region.

at Ascalon,[a] Antipater arrived with three thousand heavy-armed Jewish soldiers, and also managed to get the chiefs of Arabia to come to his aid; and it was owing to him that all the rulers of Syria furnished aid, not wishing to be outdone in their zeal for Caesar; among these were the prince Jamblichus and Ptolemy, the son of Soemus,[b] who lived on Mount Lebanon, and almost all the cities. Mithridates then left Syria and came to Pelusium, and as its inhabitants would not admit him, besieged the city. Foremost in bravery was Antipater, who was the first to pull down part of the wall, and so opened a way for the others to pour into the city. This was how he took Pelusium. But when Mithridates and Antipater with their men were on their way to Caesar, the Jews[c] who inhabitated the district of Onias,[d] as it was called, prevented them from doing so. Antipater, however, persuaded them too to side with his party on the ground of their common nationality, especially when he showed them a letter from the high priest Hyrcanus, in which he urged them to be friendly to Caesar and receive his army hospitably and furnish it with all things necessary. And so, when they saw that Antipater and the

Antipater persuades the Jews in Egypt to go over to Caesar

He and Jamblichus are otherwise unknown. Soemus may possibly be the ruler mentioned in *Vita* 52; the name is Arabic and Nabataean, found in Petra and Ituraea, *cf. Ant.* xv. 185, xvii. 54, xx. 158 *et al.* The original form was perhaps Arab. *Suhaym*, *cf.* H. Wuthnow, *Die semitischen Menschennamen in griech. Inschrift. u. Pap. d. vord. Orients*, 1930, p. 130. On the name Jamblichus see *Ant.* xiii. 131 note *c*.

[c] Variant "the Egyptian Jews."

[d] Not far from Memphis, though perhaps not to be identified with the site of the Onias temple, *cf. Ant.* xiii. 65 note *b* and Schürer iii. 97 n. 25.

συνθέλοντας[1] ὑπήκουον. τούτους δὲ προσθεμένους ἀκούσαντες οἱ περὶ Μέμφιν ἐκάλουν καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτην πρὸς αὐτούς· κἀκεῖνος ἐλθὼν καὶ τούτους παραλαμβάνει.

133 (2) Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ καλούμενον Δέλτα ἤδη[2] περιεληλύθει,[3] συμβάλλει τοῖς πολεμίοις περὶ τὸ καλούμενον Ἰουδαίων στρατόπεδον. εἶχε δὲ τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν κέρας Μιθριδάτης, τὸ δὲ εὐώνυμον Ἀντί-
134 πατρος. συμπεσόντων δὲ εἰς μάχην κλίνεται τὸ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου κέρας καὶ παθεῖν ἂν ἐκινδύνευσε τὰ δεινότατα, εἰ μὴ παρὰ τὴν ἠόνα τοῦ ποταμοῦ σὺν τοῖς οἰκείοις στρατιώταις Ἀντίπατρος παραθέων νενικηκὼς ἤδη τοὺς πολεμίους τὸν μὲν ῥύεται, τρέπει[4] δὲ εἰς φυγὴν τοὺς νενικηκότας
135 Αἰγυπτίους. αἱρεῖ δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπιμείνας τῇ διώξει, τόν τε Μιθριδάτην ἀνεκάλει[5] πλεῖστον ἐν τῇ τροπῇ διασχόντα. ἔπεσον δὲ τῶν μὲν περὶ τοῦτον ὀκτακόσιοι,[6] τῶν δὲ Ἀντιπάτρου
136 πεντήκοντα.[7] Μιθριδάτης δὲ περὶ τούτων ἐπιστέλλει Καίσαρι, τῆς τε νίκης αὐτοῖς ἅμα καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας αἴτιον τὸν Ἀντίπατρον ἀποφαίνων, ὥστε τὸν Καίσαρα τότε μὲν ἐπαινεῖν αὐτόν, κεχρῆσθαι δὲ παρὰ πάντα τὸν πόλεμον εἰς τὰ κινδυνωδέστατα τῷ Ἀντιπάτρῳ· καὶ δὴ καὶ τρωθῆναι συνέβη παρὰ τοὺς ἀγῶνας αὐτῷ.

[1] P: συνελθόντας rell. E. [2] ὡς ἤδη FLAMW et Lat. vid. [3] παρεληλύθει LAMW et Lat. vid. [4] προτρέπει P. [5] Niese: ἐκάλει codd. [6] τῶν . . . ὀκτακόσιοι] τούτων μὲν περὶ ὀκτακοσίους FLAMW. [7] τεσσαράκοντα LAMW Lat.

[a] The parallel, *B.J.* i. 190, does not tell how Antipater won the support of the Egyptian Jews by using Hyrcanus' name; *cf.* above, § 127 note *b*.

high priest had the same wish, they complied.[a] And when those in the neighbourhood of Memphis heard that these Jews had joined Caesar's side, they too invited Mithridates to come to them. Accordingly he came and took them into his army as well.

Caesar commends Antipater for his prowess in battle in Egypt.

(2) And when he had passed round the region called the Delta, he engaged the enemy at the Camp of the Jews,[b] as it is called. Mithridates commanded the right wing, and Antipater the left. And when they met in battle, Mithridates' wing gave way and would have been in danger of suffering a very grave disaster, if Antipater, who had already defeated the enemy (opposite him), had not come running with his own soldiers along the bank of the river and rescued him, at the same time putting to flight the Egyptians who had defeated Mithridates. And continuing in pursuit, he also seized their camp, and brought back[c] Mithridates, who had been separated far from him in the rout. Of the latter's men some eight hundred fell, while Antipater lost only fifty.[d] Mithridates thereupon wrote an account of this to Caesar, declaring that Antipater had been responsible for their victory and also for their safety; and as a result of this, Caesar commended Antipater on that occasion, and, what is more, made use of him for the most dangerous tasks throughout the entire war. The natural result was that Antipater was wounded in some of the battles.[e]

[b] *Cf.* above, § 131 note *d*.

[c] Text slightly emended: MSS. "called."

[d] Variant "forty"; *B.J.* i. 192 has "eighty."

[e] This tribute to Antipater's prowess seems no less notable than that given in the parallel, *B.J.* 192-193—contrary to Laqueur's views. *B.J.* has some eulogistic phrases missing in *Ant.* but *en revanche* it lacks others found here.

137 (3) Καταλύσας μέντοι Καῖσαρ μετὰ χρόνον τὸν πόλεμον καὶ εἰς Συρίαν ἀποπλεύσας ἐτίμησε μεγάλως, Ὑρκανῷ μὲν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην βεβαιώσας, Ἀντιπάτρῳ δὲ πολιτείαν ἐν Ῥώμῃ δοὺς καὶ
138 ἀτέλειαν πανταχοῦ. λέγεται δὲ ὑπὸ πολλῶν Ὑρκανὸν ταύτης κοινωνῆσαι τῆς στρατείας[1] καὶ ἐλθεῖν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, μαρτυρεῖ δέ μου τῷ λόγῳ Στράβων ὁ Καππάδοξ λέγων ἐξ Ἀσινίου ὀνόματος οὕτως· " μετὰ δὲ τὸν Μιθριδάτην εἰσβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπ-
139 τον καὶ Ὑρκανὸν τὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερέα." ὁ δ' αὐτὸς οὗτος Στράβων καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις[2] πάλιν ἐξ Ὑψικράτους ὀνόματος λέγει οὕτως· " τὸν μὲν Μιθριδάτην ἐξελθεῖν μόνον, κληθέντα δ' εἰς Ἀσκάλωνα Ἀντίπατρον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, τὸν τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπιμελητήν, τρισχιλίους αὐτῷ στρατιώτας συμπαρασκευάσαι, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους δυνάστας προτρέψαι, κοινωνῆσαι δὲ τῆς στρατείας[3] καὶ Ὑρκανὸν τὸν ἀρχιερέα." ταῦτα μὲν Στράβων φησίν.
140 (4) Ἐλθὼν δὲ καὶ Ἀντίγονος ὁ Ἀριστοβούλου τότε[4] πρὸς Καίσαρα τήν τε τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπωδύρετο τύχην[5] καὶ ὡς δι' αὐτὸν ἀποθάνοι φαρμάκοις ἀναιρεθεὶς Ἀριστόβουλος καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ

[1] Dindorf: στρατιᾶς codd. E: militiae Lat.
[2] ἑτέρῳ AMW: alibi Lat.
[3] Dindorf: στρατιᾶς codd. E: militiae Lat.
[4] τότε om. PE.
[5] τελευτὴν P: calamitatem Lat.

[a] Caesar sailed for Syria in the spring of 47 B.C. to attack Pharnaces, King of Bosporus, who was threatening the Roman forces in Asia Minor; on the chronology see Judeich, pp. 108 ff.

[b] Caesar did this to please Antipater, adds *B.J.* i. 194. Hyrcanus had probably resumed the office of high priest after the imprisonment of Aristobulus in 63 B.C., *cf.* above, § 7 note *a*.

[c] Text slightly emended: MSS. "army."

(3) Moreover, when Caesar in the course of time concluded the war and sailed to Syria,[a] he honoured him greatly; while confirming Hyrcanus in the high-priesthood,[b] he gave Antipater Roman citizenship and exemption from taxation everywhere. It is said by many writers that Hyrcanus took part in this campaign[c] and came to Egypt.[d] And this statement of mine is attested by Strabo of Cappadocia, who writes as follows, on the authority of Asinius.[e] "After Mithridates, Hyrcanus, the high priest of the Jews, also invaded Egypt." And again this same Strabo in another passage writes as follows, on the authority of Hypsicrates.[f] "Mithridates went out alone, but Antipater, the procurator[g] of Judaea, was called to Ascalon by him and provided him with an additional three thousand[h] soldiers, and won over the other princes; and the high priest Hyrcanus also took part in the campaign."[i] These are Strabo's own words.

Hyrcanus is rewarded by Caesar for aiding his army in Egypt.

(4) But at that time[j] Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, also came to Caesar and bewailed the sad fate[k] of his father, saying that it was on Caesar's account that Aristobulus and his brother had died, the one having been put out of the way by poison, and the

Antigonus, son of Aristobulus II, appeals to Caesar against the usurpation of Hyrcanus.

[d] This statement and the following quotation from Strabo are not found in *B.J.*

[e] Asinius Pollio, a contemporary of Julius Caesar, wrote a *History*, now lost except for brief fragments, which covered the period 60–*c.* 40 B.C.

[f] An older contemporary of Strabo; his works, now lost, except for fragments, seem to have dealt with the history and ethnography of the Near East and Africa.

[g] *Cf.* above, § 127 note *d*.

[h] Only 1500 are mentioned in Caesar's decree, § 193.

[i] Text slightly emended: MSS. "army."

[j] The variant omits "at that time."

[k] Variant "the death."

κτείναντος πελέκει Σκιπίωνος, ἐδεῖτό τε λαβεῖν οἶκτον αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκβεβλημένου, Ὑρκανοῦ τ'[1] ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ Ἀντιπάτρου κατηγόρει βιαίως ἐξηγουμένων τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν παρανομησάντων.
141 παρὼν δὲ Ἀντίπατρος ἀπελογεῖτο μὲν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἑώρα καθ' αὑτοῦ[2] τὴν κατηγορίαν γεγενημένην, νεωτεριστὰς δὲ ἀπέφαινε τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον καὶ στασιώδεις, ὅσα τε πονήσειεν αὐτοῖς[3] καὶ συνεργήσειεν ὑπεμίμνησκεν ἐπὶ τοῖς στρατηγήμασιν,[4] ποιούμενος τοὺς λόγους ὧν αὐτὸς
142 ἦν μάρτυς. δικαίως τε ἔλεγεν Ἀριστόβουλον μὲν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀνάσπαστον[5] γεγονέναι, πολέμιον ἀεὶ καὶ μηδέποτε εὔνουν ὑπάρξαντα Ῥωμαίοις, τὸν δὲ ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ κολασθέντα[6] ἐπὶ λῃστείᾳ ὑπὸ Σκιπίωνος τυχεῖν ὧν ἄξιος ἦν, ἀλλ' οὐ κατὰ βίαν καὶ ἀδικίαν τοῦτο παθεῖν τοῦ δράσαντος.

143 (5) Τούτους Ἀντιπάτρου ποιησαμένου τοὺς λόγους Καῖσαρ Ὑρκανὸν μὲν ἀποδείκνυσιν ἀρχιερέα, Ἀντιπάτρῳ δὲ δίδωσι[7] δυναστείαν ἣν αὐτὸς προαιρεῖται. τούτου δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ποιησαμένου τὴν κρίσιν, ἐπίτροπον αὐτὸν ἀποδείκνυσι τῆς Ἰου-

[1] Niese: δὲ aut δ' codd.
[2] καθ' αὑτοῦ Naber: κατ' αὐτοῦ codd. edd.
[3] αὐτὸς W Lat. [4] στρατεύμασι PE.
[5] ἀνάρπαστον FLA²MW: tractum Lat.
[6] κρατηθέντα FLAMW.
[7] δ' ἐφίησιν PF¹: δὲ ἀφίησι E Exc.: donavit Lat.

[a] *Cf.* above, §§ 124-125.
[b] *Ant.* omits the criticism (obviously repeated from Nicolas of Damascus) of Antigonus for his attack on Antipater and Hyrcanus, which is expressed in the parallel, *B.J.* i. 195. It also omits Antigonus' charge that his adversaries had supported Caesar in Egypt not out of goodwill but out of fear.

other executed by beheading at the hands of Scipio [a]; and he begged Caesar to take pity on him for having been driven from his realm; and in this connexion he accused Hyrcanus and Antipater of governing the people by violence and having acted lawlessly toward him.[b] But Antipater, who was present, defended himself on these points of the accusation which he saw had been brought against him, and declared that Antigonus and his fellows were revolutionaries and fomenters of sedition [c]; at the same time he recalled how he had laboured on behalf of the Romans and assisted them in their plans of war, speaking of things to which his own person testified [d]; with justice, he added, had Aristobulus been deported to Rome, for he had always been hostile to the Romans and never well-disposed toward them. As for the brother of Antigonus who had been punished [e] for brigandage by Scipio, he had met the fate he deserved, and if he had suffered this punishment it was not because of any violence or injustice on the part of him who had inflicted it.

(5) After Antipater had made this speech, Caesar appointed Hyrcanus high priest,[f] and gave Antipater power to rule in whatever form he preferred. And as the latter left the decision to him, he appointed

Caesar and the Roman Senate honour Antipater and Hyrcanus.

[c] Antipater defends himself more dramatically in *B.J.* i. 197; he strips off his clothes to show his scars, and also speaks more rhetorically against the revolutionary tendencies of the family of Aristobulus.

[d] Apparently this is a reference to his scars (*cf.* preceding note); others translate, "speaking of things of which he (Caesar) was a witness."

[e] Variant "seized."

[f] And ethnarch, according to the decrees cited in §§ 190 ff. By the Jews he seems to have been called king, *cf.* §§ 157, 172.

144 δαίας. ἐπιτρέπει δὲ καὶ Ὑρκανῷ τὰ τῆς πατρίδος ἀναστῆσαι τείχη, ταύτην αἰτησαμένῳ τὴν χάριν· ἔτι γὰρ ἐρήριπτο[1] Πομπηίου καταβαλόντος· καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπιστέλλει τοῖς ὑπάτοις εἰς Ῥώμην ἀναγράψαι ἐν τῷ Καπετωλίῳ. καὶ τὸ γενόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου δόγμα τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον·
145 "Λεύκιος Οὐαλέριος Λευκίου υἱὸς στρατηγὸς[2] συνεβουλεύσατο τῇ συγκλήτῳ εἴδοις Δεκεμβρίαις ἐν τῷ τῆς Ὁμονοίας ναῷ. γραφομένῳ τῷ δόγματι παρῆσαν Λεύκιος Κωπώνιος Λευκίου υἱὸς Κολλίνα
146 καὶ Παπείριος Κυρίνα. περὶ ὧν Ἀλέξανδρος[3] Ἰάσονος καὶ Νουμήνιος Ἀντιόχου καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος Δωροθέου, Ἰουδαίων πρεσβευταί, ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ καὶ σύμμαχοι, διελέχθησαν, ἀνανεούμενοι τὰς προϋπηργμένας πρὸς Ῥωμαίους χάριτας καὶ τὴν φιλίαν,
147 καὶ ἀσπίδα χρυσῆν σύμβολον τῆς συμμαχίας γενομένην ἀνήνεγκαν ἀπὸ χρυσῶν μυριάδων πέντε, καὶ γράμματ' αὐτοῖς ἠξίωσαν δοθῆναι πρός τε τὰς αὐτονομουμένας πόλεις καὶ πρὸς βασιλεῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς λιμένας ἀδείας τυγ-

[1] ἔτι γὰρ ἐρήριπτο P: ἔρριπτο γὰρ (+ ἔτι F) rell.: ἔτι γὰρ ἔρριπτο E Exc.: nam adhuc diruti iacebant Lat.
[2] consul Lat.
[3] Ἀντίπατρος coni. Ritschl.

[a] *Cf.* above, § 127 note *d*.
[b] In *B.J.* i. 199 this favour is granted Antipater. In the change of persons Laqueur, p. 165, sees another instance of Josephus' "systematic political revision" of *B.J.*
[c] On the various Roman and Hellenistic decrees cited in *Ant.* xiii. and xiv. see works listed in Appendix J.
[d] The following decree is to be dated, not in the time of Hyrcanus II (the decrees of Caesar issued on his behalf are cited below, §§ 190 ff.), but probably in the time of Simon,

him procurator of Judaea.[a] He also permitted Hyrcanus, who had asked this favour of him, to rebuild the walls of his native city,[b] for they had been lying in ruins ever since Pompey demolished them. And he sent instructions to the consuls at Rome to record these grants in the Capitol.[c] And the decree enacted by the Senate was as follows.[d] "Lucius Valerius, son of Lucius, the praetor,[e] consulted with the Senate on the Ides of December in the Temple of Concord.[f] And at the writing of the decree there were present Lucius Coponius, son of Lucius, of the Colline tribe, and Papirius of the Quirine tribe. Whereas Alexander,[g] son of Jason, Numenius, son of Antiochus, and Alexander, son of Dorotheus, envoys of the Jews and worthy men and allies, have discussed the matter of renewing the relation of goodwill and friendship which they formerly maintained with the Romans, and have brought as a token of the alliance a golden shield worth fifty thousand gold pieces,[h] and have asked that letters be given them to the autonomous cities and kings in order that their country and ports may be secure and suffer no harm,[i] it has been de-

more exactly in 139 B.C.; *cf.* 1 Macc. xv. 16-21, where a similar letter of the Roman consul Lucius is cited: *cf.* further works cited in Appendix J.

[e] Or "consul," as the Latin translation has it; on στρατηγός as "praetor" and "consul" see Magie, pp. 74, 81.

[f] Schürer, i. 251 n. 22 end, argues against Mommsen (*Hermes* ix. (1875), 281 ff.) that this may be an earlier Temple of Concord than that built in 121 B.C., and that thus the dating of the decree in 139 B.C. is not excluded.

[g] Ritschl proposes to read "Antipater," to make the decree agree with 1 Macc. xiv. 22, which names the envoys Numenius, son of Antiochus, and Antipater, son of Jason.

[h] *Cf.* 1 Macc. xiv. 24, xv. 18, which mention a gold shield of 1000 minae = 50,000 didrachms or staters.

[i] Such kings are enumerated in 1 Macc. xv. 22.

148 χάνειν καὶ μηδὲν ἀδικεῖσθαι, ἔδοξε συνθέσθαι[1]
φιλίαν καὶ χάριτας πρὸς αὐτούς, καὶ ὅσων ἐδεή-
θησαν τυχεῖν ταῦτ' αὐτοῖς παρασχεῖν καὶ τὴν
κομισθεῖσαν ἀσπίδα προσδέξασθαι." ταῦτα ἐγέ-
νετο ἐπὶ Ὑρκανοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ ἐθνάρχου, ἔτους
149 ἐνάτου[2] μηνὸς Πανέμου. εὕρατο δὲ[3] καὶ παρὰ τοῦ
τῶν Ἀθηναίων δήμου τιμὰς Ὑρκανὸς πολλὰ[4] χρή-
σιμος εἰς αὐτοὺς γενόμενος, ἔπεμψάν τε ψήφισμα
γράψαντες αὐτῷ τοῦτον ἔχον τὸν τρόπον· "ἐπὶ
πρυτάνεως καὶ ἱερέως Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἀσκληπιάδου,
μηνὸς Πανέμου πέμπτῃ ἀπιόντος, ἐπεδόθη[5] τοῖς
150 στρατηγοῖς[6] ψήφισμα Ἀθηναίων. ἐπὶ Ἀγαθο-
κλέους ἄρχοντος Εὐκλῆς Ξενάνδρου Αἰθαλίδης[7]
ἐγραμμάτευε, Μουνυχιῶνος ἑνδεκάτῃ, ἑνδεκάτῃ[8]
τῆς πρυτανείας, ἐκκλησίας γενομένης ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ
τῶν προέδρων, ἐπεψήφιζε Δωρόθεος Ἐρχιεὺς[9] καὶ

[1] ἔδοξε δὲ συνθέσθαι FL: ἔδοξεν οὖν θέσθαι AMW: placuit igitur componere Lat.

[2] ἐνάτου εἰκοστοῦ coni. Homolle.

[3] δὴ AMW.

[4] πολλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς P.

[5] ἀπεδόθη Krebs.

[6] τοῖς στρατηγοῖς om. P, secl. Niese.

[7] Ξενάνδρου Αἰθαλίδης coni. T. Reinach: Μενάνδρου Ἀλιμούσιος codd.

[8] ἑνδεκάτῃ 2⁰ add. Dindorf.

[9] Corsini: ἀρχιερεὺς codd. Exc. Lat.

[a] There is no reason why Josephus' source should give the date of a Roman decree in terms of the Macedonian calendar; moreover the decree is dated internally on the Ides of December, while Panemus = June-July. The sentence evidently refers to the following Athenian decree, which is to be dated in the time of Hyrcanus I (see notes following); we must, however, emend "ninth" to "twenty-ninth," as Homolle proposes, which would give us 106/5 B.C., agreeing with the date of the archonship of Agathocles; we must

creed to form a relation of goodwill and friendship with them and to provide them with all the things which they have requested, and to accept the shield which they have brought." This took place in the ninth year of Hyrcanus the high priest and ethnarch, in the month Panemus.[a] Among the Athenian people also Hyrcanus obtained honours, for he had been of great service to them. And they wrote and sent him a resolution, of which the contents were as follows. "In the presidency and priesthood of Dionysius, son of Asclepiades, on the fifth day before the end of the month of Panemus, a decree of the Athenians was delivered to the magistrates.[b] In the archonship of Agathocles,[c] when Eucles, son of Xenander, of the Aithalidean deme,[d] was scribe, on the eleventh of the month of Munychion,[e] on the eleventh day[f] of the prytany, a meeting of the presiding officers (*proedroi*) being held in the theatre, Dorotheus of the Erchian deme[g] and his fellow presiding officers

The Athenians also honour Hyrcanus.

also delete the words "and ethnarch," which could hardly have been applied to Hyrcanus I.

[b] As Reinach points out, this first sentence is introductory, and refers to the transmission of the decree to the Jews by some Hellenistic city.

[c] 106/5 B.C.; see W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Archons of Athens in the Hellenistic Age*, 1931, pp. 275-277 and W. Pritchett and B. D. Meritt, *The Chronology of Hellenistic Archons* 1941, p. xxxiv.

[d] Reinach's conjecture, on the basis of a contemporary inscription (*CIA* ii.[2] 2984) for MSS. "son of Menander, of the Alimusian deme."

[e] Thus the decree was passed two months earlier than Hyrcanus received it, *cf.* above, note *a*.

[f] The day of the prytany, missing in the MSS., is supplied by Dindorf.

[g] Text slightly emended; for Ἐρχιεὺς "of the Erchian deme" the MSS. have ἀρχιερεὺς "high priest."

οἱ συμπρόεδροι, ἔδοξε[1] *τῷ δήμῳ, Διονύσιος Διονυ-*
151 *σίου εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Ὑρκανὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου,*[2] *ἀρχ-ιερεὺς καὶ ἐθνάρχης τῶν Ἰουδαίων, διατελεῖ κοινῇ τε τῷ δήμῳ καὶ ἰδίᾳ τῶν πολιτῶν ἑκάστῳ εὔνοων καὶ πάσῃ χρώμενος περὶ αὐτοὺς σπουδῇ, καὶ τοὺς παραγινομένους Ἀθηναίων ἢ κατὰ πρεσβείαν ἢ κατ' ἰδίαν πρόφασιν ὡς αὐτὸν ὑποδέχεται φιλο-φρόνως καὶ προπέμπει, τῆς ἀσφαλοῦς αὐτῶν ἐπαν-*
152 *όδου προνοούμενος, ἐμαρτυρήθη μὲν καὶ πρότερον περὶ τούτων, δέδοκται δὲ καὶ νῦν Θεοδότου τοῦ Διοδώρου*[3] *Σουνιέως εἰσηγησαμένου καὶ περὶ τῆς τἀνδρὸς ἀρετῆς ὑπομνήσαντος τὸν δῆμον, καὶ ὅτι προαίρεσιν ἔχει ποιεῖν ἡμᾶς ὅ τι ποτ' ἂν δύνηται*
153 *ἀγαθόν, τιμῆσαι τὸν ἄνδρα χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ἀρι-στείῳ κατὰ τὸν νόμον, καὶ στῆσαι αὐτοῦ εἰκόνα χαλκῆν ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Δήμου καὶ τῶν Χαρίτων, ἀνειπεῖν δὲ τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, Διονυσίοις τραγῳδῶν τῶν καινῶν ἀγομένων καὶ Παναθηναίοις*

[1] *ἔδοξε* ins. Boeckh. [2] *Ἀλεξάνδρου* secl. Homolle.
[3] *Θεοδότου τοῦ Διοδώρου* coni. Dumont: *Διονυσίου τοῦ Θεοδώρου* P Lat.: *Θεοδοσίου τοῦ Θεοδώρου* rell.

[a] *ἐπεψήφιζε* is the equivalent of *ἐπεστάτει*, *cf.* W. Larfeld, *Griechische Epigraphik*, 1914, p. 333.
[b] This word, missing in the mss., is supplied by Boeckh.
[c] The preceding formulae correspond perfectly with the usual style of an Athenian decree, *cf.* Larfeld, *loc. cit.*
[d] The words "son of Alexander" (Jannaeus) must have

supervised the voting[a] when the people passed[b] the motion of Dionysius, son of Dionysius, as follows.[c] Inasmuch as Hyrcanus, son of Alexander,[d] the high priest and ethnarch[e] of the Jews, has continued to show goodwill to our people as a whole and to every individual citizen, and to manifest the greatest zeal on their behalf, and when any Athenians come to him either on an embassy or on a private matter, he receives them in a friendly manner and sends them on their way with precautions for their safe return, as has been previously attested, it has therefore now been decreed on the motion of Theodotus, son of Diodorus,[f] of the Sunian deme, who reminded the people of the virtues of this man and of his readiness to do us whatever good he can, to honour this man with a golden crown as the reward of merit fixed by law, and to set up his statue in bronze in the precincts of the temple of Demos and the Graces,[g] and to announce the award of the crown in the theatre at the Dionysian festival when the new tragedies are performed, and at the Panathenaean and Eleusinian

been added by Josephus or his source, under the impression that Hyrcanus II was meant instead of Hyrcanus I.

[e] The words "and ethnarch" must also be an addition, see § 148 note *a* above.

[f] "Theodotus, son of Diodorus" is conjectured by Dumont (cited in Reinach's note) for MSS. "Theodosius (variant "Dionysius"), son of Theodorus," on the basis of a contemporary inscription.

[g] This temple was near the Agora; *cf.* Chas. H. Weller, *Athens and its Monuments*, 1913, p. 81, "A small precinct which Pausanias fails to mention has been uncovered in the railroad artery at the north end of the Colonus Agoraeus, the precinct of Demus and the Graces . . . we know from literary references that various bronze statues stood here." See also W. Judeich, *Topographie v. Athen*, 2nd ed. p. 362.

καὶ Ἐλευσινίοις[1] καὶ[2] ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν,
154 ἐπιμεληθῆναι δὲ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς διαμένοντί τε αὐτῷ καὶ διαφυλάσσοντι[3] τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς εὔνοιαν εἶναι πᾶν ὅ τι ἂν ἐπινοήσωμεν εἰς τιμὴν καὶ χάριν τῆς τἀνδρὸς σπουδῆς καὶ φιλοτιμίας, ἵνα τούτων γενομένων[4] φαίνηται ὁ δῆμος ἡμῶν ἀποδεχόμενος τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς καὶ τῆς προσηκούσης ἀμοιβῆς ἀξιῶν, καὶ ζηλώσῃ[5] τὴν περὶ ἡμᾶς σπουδὴν τῶν[6] ἤδη
155 τετιμημένων[7]· ἑλέσθαι δὲ καὶ πρέσβεις ἐξ ἁπάντων Ἀθηναίων, οἵτινες τό ψήφισμά τε αὐτῷ κομιοῦσι καὶ παρακαλέσουσι προσδεξάμενον τὰς τιμὰς πειρᾶσθαί τι ποιεῖν ἀγαθὸν ἡμῶν ἀεὶ τὴν πόλιν." αἱ μὲν οὖν παρὰ Ῥωμαίων καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων τιμαὶ πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν[8] ἡμῖν δεδήλωνται ἱκανῶς.[9]

156 (ix. 1) Καῖσαρ δὲ διοικήσας τὰ κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν ἀπέπλευσεν. ὡς δὲ Καίσαρα προπέμψας ἐκ τῆς Συρίας Ἀντίπατρος εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ὑπέστρεψεν, ἀνεγείρει μὲν εὐθὺς τὸ τεῖχος ὑπὸ Πομπηίου καθῃρημένον, καὶ τὸν κατὰ τὴν χώραν θόρυβον[10]

[1] Παναθηναίοις καὶ Ἐλευσινίοις Lowthius: Παναθηναίων καὶ Ἐλευσιναίων codd.
[2] καὶ secl. Niese: καὶ Πτολεμαίοις coni. T. Reinach.
[3] φυλάττοντι P. [4] γινομένων P.
[5] ζηλώσει PFLV. [6] ἐκ τῶν V: ἕκαστος τῶν Gutschmid.
[7] ζηλώσῃ . . . τετιμημένων] ζηλώσωσι πάντες τῆς περὶ ἡμᾶς σπουδῆς τὸν ὧδε τετιμημένον coni. T. Reinach.
[8] + τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ διὰ τούτων P. [9] ἱκανῶς om. P.
[10] θρύλον LAW: θρύλλον MF marg.: seditionem Lat.

[a] Text uncertain; perhaps it read originally, "at the gymnastic games of the Panathenaean and Eleusinian festivals" or, as Reinach suggests, on the basis of con-

festivals and at the gymnastic games [a]; and that the magistrates shall take care that so long as he continues to maintain his goodwill toward us, everything which we can devise shall be done to show honour and gratitude to this man for his zeal and generosity, in order that by these measures our people may show that it approves of good men and holds them worthy of a fitting reward, and may rival those already honoured in the zeal shown toward us [b]; and that envoys shall be chosen from among all the Athenians to convey this resolution to him and request him to accept these honours and to endeavour at all times to do good to our city." What we have here set down concerning the honours paid to Hyrcanus [c] by the Romans and the people of Athens seems sufficient.

(ix. 1) [d] Now when Caesar had settled the affairs of Syria, he sailed away. And Antipater, after escorting Caesar out of Syria, returned to Judaea and at once raised again the wall which had been demolished by Pompey,[e] and going about the country suppressed

Antipater restores order in Judaea.

temporary inscriptions, "at the gymnastic games of the Panathenaean and Eleusinian and Ptolemaic festivals."

[b] The text and meaning of the last clause are slightly uncertain. Reinach emends to read, "and that all may rival the one thus honoured (*i.e.* Hyrcanus) in zeal toward us." But Reinach's "thus" (ὧδε) would have to be οὕτως, as Prof. B. D. Meritt writes privately through Prof. Capps; Prof. Meritt also suggests that ζηλώσῃ (*v.l.* -ει) may be an iotacism for ζηλῶσι. Prof. Post reads δηλώσῃ, "reveal the zeal . . . of those already honoured." But I think ζηλώσῃ may stand.

[c] MS. P adds "the high priest."

[d] Here is resumed the parallelism between *Ant.* and *B.J.*; §§ 156-170 are parallel to *B.J.* i. 201-211; *cf.* Laqueur, pp. 171-184, who in these sections, as elsewhere, sees evidence of Josephus' later anti-Herodian bias.

[e] *Cf.* § 144.

ἐπιὼν κατέστελλεν, ἀπειλῶν τε ἅμα καὶ συμβου-
157 λεύων ἠρεμεῖν· τοὺς[1] μὲν γὰρ τὰ[2] Ὑρκανοῦ φρονοῦντας ἐν εὐδίᾳ διάξειν, καὶ βιώσεσθαι τῶν ἰδίων ἀπολαύοντας κτημάτων ἀταράχως, προστιθεμένους δὲ ταῖς ἐκ τοῦ νεωτερίζειν ἐλπίσιν καὶ τοῖς ἀπ' αὐτῶν κέρδεσιν προσανέχοντας αὐτὸν μὲν ἕξειν ἀντὶ προστάτου δεσπότην, Ὑρκανὸν δὲ ἀντὶ βασιλέως τύραννον, Ῥωμαίους δὲ καὶ Καίσαρα πικροὺς ἀνθ' ἡγεμόνων πολεμίους· οὐ γὰρ ἀνέξεσθαι μετακινούμενον ὃν αὐτοὶ κατέστησαν. ταῦτα λέγων καθίστα δι' ἑαυτοῦ[3] τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν.

158 (2) Βραδὺν δ' ὁρῶν καὶ νωθῆ τὸν Ὑρκανόν, Φασάηλον μὲν τὸν πρεσβύτατον αὐτοῦ τῶν παίδων Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ τῶν πέριξ στρατηγὸν ἀποδείκνυσι, τῷ δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν Ἡρώδῃ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἐπέτρεψε, πάνταπασιν ὄντι νέῳ· πεντεκαίδεκα[4] γὰρ
159 αὐτῷ ἐγεγόνει μόνον ἔτη. βλάπτει δὲ οὐδὲν αὐτὸν ἡ νεότης, ἀλλ' ὢν τὸ φρόνημα γενναῖος ὁ νεανίας ἀφορμὴν εὑρίσκει παραχρῆμα εἰς ἐπίδειξιν τῆς ἀρετῆς. καταλαβὼν γὰρ Ἐζεκίαν τὸν ἀρχιληστὴν τὰ προσεχῆ τῆς Συρίας κατατρέχοντα σὺν μεγάλῳ στίφει, τοῦτον συλλαβὼν[5] κτείνει καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν
160 σὺν αὐτῷ λῃστῶν. σφόδρα δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο ἠγάπησαν οἱ Σύροι· ποθοῦσι γὰρ αὐτοῖς

[1] P: τὰ rell. E. [2] τὰ P: om. rell. E.
[3] δι' ἑαυτοῦ om. P Zonaras.
[4] κε' coni. Casaubon. [5] κατασχὼν V.

[a] By the Jews he was called "king," by the Romans, "ethnarch": *cf.* § 143 note *f*.
[b] *B.J.* i. 202 has "enemies in place of rulers and friends."

disorders therein by both threatening and advising the people to remain quiet. For, he said, those who were on the side of Hyrcanus would be left in peace and could live undisturbed in the enjoyment of their own possessions, but if they clung to the hope of achieving something by revolution and were counting on any gains therefrom, they would have in him a master in place of a protector, and in Hyrcanus a tyrant in place of a king,[a] and in the Romans and Caesar bitter enemies in place of rulers.[b] For they would not allow any man to be removed from office whom they themselves had placed therein. Through such words he restored order throughout the country by his own efforts.

Antipater's son Herod is made governor of Galilee and subdues the brigands.

(2) But as he saw that Hyrcanus was dull and sluggish,[c] he appointed his eldest son Phasael governor of Jerusalem and the surrounding region, and entrusted Galilee to his second son Herod, who was still quite young; he was, in fact, only fifteen years old.[d] But his youth in no way hindered him, and being a young man of high spirit, he quickly found an opportunity for showing his prowess. For on learning that Ezekias, a bandit leader, was overrunning the borders of Syria with a large troop, he caught and killed him and many of the bandits with him. This achievement of his was greatly admired by the Syrians, for he had cleared their country of a gang

[c] *B.J.* i. 203 reads "sluggish and without the energy necessary to a king."

[d] As Otto points out, *Herodes*, p. 18, Josephus' emphasis on Herod's youth indicates that "fifteen years" is not a scribal error for "twenty-five years." However Josephus is inconsistent; in *Ant.* xvii. 148 he tells us that Herod was about seventy when he died (in 4 B.C.), hence he must have been about twenty-five in 47 B.C.

ἀπηλλάχθαι τοῦ λῃστηρίου τὴν χώραν ἐκαθάρευσεν. ὕμνουν γοῦν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ κατά τε κώμας καὶ κατὰ πόλεις[1] ὡς εἰρήνην αὐτοῖς παρεσχηκότα καὶ ἀσφαλῆ τῶν κτημάτων ἀπόλαυσιν. ἐγένετο δὲ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Σέξτῳ Καίσαρι γνώριμος, ὄντι συγγενεῖ τοῦ μεγάλου Καίσαρος καὶ διέποντι τὴν Συρίαν.[2]

161 ζῆλος δὲ ἐμπίπτει τῶν Ἡρώδῃ πεπραγμένων Φασαήλῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ, καὶ πρὸς τὴν εὐδοκίμησιν αὐτοῦ κινηθεὶς ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο[3] μὴ ἀπολειφθῆναι τῆς ὁμοίας εὐφημίας, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις εὐνουστάτους[4] ἐποιεῖτο, δι' αὐτοῦ μὲν ἔχων τὴν πόλιν, οὔτε δ' ἀπειροκάλως τοῖς πράγμασι προσ-
162 φερόμενος οὔτ' ἐξυβρίζων εἰς τὴν ἐξουσίαν. ταῦτ' Ἀντίπατρον ἐποίει θεραπείας παρὰ τοῦ ἔθνους τυγχάνειν βασιλικῆς καὶ τιμῶν οἵων ἄν τις μεταλαμβάνοι[5] τῶν ὅλων ὢν δεσπότης. ὑπὸ μέντοι τῆς ἐκ τούτων λαμπρότητος, οἷα[6] καὶ[7] φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν πολλάκις, οὐδὲν τῆς[8] πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν εὐνοίας παρέβη[9] καὶ πίστεως.

163 (3) Οἱ δ' ἐν τέλει τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὁρῶντες τὸν Ἀντίπατρον καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ[10] μεγάλως αὐξανομένους εὐνοίᾳ τε τῇ παρὰ τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ προσόδῳ τῇ τε παρὰ τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ τῶν Ὑρ-

[1] PV: πόλιν rell. [2] τὰ τῆς Συρίας FLAMW.
[3] PE: ἐφιλοτιμήσατο rell.
[4] εὐνουστέρους PE: fautores Lat.
[5] μέγα λαμβάνει P: παραλαμβάνει F: παραλαμβάνοι LAMW.
[6] οὐδὲν οἷα P: οὐδενὸς ἃ Exc. [7] καὶ om. PV.
[8] οὐδὲν τῆς V ed. pr.: τῆς rell.
[9] οὐ παρέβη FLAMW. [10] + μετ' αὐτοῦ LAMW.

of bandits of whom they longed to be rid. And so they sang his praises for this deed throughout their villages and cities, saying that he had given them peace and the secure enjoyment of their possessions. And through this action he became known to Sextus Caesar, a kinsman of the great Caesar and governor of Syria.[a] Thereupon the desire to emulate Herod's achievements seized his brother Phasael, and being moved by the thought of the reputation Herod had won, he was ambitious not to be behind him in achieving like fame; and so he made the inhabitants of Jerusalem feel very friendly toward him, and though he kept the city under his own rule, he did not show any lack of discretion in governing it[b] or abuse his authority. This situation made it possible for Antipater to receive from the nation the respect shown a king and such honour as might be enjoyed by one who is an absolute master. With all this glory, however, he did not, as so often seems to happen,[b] in any way alter his friendship and loyalty to Hyrcanus.

Antipater's eldest son Phasael ably governs Jerusalem.

(3) [c]But when the leading Jews saw Antipater and his sons growing so great through the goodwill of the nation and the revenues which they received

The leading Jews accuse Antipater and his sons before Hyrcanus.

[a] Sextus Caesar was sent to govern Syria in the summer of 47 B.C., *cf.* Schürer i. 309. He was murdered by Caecilius Bassus, a partisan of Pompey, in 46 B.C., *cf.* below § 268.

[b] The phrase τοῖς πράγμασι προσφερόμενος in § 161 is Thucydidean (Thuc. vi. 44. 4) as is οἷα καὶ φιλεῖ in § 162 (Thuc. iii. 81. 5, iv. 28. 3).

[c] §§ 163-167 differ considerably from the account in *B.J.* i. 208-209 where Antipater appears in a more favourable, and Hyrcanus in a more unfavourable, light. Laqueur, pp. 176 ff., argues that §§ 163-164 in *Ant.* were a later addition to *B.J.*, which in turn was made to agree with the revised account by being interpolated.

164 κανοῦ χρημάτων, κακοήθως εἶχον πρὸς αὐτόν· καὶ γὰρ φιλίαν ὁ Ἀντίπατρος ἦν πεποιημένος πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορας, καὶ χρήματα πείσας πέμψαι τὸν Ὑρκανὸν αὐτὸς λαβὼν νοσφίζεται τὴν δωρεάν· ὡς γὰρ ἰδίαν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς Ὑρκανοῦ
165 διδόντος, ἔπεμψεν. ταῦθ' Ὑρκανὸς ἀκούων οὐκ ἐφρόντιζεν ἀλλὰ καὶ σφόδρα ἔχαιρεν.[1] ἐν δέει δὲ ἦσαν οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὁρῶντες τὸν Ἡρώδην βίαιον καὶ τολμηρὸν καὶ τυραννίδος γλιχόμενον· καὶ προσελθόντες Ὑρκανῷ φανερῶς ἤδη κατηγόρουν Ἀντιπάτρου, καί "μέχρι πότ'," ἔφασαν, "ἐπὶ τοῖς πραττομένοις ἡσυχάσεις;[2] ἢ[3] οὐχ ὁρᾷς Ἀντίπατρον μὲν καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν διεζωσμένους, σαυτὸν δὲ[4] τῆς βασιλείας
166 ὄνομα μόνον ἀκούοντα; ἀλλὰ μὴ λανθανέτω σε ταῦτα μηδὲ ἀκίνδυνος εἶναι νόμιζε ῥαθυμῶν περί τε σαυτῷ καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ· οὐ γὰρ ἐπίτροποί σου[5] τῶν πραγμάτων Ἀντίπατρος καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ νῦν εἰσι, μηδὲ ἀπάτα σαυτὸν τοῦτο οἰόμενος, ἀλλὰ
167 δεσπόται φανερῶς ἀνωμολόγηνται· καὶ γὰρ Ἡρώδης ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ Ἐζεκίαν ἀπέκτεινε καὶ πολλοὺς[6] σὺν αὐτῷ, παραβὰς τὸν ἡμέτερον νόμον, ὃς κεκώλυκεν ἄνθρωπον ἀναιρεῖν καὶ πονηρὸν ὄντα, εἰ μὴ πρότερον κατακριθείη τοῦτο παθεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ

[1] ἀλλὰ . . . ἔχαιρεν om. P.
[2] Hudson Exc.: ἡσυχάζεις codd. E Lat.
[3] ἠ̃ PVAW.
[4] μέντοι P.
[5] σοι P.
[6] τοὺς LAMVW: omnes Lat.

from Judaea and Hyrcanus' wealth, they became hostile toward him. Moreover Antipater had formed a friendship with the Roman generals, and after persuading Hyrcanus to send them money, he took this gift and appropriated it for himself, and then sent it as though it came from him and were not a gift from Hyrcanus. Hyrcanus heard of this but gave the matter no thought; on the contrary he was actually pleased.[a] But the chief Jews were in great fear when they saw how powerful and reckless Herod was and how much he desired to be a dictator.[b] And so they came to Hyrcanus and now openly accused Antipater, saying, "How long will you keep quiet in the face of what is happening? Do you not see that Antipater and his sons have girded themselves with royal power, while you have only the name of king given you?[c] But do not let these things go unnoticed, nor consider yourself free of danger because you are careless of yourself and the kingdom. For no longer are Antipater and his sons merely your stewards in the government, and do not deceive yourself with the belief that they are; they are openly acknowledged to be masters. Thus Herod, his son, has killed Ezekias and many of his men[d] in violation of our Law, which forbids us to slay a man, even an evildoer, unless he has first been condemned by the

[a] *B.J.* says nothing about Antipater's friendship with the Roman generals or his appropriation of Hyrcanus' gift. Moreover, according to *B.J.*, Hyrcanus was resentful of Antipater's behaviour and envious of him.

[b] In *B.J.* Antipater's detractors are "malicious persons at court who had taken offence at the prudent behaviour either of Antipater or of his sons."

[c] Hyrcanus was officially ethnarch, not king, *cf.* § 143 note *f*.

[d] Variant "and his men."

συνεδρίου. μὴ λαβὼν δὲ ἐξουσίαν παρὰ σοῦ ταῦτα ἐτόλμησεν."

168 (4) Ὑρκανὸς δὲ ἀκούσας ταῦτα πείθεται· προσεξῆψαν δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν ὀργὴν καὶ αἱ μητέρες τῶν ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου πεφονευμένων· αὗται γὰρ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ παρακαλοῦσαι τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὸν δῆμον, ἵνα δίκην Ἡρώδης ἐν[1] τῷ συνεδρίῳ τῶν πεπραγμένων ὑπόσχῃ, διετέλουν.
169 κινηθεὶς οὖν ὑπὸ τούτων Ὑρκανὸς Ἡρώδην ἐκάλει δικασόμενον ὑπὲρ ὧν διεβάλλετο. ὁ δὲ ἧκε τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῷ παραινέσαντος μὴ ὡς ἰδιώτης μετὰ δὲ ἀσφαλείας εἰσελθεῖν καὶ φυλακῆς τῆς περὶ τὸ σῶμα, τά τε κατὰ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ὃν ἐνόμισεν αὐτῷ συμφέρειν τρόπον[2] ἁρμοσάμενος, καὶ μετὰ στίφους ἀποχρῶντος αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν ὁδόν, ὡς μήτε ἐπίφοβος Ὑρκανῷ δόξειε μετὰ μείζονος παραγινόμενος τάγματος μήτε γυμνὸς καὶ ἀφύλακτος, ᾔει[3]
170 πρὸς τὴν δίκην. Σέξτος μέντοι, ὁ τῆς Συρίας ἡγεμών, γράφει παρακαλῶν Ὑρκανὸν ἀπολῦσαι τὸν Ἡρώδην ἐκ τῆς δίκης, καὶ προσαπειλῶν παρακούσαντι. τῷ δ' ἦν ἀφορμὴ καὶ τὰ[4] παρὰ τοῦ Σέξτου γράμματα[5] πρὸς τὸ μηδὲν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου παθόντα ἀπολῦσαι τὸν Ἡρώδην· ἠγάπα γὰρ αὐτὸν

[1] ἐν om. PE. [2] ἀσφαλίσασθαι τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον P. [3] Niese: ἴῃ V: εἴη rell. E Lat.: ἴῃ ed. pr. [4] καὶ τὰ FLVW: καὶ AM: τὸ PE. [5] γράμμα PE.

[a] The Synhedrion is not mentioned by Herod's accusers in *B.J.*

[b] The pleas of the brigands' mothers are not mentioned in *B.J.*

Synhedrion to suffer this fate.[a] He, however, has dared to do this without authority from you."

(4) Having heard these arguments, Hyrcanus was persuaded. And his anger was further kindled by the mothers of the men who had been murdered by Herod, for every day in the temple they kept begging the king and the people to have Herod brought to judgment in the Synhedrion for what he had done.[b] Being, therefore, moved by these pleas, Hyrcanus summoned Herod to stand trial for the crimes of which he was accused.[c] Accordingly, after he had settled affairs in Galilee as he thought was to his best interests,[d] because his father had advised him not to enter the city as a private individual but with the security of a bodyguard, he came with a troop sufficient for the purposes of the journey, and that he might not appear too formidable to Hyrcanus by arriving with a larger body of men and yet not be entirely unarmed and unprotected; and so he went to his trial. However Sextus, the governor of Syria, wrote to urge Hyrcanus to acquit Herod of the charge, and added threats as to what would happen if he disobeyed.[e] The letter from Sextus gave Hyrcanus a pretext for letting Herod go without suffering any harm from the Synhedrion; for he loved him as a

Herod is summoned to stand trial for his lawless deeds before the Synhedrion at Jerusalem.

[c] On the competence of Synhedrion and king in such cases see Finkelstein ii. 684 ff.

[d] Variant "as he thought it to his best interests to secure them in this way."

[e] The compulsion exercised by Sextus Caesar is cited by Schalit, p. 60, as evidence that Judaea at this time was still in the position of a *civitas stipendiaria*, to which it had been reduced by Pompey and Gabinius. But as Julius Caesar had already improved, or was about to improve, the political status of Judaea, it may be that Sextus Caesar was exceeding his authority. See further works listed in Appendix L.

171 ὡς υἱόν. καταστὰς δὲ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ μετὰ τοῦ σὺν αὐτῷ τάγματος Ἡρώδης κατέπληξεν ἅπαντας, καὶ κατηγορεῖν ἐθάρρει τὸ λοιπὸν οὐδεὶς τῶν πρὶν ἀφικέσθαι διαβαλλόντων, ἀλλ' ἦν ἡσυχία καὶ τοῦ
172 τί χρὴ ποιεῖν ἀπορία. διακειμένων δ' οὕτως εἷς τις Σαμαίας[1] ὄνομα, δίκαιος ἀνὴρ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῦ δεδιέναι κρείττων, ἀναστὰς εἶπεν· "ἄνδρες σύνεδροι καὶ βασιλεῦ, εἰς δίκην μὲν οὔτ' αὐτὸς οἶδά τινα τῶν πώποτε ὑπ' αὐτῆς[2] εἰς ὑμᾶς[3] κεκλημένων οὕτω παραστάντα οὔτε ὑμᾶς ἔχειν εἰπεῖν ὑπολαμβάνω, ἀλλὰ πᾶς ὁστισδηποτοῦν ἀφῖκται εἰς τοῦτο τὸ συνέδριον κριθησόμενος ταπεινὸς παρίσταται καὶ σχήματι δεδοικότος καὶ ἔλεον θηρωμένου παρ' ὑμῶν,[4] κόμην τε ἐπιθρέψας καὶ ἐσθῆτα μέλαιναν
173 ἐνδεδυμένος. ὁ δὲ βέλτιστος Ἡρώδης, φόνου δίκην φεύγων καὶ ἐπ' αἰτίᾳ τοιαύτῃ κεκλημένος, ἕστηκε τὴν πορφύραν περικείμενος καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν κεκοσμημένος τῇ συνθέσει τῆς κόμης καὶ περὶ

[1] Σαμέας A²MV: Σαμαῖος E: Sameus Lat.
[2] ὑπ' αὐτῆς om. P.
[3] ἡμᾶς LV.
[4] ἡμῖν Hudson.

[a] Josephus' accounts of Herod's trial in *B.J.* and *Ant.* are rather confusing. In *B.J.* i. 211 he states that Hyrcanus acquitted Herod on orders from Sextus Caesar; in §§ 212 ff. Herod, after being appointed governor of Coele-Syria, came to Jerusalem with an army, prepared to depose Hyrcanus if summoned to a second trial. Whether the second trial was held or why it should be held after Herod's acquittal (*cf.* Mishnah, *Sanhedrin*, iv. 1) is not clear. Josephus' statement in *Ant.*, § 170, that Hyrcanus let Herod go (ἀπολῦσαι) evidently refers to an acquittal. The story that follows in §§ 171-176 (which has no parallel in *B.J.*) should logically precede the statement about Herod's acquittal; it seems to be a later insertion, probably based on Jewish tradition (for

son.[a] But when Herod stood in the Synhedrion[b] with his troops, he overawed them all, and no one of those who had denounced him before his arrival dared to accuse him thereafter; instead there was silence and doubt about what was to be done. While they were in this state, someone named Samaias,[c] an upright man and for that reason superior to fear, arose and said, "Fellow councillors and King, I do not myself know of, nor do I suppose that you can name, anyone who when summoned before you[d] for trial has ever presented such an appearance. For no matter who it was that came before this Synhedrion for trial, he has shown himself humble and has assumed the manner of one who is fearful and seeks mercy[e] from you[f] by letting his hair grow long and wearing a black garment. But this fine fellow Herod, who is accused of murder and has been summoned on no less grave a charge than this, stands here clothed in purple, with the hair of his head carefully arranged and with his

Samaias rebukes the Synehedrion for its cowardice toward Herod.

a rabbinic parallel see Derenbourg, pp. 146-148). But another difficulty remains in *Ant.* In § 177 Josephus tells us that Hyrcanus postponed Herod's trial; in § 182 he states that Herod's friends reminded him of his acquittal (ἀφέσεως). Thus neither of the two parallel accounts makes it clear whether Herod was tried and acquitted or was released without an actual trial. Incidentally, according to Mishnah, *Sanhedrin*, ii. 2, the king was not competent to act as a judge.

[b] The Synhedrion (Heb. *Sanhedrin*) was the supreme legislative and judicial body of the Jewish state, meeting at Jerusalem.

[c] Variants "Sameas," "Samaeus (Samaios)." He is mentioned, in *Ant.* xv. 3, 370, as a disciple of the Pharisee Pollion. On the relation of Samaias to the rabbinic leaders Shemaiah and Shammai see works listed in Appendix K.

[d] Variant "us."

[e] The phrase ἐλέου θηρώμενον (-αι) occurs in Euripides, *Orestes* 568.

[f] Conjectured variant "us."

αὐτὸν ἔχων ὁπλίτας, ἵν' ἂν κατακρίνωμεν αὐτοῦ
κατὰ τὸν νόμον, κτείνῃ μὲν ἡμᾶς, αὐτὸς δὲ σωθῇ[1]
174 βιασάμενος τὸ δίκαιον. ἀλλ' Ἡρώδην μὲν ἐπὶ
τούτοις οὐκ ἂν μεμψαίμην, εἰ τὸ αὑτοῦ[2] συμφέρον
ποιεῖται περὶ πλείονος ἢ τὸ νόμιμον, ὑμᾶς δὲ καὶ
τὸν βασιλέα τοσαύτην ἄδειαν αὐτῷ παρασχόντας.
ἴστε μέντοι μέγαν τὸν θεόν, καὶ οὗτος, ὃν νῦν δι'
Ὑρκανὸν ἀπολῦσαι βούλεσθε, κολάσει ὑμᾶς ποτε
175 καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα." διήμαρτε δ' οὐδὲν τῶν
εἰρημένων· ὁ γὰρ Ἡρώδης τὴν βασιλείαν παρα-
λαβὼν πάντας ἀπέκτεινε τοὺς ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ καὶ
176 Ὑρκανὸν αὐτὸν χωρὶς τοῦ Σαμαίου· σφόδρα γὰρ
αὐτὸν διὰ τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἐτίμησε καὶ ὅτι τῆς
πόλεως μετὰ ταῦτα πολιορκουμένης ὑπό τε Ἡρώ-
δου καὶ Σοσσίου παρῄνεσε τῷ δήμῳ δέξασθαι τὸν
Ἡρώδην, εἰπὼν διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας οὐ δύνασθαι
διαφυγεῖν αὐτόν. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων κατὰ
χώραν ἐροῦμεν.

177 (5) Ὑρκανὸς δὲ ὁρῶν ὡρμημένους πρὸς τὴν
ἀναίρεσιν τὴν Ἡρώδου τοὺς ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ τὴν
δίκην εἰς ἄλλην ἡμέραν ἀνεβάλετο,[3] καὶ πέμψας
κρύφα πρὸς Ἡρώδην συνεβούλευσεν αὐτῷ φυγεῖν
ἐκ τῆς πόλεως· οὕτω γὰρ τὸν κίνδυνον διαφεύξε-
178 σθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Δαμασκὸν ὡς
φεύγων τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ παραγενόμενος πρὸς Σέξ-
τον Καίσαρα[4] καὶ τὰ καθ' αὑτὸν[5] ἀσφαλισάμενος
οὕτως εἶχεν ὡς εἰ καλοῖτο πάλιν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον
179 ἐπὶ δίκην, οὐχ ὑπακουσόμενος. ἠγανάκτουν δ' οἱ
ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ καὶ τὸν Ὑρκανὸν ἐπειρῶντο δι-

[1] αὐτὸς δὲ σωθῇ] αὐτὸν δὲ σώσει PE.
[2] Naber: αὐτοῦ codd. [3] PE: ἀνεβάλλετο rell.
[4] Καίσαρα om. LAMW.

soldiers round him, in order to kill us if we condemn him as the law prescribes, and to save himself by outraging justice. But it is not Herod whom I should blame for this or for putting his own interests above the law, but you and the king, for giving him such great licence. Be assured, however, that God is great, and this man, whom you now wish to release for Hyrcanus' sake, will one day punish you and the king as well." And he was not mistaken in either part of his prediction. For when Herod assumed royal power, he killed Hyrcanus and all the other members of the Synhedrion with the exception of Samaias. Him he held in the greatest honour, both because of his uprightness and because when the city was later besieged by Herod and Sossius, he advised the people to admit Herod, and said that on account of their sins they would not be able to escape him. And of these events we shall speak in the proper place.[a]

(5) [b] Now when Hyrcanus saw that the members of the Synhedrion were bent on putting Herod to death, he postponed the trial to another day, and secretly sent to Herod, advising him to flee from the city, for in that way, he said, he might escape danger. Herod accordingly withdrew to Damascus as if fleeing from the king, and coming to Sextus Caesar and making his position secure, he was determined not to obey if he were again summoned to a trial before the Synhedrion. Thereupon the members of the Synhedrion became indignant and attempted

Hyrcanus permits Herod to escape condemnation

[a] *Ant.* xv. 3 ff.

[b] On the parallelism between §§ 178-184 and *B.J.* i. 212-215 see Laqueur, pp. 184-186.

[5] καθ' αὐτὸν VE: κατ' αὐτὸν rell.

δάσκειν ὅτι ταῦτα πάντα εἴη κατ' αὐτοῦ. τὸν δ' οὐκ ἐλάνθανε μέν, πράττειν δ' οὐδὲν εἶχεν ὑπ'
180 ἀνανδρίας καὶ ἀνοίας. Σέξτου δὲ ποιήσαντος Ἡρώδην στρατηγὸν τῆς κοίλης Συρίας (χρημάτων γὰρ αὐτῷ τοῦτο ἀπέδοτο) Ὑρκανὸς ἦν ἐν φόβῳ μὴ στρατεύσηται Ἡρώδης ἐπ'[1] αὐτόν. οὐ πολὺ δὲ τοῦ δέους[2] ἐβράδυνεν, ἀλλ' ἧκεν ἄγων ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὁ Ἡρώδης στρατιάν, ὀργιζόμενος τῆς δίκης αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ κληθῆναι πρὸς τὸ λόγον ὑποσχεῖν ἐν τῷ
181 συνεδρίῳ. διεκώλυσαν δ' αὐτὸν προσβαλεῖν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ὑπαντήσαντες ὅ τε πατὴρ Ἀντίπατρος καὶ ὁ ἀδελφός, καὶ τὴν ὁρμὴν αὐτοῦ καταπαύσαντες καὶ παρακαλέσαντες ἔργῳ μὲν ἐγχειρεῖν μηδενί, καταπληξάμενον δὲ ἀπειλῇ μόνον[3] μὴ χωρῆσαι περαιτέρω κατὰ τοῦ παρασχόντος αὐτῷ[4]
182 εἰς τοῦτο παρελθεῖν τὸ ἀξίωμα. ἠξίουν τε[5] περὶ τοῦ κληθέντα ἐπὶ δίκην ἐλθεῖν ἀγανακτοῦντα μεμνῆσθαι καὶ τῆς ἀφέσεως καὶ χάριν αὐτῆς εἰδέναι καὶ μὴ πρὸς μὲν τὸ σκυθρωπότερον ἀπαντᾶν, περὶ
183 δὲ τῆς σωτηρίας ἀχαριστεῖν· λογίζεσθαι δ' ὡς, εἰ καὶ πολέμου ῥοπὰς βραβεύει τὸ θεῖον, πλέον ἐστὶ τῆς στρατείας[6] τὸ ἄδικον,[7] διὸ καὶ τὴν νίκην μὴ

[1] καὶ ἐπ' AMVW.
[2] τούτου τοῦ δέους FLAMW: τὸ δέος E: τοῦτο τὸ δέος Naber.
[3] μόνῃ AMW.
[4] P: αὐτὸν rell.
[5] δὲ FLAMW.
[6] στρατιᾶς PFAMW.
[7] PV cum B.J.: ἄδηλον rell.

[a] In *B.J.* i. 212 it is not the Synhedrion but the "knaves" (οἱ πονηροί) at court who instigate Hyrcanus against Herod.
[b] *B.J.* does not mention Hyrcanus' "cowardice and folly"; instead, it says that he was inactive because "he

to persuade Hyrcanus that all these things were directed against him.[a] But though he was not unaware of this, he was incompetent to do anything, because of his cowardice and folly.[b] And when Sextus made Herod governor of Coele-Syria [c]—for he gave him this title in return for money—,[d] Hyrcanus was afraid that Herod would march against him. Nor was this fear long in being realized, for Herod did come against him with an army, being angry because of the trial and because he had been summoned to render an account of himself to the Synhedrion. Herod, however, was prevented from attacking Jerusalem [e] by his father Antipater and his brother, who went out to meet him and quieted his impetuosity, urging him not to undertake any violent action, but merely to strike terror into Hyrcanus by threats and not proceed further against one who had made it possible for him to attain to his present high office. And as he expressed indignation at having been summoned to stand trial, they begged him to remember his acquittal and to be grateful for it rather than consider the unpleasant side [f] and be ungrateful for his deliverance. He ought, they said, to reflect that if the Deity decides the changing fortunes of war, the injustice [g] of his cause might weigh more heavily than his military skill [h]; for that reason he should not be very

Herod's father and brother dissuade him from attacking Hyrcanus.

saw that his adversary had greater strength" (ὡς ἑώρα μείζονα τὸν διάφορον).

[c] And Samaria, according to *B.J.* i. 213.

[d] Herod's purchase of office is not mentioned in *B.J.* On the other hand, *B.J.* speaks of Herod's popularity with the Jews as an additional reason for Hyrcanus' fear of him.

[e] In order to depose Hyrcanus, according to *B.J.* i. 214.

[f] *Cf.* Dr. Thackeray's note on τὸ σκύθρωπον in *B.J.* i. 214.

[g] Variant "uncertainty."

[h] Variant "than his army."

πάντη προσδοκᾶν μέλλοντα πολεμεῖν βασιλεῖ καὶ συντρόφῳ, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν εὐεργετήσαντι, μηδὲν δὲ χαλεπὸν αὐτὸν[1] εἰργασμένῳ, περὶ δὲ ὧν ἐγκαλεῖ,[2] διὰ πονηροὺς συμβούλους ἀλλὰ μὴ δι' αὐτόν, ὑπόνοιαν αὐτῷ καὶ σκιὰν δυσκόλου τινὸς παρεσχημένῳ.
184 πείθεται τούτοις Ἡρώδης, ὑπολαβὼν εἰς τὰς ἐλπίδας ἀποχρῆν αὐτῷ τὸ καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν ἐπιδείξασθαι τῷ ἔθνει μόνον.[3] καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν οὕτως εἶχεν.

185 (x. 1) Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐλθὼν[4] εἰς Ῥώμην ἕτοιμος ἦν πλεῖν ἐπ' Ἀφρικῆς, πολεμήσων Σκιπίωνι καὶ Κάτωνι, πέμψας δ' Ὑρκανὸς πρὸς αὐτὸν παρεκάλει[5] βεβαιώσασθαι τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν φιλίαν καὶ
186 συμμαχίαν. ἔδοξε δ' ἀναγκαῖον εἶναί μοι πάσας ἐκθέσθαι τὰς γεγενημένας Ῥωμαίοις καὶ τοῖς αὐτοκράτορσιν αὐτῶν τιμὰς καὶ συμμαχίας πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν, ἵνα μὴ λανθάνῃ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας, ὅτι καὶ οἱ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ οἱ[6] τῆς Εὐρώπης βασιλεῖς διὰ σπουδῆς ἔσχον ἡμᾶς, τήν τε ἀνδρείαν ἡμῶν
187 καὶ τὴν πίστιν ἀγαπήσαντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλοὶ διὰ

[1] εἰς αὐτὸν FLAMW.
[2] ἐγκαλῇ F: ἐγκαλοίη LAMVW.
[3] ὑπολαβὼν . . . μόνον] καὶ ὑπολαβὼν . . . ὑπέστρεψεν coni. Richards et Shutt.
[4] διελθὼν FLVW.
[5] πέμψας . . . παρεκάλει] ἔπεμψε . . . παρακαλῶν FLAM.
[6] οἱ om. AV, del. M.

[a] The parallelism with *B.J.* breaks off here, to be resumed in § 268.

confident of a victory when he was planning to make war on his king and comrade, one who had conferred many benefits upon him but had never done him any unkindness; as for the things of which he complained, if Hyrcanus had given him the merest suspicion and shadow of harsh treatment, it was through evil counsellors and not of his own accord. To these arguments Herod yielded, believing that it was enough for his future plans merely to have made a show of his strength to the people. This, then, was the state of affairs in Judaea.[a]

(x. 1) [b] Caesar on arriving at Rome was ready to sail for Africa to make war on Scipio and Cato,[c] when Hyrcanus sent to him with the request that he should confirm the treaty of friendship and alliance with him. And here it seems to me necessary to make public all the honours given our nation and the alliances made with them by the Romans and their emperors,[d] in order that the other nations may not fail to recognize that both the kings of Asia and of Europe[e] have held us in esteem and have admired our bravery and loyalty. Since many persons, how-

Josephus' motives for citing Roman decrees favourable to the Jews.

[b] On the authenticity, dates, etc., of the official documents quoted in the following chapter see works listed in Appendix J. Here it may suffice to remark that the order of the documents is confused and that the reading of many names is doubtful.

[c] Preparations were made in the summer of 47 B.C. Caesar sailed for Africa early in October; for details of the campaign see T. Rice Holmes, *The Roman Republic*, iii. 534 ff.

[d] αὐτοκράτορες = Lat. *imperatores*.

[e] Meaning the Persian and Seleucid kings and Roman emperors. Although βασιλεύς is not generally applied to the Roman emperor before the second century A.D., Josephus twice speaks of the βασιλεῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων, in *B.J.* iii. 351 and iv. 596.

τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς δυσμένειαν ἀπιστοῦσι τοῖς ὑπὸ Περσῶν καὶ Μακεδόνων ἀναγεγραμμένοις περὶ ἡμῶν τῷ μὴ καὶ ταῦτα[1] πανταχοῦ μηδ' ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις ἀποκεῖσθαι τόποις, ἀλλὰ παρ' ἡμῖν τε
188 αὐτοῖς καί τισιν ἄλλοις τῶν βαρβάρων, πρὸς δὲ τὰ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων δόγματα οὐκ ἔστιν ἀντειπεῖν (ἔν τε γὰρ δημοσίοις ἀνάκειται τόποις τῶν πόλεων καὶ ἔτι νῦν ἐν τῷ Καπετωλίῳ χαλκαῖς στήλαις ἐγγέγραπται· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ Καῖσαρ Ἰούλιος τοῖς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Ἰουδαίοις ποιήσας χαλκῆν στήλην ἐδήλωσεν ὅτι Ἀλεξανδρέων πολῖταί εἰσιν),
189 ἐκ τούτων ποιήσομαι καὶ τὴν ἀπόδειξιν. παραθήσομαι δὲ τὰ γενόμενα ὑπό τε τῆς συγκλήτου δόγματα καὶ Ἰουλίου Καίσαρος πρός τε Ὑρκανὸν καὶ τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν.

190 (2) "Γάιος Ἰούλιος Καῖσαρ αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ ἀρχιερεύς, δικτάτωρ τὸ δεύτερον Σιδωνίων ἄρχουσι βουλῇ δήμῳ χαίρειν. εἰ ἔρρωσθε εὖ ἂν ἔχοι,
191 κἀγὼ δὲ ἔρρομαι σὺν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. τῆς γενομένης ἀναγραφῆς ἐν τῇ δέλτῳ πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν υἱὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἀρχιερέα καὶ ἐθνάρχην Ἰουδαίων, πέπομφα ὑμῖν τὸ ἀντίγραφον, ἵν' ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις ὑμῶν ἀνακέηται γράμμασιν. βούλομαι δὲ καὶ ἑλληνιστὶ καὶ ῥωμαϊστὶ ἐν δέλτῳ χαλκῇ τοῦτο

[1] μὴ καὶ ταῦτα F: μηκέτ' αὐτὰ P: μηκέτι ταῦτα LAM: non eadem Lat.

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[a] Variant "no longer."

[b] That is, non-Greek-speaking or oriental peoples.

[c] According to Suetonius, *Vesp.* 8. 4, Vespasian replaced the archives of the Capitol which had been burned in A.D. 69, "ipse restitutionem Capitolii aggressus . . . aerearumque tabularum tria milia quae simul conflagraverant restituenda

ever, out of enmity to us refuse to believe what has been written about us by Persians and Macedonians because these writings are not[a] found everywhere and are not deposited even in public places but are found only among us and some other barbarian peoples,[b] while against the decrees of the Romans nothing can be said—for they are kept in the public places of the cities and are still to be found engraved on bronze tablets in the Capitol[c]; and what is more, Julius Caesar made a bronze tablet for the Jews in Alexandria,[d] declaring that they were citizens of Alexandria—from these same documents I will furnish proof of my statements. Accordingly I will now cite the decrees passed by the Senate and Julius Caesar concerning Hyrcanus and our nation.

(2) "Gaius Julius Caesar, Imperator and Pontifex Maximus, Dictator for the second time,[e] to the magistrates, council and people of Sidon, greeting. If you are in good health, it is well; I also and the army are in good health. I am sending[f] you a copy of the decree, inscribed on a tablet, concerning Hyrcanus, son of Alexander, the high priest and ethnarch[g] of the Jews, in order that it may be deposited among your public records. It is my wish that this be set up on a tablet of bronze in both Greek and Latin. Julius Caesar to the people of Sidon.

suscipit undique investigatis exemplaribus . . . senatus consulta, plebiscita de societate et foedere ac privilegio cuicumque concessis."

[d] *Cf. Ap.* ii. 35-37. The civic status of the Jews in the Hellenistic-Roman Diaspora will be discussed in an Appendix in the last volume of this translation.

[e] These titles date the document in 47 B.C., *cf.* Holmes iii. 507. It seems to have been written on Caesar's arrival in Syria after the Alexandrian campaign, *cf.* § 137.

[f] πέπομφα is an "epistolary" perfect tense.

[g] *Cf.* § 143 note *f*.

192 ἀνατεθῆναι. ἔστιν δὲ δὴ[1] τοῦτο· ‘ Ἰούλιος Καῖσαρ
αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ ἀρχιερεύς, δικτάτωρ τὸ δεύτερον,[2]
μετὰ συμβουλίου γνώμης ἐπέκρινα. ἐπεὶ Ὑρκανὸς
Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἰουδαῖος καὶ νῦν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπρο-
σθεν χρόνοις ἔν τε εἰρήνῃ καὶ πολέμῳ πίστιν τε
καὶ σπουδὴν περὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα πράγματα ἐνεδεί-
ξατο,[3] ὡς αὐτῷ πολλοὶ μεμαρτυρήκασιν αὐτοκρά-
193 τορες, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔγγιστα ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ πολέμῳ
μετὰ χιλίων πεντακοσίων στρατιωτῶν ἧκε σύμ-
μαχος, καὶ πρὸς Μιθριδάτην ἀποσταλεὶς ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ
194 πάντας ἀνδρείᾳ τοὺς ἐν τάξει ὑπερέβαλε, διὰ ταύτας
τὰς αἰτίας Ὑρκανὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τὰ τέκνα
αὐτοῦ ἐθνάρχας Ἰουδαίων εἶναι βούλομαι,[4] ἀρχ-
ιερωσύνην τε Ἰουδαίων διὰ παντὸς ἔχειν κατὰ τὰ
πάτρια ἔθη, εἶναί τε αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ
συμμάχους ἡμῖν, ἔτι τε καὶ ἐν τοῖς κατ᾽ ἄνδρα
195 φίλοις ἀριθμεῖσθαι, ὅσα τε κατὰ τοὺς ἰδίους αὐτῶν
νόμους ἐστὶν ἀρχιερατικὰ ἢ[5] φιλάνθρωπα, ταῦτα
κελεύω κατέχειν αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ· ἂν δὲ[6]
μεταξὺ γένηταί τις ζήτησις περὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίων
ἀγωγῆς, ἀρέσκει μοι κρίσιν γίνεσθαι παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς.[7]
παραχειμασίαν δὲ ἢ χρήματα πράσσεσθαι οὐ
δοκιμάζω.’ ”
196 (3) Γαΐου Καίσαρος αὐτοκράτορος[8] ὑπάτου δε-

[1] δὲ δὴ] δὴ P: δὲ Niese.
[2] αὐτοκράτωρ . . . τὸ δεύτερον ex Lat. Niese: αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ δεύτερον καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς codd.
[3] ἐπεδείξατο P.
[4] βούλομαι om. PAM.
[5] ἢ om. P.
[6] τε P.
[7] παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς om. P: παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ V: de his Lat.
[8] dictatoris Lat.

[a] Text slightly emended from Lat.; mss. “ Imperator for he second time, and Pontifex Maximus.”

It reads as follows. 'I, Julius Caesar, Imperator and Pontifex Maximus, Dictator for the second time,[a] have decided as follows with the advice of the council.[b] Whereas the Jew Hyrcanus, son of Alexander, both now and in the past, in time of peace as well as in war, has shown loyalty and zeal toward our state, as many commanders have testified on his behalf, and in the recent Alexandrian war came to our aid with fifteen hundred soldiers,[c] and being sent by me to Mithridates, surpassed in bravery all those in the ranks, for these reasons it is my wish that Hyrcanus, son of Alexander, and his children shall be ethnarchs of the Jews and shall hold the office of high priest of the Jews for all time in accordance with their national customs, and that he and his sons shall be our allies and also be numbered among our particular friends; and whatever high-priestly rights or other privileges[d] exist in accordance with their laws, these he and his children shall possess by my command. And if, during this period, any question shall arise concerning the Jews' manner of life, it is my pleasure that the decision shall rest with them.[e] Nor do I approve of troops being given winter-quarters among them or of money being demanded of them.' "

(3) The following are the grants,[f] concessions and

Julius Caesar to the cities of Phoenicia, etc.

[b] μετὰ συμβουλίου γνώμης = Lat. *de consilii sententia*, as earlier scholars have pointed out.

[c] *Cf.* § 139, where 3000 soldiers are said to have been sent to Mithridates by Antipater.

[d] Reinach takes φιλάνθρωπα in its "Alexandrian sense" of "pecuniary privileges."

[e] This probably refers to internal jurisdiction in Judaea, which had been affected by Gabinius' decrees in 53 B.C. (*cf.* § 90), as pointed out by Täubler, *Imp. Rom.* p. 161 n. 3.

[f] Variant "decrees."

δομένα[1] συγκεχωρημένα προσκεκριμένα ἐστὶν οὕτως ἔχοντα. "ὅπως τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους ἄρχῃ, καὶ τοὺς δεδομένους τόπους καρπίζωνται, καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς αὐτὸς καὶ ἐθνάρχης τῶν
197 Ἰουδαίων προϊστῆται τῶν ἀδικουμένων. πέμψαι δὲ πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου υἱὸν ἀρχιερέα τῶν Ἰουδαίων πρεσβευτὰς[2] τοὺς περὶ φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας διαλεξομένους· ἀνατεθῆναι δὲ καὶ χαλκῆν δέλτον ταῦτα περιέχουσαν ἔν τε τῷ Καπετωλίῳ καὶ Σιδῶνι καὶ Τύρῳ καὶ ἐν Ἀσκάλωνι καὶ[3] ἐν τοῖς ναοῖς ἐγκεχαραγμένην γράμμασιν
198 Ῥωμαϊκοῖς τε καὶ Ἑλληνικοῖς. ὅπως τε τὸ δόγμα τοῦτο πᾶσι τοῖς κατὰ πόλιν[4] ταμίαις καὶ τοῖς τούτων ἡγουμένοις εἴς τε τοὺς φίλους ἀνενέγκωσι· καὶ ξένια τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς παρασχεῖν καὶ τὰ διατάγματα διαπέμψαι πανταχοῦ."

199 (4) "Γάιος Καῖσαρ αὐτοκράτωρ δικτάτωρ[5] ὕπατος τιμῆς καὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ φιλανθρωπίας ἕνεκεν συνεχώρησεν ἐπὶ συμφέροντι τῆς συγκλήτου[6] καὶ τοῦ δήμου[7] τοῦ[8] Ῥωμαίων Ὑρκανὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου υἱὸν αὐτόν τε[9] καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ ἀρχιερεῖς τε καὶ ἱερεῖς Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ τοῦ ἔθνους εἶναι ἐπὶ τοῖς

[1] P Lat.: δεδογμένα FLAMV.
[2] καὶ πρεσβευτὰς P.
[3] καὶ del. Mommsen.
[4] τὴν πόλιν P.
[5] δικτάτωρ om. Lat.
[6] τῆς συγκλήτου] καὶ (om. καὶ FL) τῇ συγκλήτῳ PFL.
[7] τοῦ δήμου] τῷ δήμῳ P.
[8] τῶν PV.
[9] αὐτόν τε om. P.

[a] According to Holmes, iii. 507, the following document dates from 46 B.C. or later, since Caesar was not Consul in 47 B.C. But Viereck, pp. 97 ff., earlier held that Josephus

awards made by Gaius Caesar, Imperator and Consul.[a] "That his children shall rule over the Jewish nation and enjoy the fruits of the places given them, and that the high priest, being also ethnarch, shall be the protector of those Jews who are unjustly treated. And that envoys be sent to Hyrcanus, son of Alexander, the high priest of the Jews, to discuss terms of friendship and alliance. And that a bronze tablet containing these decrees shall be set up in the Capitol and at Sidon and Tyre and Ascalon and[b] in the temples, engraved in Latin and Greek characters. Also that this decree shall be communicated to all the quaestors and magistrates of the several cities[c] and to our friends, that hospitality may be shown the envoys, and that these ordinances may be published everywhere."

(4) "Gaius Caesar, Imperator, Dictator and Consul,[d] in recognition of the honour, virtue and benevolence of Hyrcanus, son of Alexander, and in the interest of the Senate and people of Rome, has granted that both he and his sons shall be high priests and priests[e] of Jerusalem and of their nation with the same rights and under the same regulations

Julius Caesar on the high priestly office of Hyrcanus and his sons.

is not quoting literally but paraphrasing the text of a *senatus consultum* (δόγμα, § 198) issued at the end of 47 B.C.; so also Momigliano, *Ricerche*, p. 201.

[b] Perhaps "and" should be deleted.

[c] MS. P "in the city," meaning Rome. According to the other MSS. Caesar was providing for hospitality to the Jewish envoys in the cities of Asia while *en route*.

[d] If this means Caesar's first dictatorship (48 B.C.), we should have to add *τὸ δεύτερον* after *ὕπατος*, *cf.* Holmes iii. 567. Momigliano dates it in 48 B.C., other scholars in 47, 46 or 44 B.C., see works listed in Appendix J.

[e] For "priests" Chamonard and Reinach read "ethnarchs."

δικαίοις καὶ νομίμοις[1] οἷς καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι αὐτῶν τὴν ἱερωσύνην[2] διακατέσχον."

200 (5) "Γάιος Καῖσαρ ὕπατος τὸ πέμπτον[3] ἔκρινε τούτους ἔχειν καὶ τειχίσαι τὴν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν, καὶ κατέχειν αὐτὴν Ὑρκανὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀρχιερέα Ἰουδαίων καὶ ἐθνάρχην ὡς ἂν αὐτὸς

201 προαιρῆται. ὅπως τε Ἰουδαίοις ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῆς μισθώσεως ἔτει[4] τῆς προσόδου κόρον[5] ὑπεξέλωνται[6] καὶ μήτε ἐργολαβῶσί τινες μήτε φόρους τοὺς αὐτοὺς τελῶσιν."

202 (6) "Γάιος Καῖσαρ αὐτοκράτωρ[7] τὸ δεύτερον ἔστησε κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ὅπως τελῶσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλεως, Ἰόππης ὑπεξαιρουμένης, χωρὶς τοῦ ἑβδόμου ἔτους,[8] ὃν σαββατικὸν ἐνιαυτὸν

[1] καὶ νομίμοις om. P: καὶ τοῖς νομίμοις Hudson.
[2] + αὐτῶν FLAM: ἀρχιερωσύνην P.
[3] δεύτερον coni. Ritschl: τρίτον coni. Petitus ap. Hudson.
[4] ἔτι F: om. P quo duce secl. Niese.
[5] κόρους Lowthius.
[6] τῆς . . . ὑπεξέλωνται] ex reditibus chori id est triginta modii subducantur Lat.
[7] dictator Lat. unde αὐτοκράτωρ δικτάτωρ coni. Niese.
[8] τελῶσιν . . . ἔτους] Ioppenses tributa Hierosolymorum civitati praestent excepto septimo anno Lat.

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[a] Variant "high priest."
[b] This would be in 44 B.C. Some scholars, however, emend "fifth time" to "second time" and refer the document to 47 B.C., although Caesar was not Consul in that year, or to 46 B.C.; see next note.
[c] As Schürer points out, i. 346 n. 24, Caesar had given Hyrcanus permission to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem in 47 B.C., *cf.* § 144. Niese therefore assumes that we have here a *senatus consultum* of 44 B.C. confirming the oral decrees given by Caesar a few years earlier. Mendelssohn and Viereck also assume that a *senatus consultum* of Feb. 44 B.C.

as those under which their forefathers uninterruptedly held the office of priest." [a]

(5) "Gaius Caesar, Consul for the fifth time,[b] has decreed that these men shall receive and fortify the city of Jerusalem,[c] and that Hyrcanus, son of Alexander, the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, shall occupy it as he himself may choose. And that in the second year of the rent-term [d] one *kor* [e] shall be deducted from the tax paid by the Jews, and no one shall make profit out of them, nor shall they pay the same tribute."

Julius Ceasar on reduction of taxes to the Jews.

(6) "Gaius Caesar, Imperator for the second time,[f] has ruled that they shall pay a tax for the city of Jerusalem, Joppa excluded, every year except in the seventh year,[g] which they call the sabbatical year,

Julius Caesar on various privileges to be enjoyed by the Jews.

included parts of the following sections, 205-211. See works listed in Appendix J.

[d] μίσθωσις "rent-term" was probably taken over from Ptolemaic usage, *cf.* W. Westermann in *AJP* 59 (1938), 9. If the "second year of the rent-term" here coincides with a sabbatical year (as one naturally supposes), it confirms the dating of the document in 44 B.C., as the sabbatical year would be that which extended from Oct. 44 to Oct. 43 B.C. This dating, moreover, fits in perfectly with the reckoning of sabbatical years given above, *Ant.* xii. 378 note *a*; see also below, § 375.

[e] The *kor* = 370 litres or 11 bushels. Either the Romans used the Hebrew name in dealing with Palestine or Josephus (or his source) has substituted the Hebrew name for the Greek.

[f] Niese suggests reading, with Lat., "Imperator and Dictator for the second time." Caesar's second dictatorship fell in 47 B.C. Niese earlier suggested emending τὸ δεύτερον to τὸ δ′ "for the fourth time," *i.e.* in 44 B.C.

[g] The Lat. reads, "the inhabitants of Joppa shall pay tribute to the city of Jerusalem except in the seventh year"; presumably this means the tribute formerly paid to the Romans, but see below, § 205.

προσαγορεύουσιν, ἐπεὶ ἐν αὐτῷ μήτε τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων καρπὸν λαμβάνουσι μήτε σπείρουσιν.
203 καὶ ἵνα ἐν Σιδῶνι τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει τὸν φόρον ἀποδιδῶσι, τὸ τέταρτον τῶν σπειρομένων,[1] πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι καὶ Ὑρκανῷ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτοῦ τὰς δεκάτας τελῶσιν, ἃς ἐτέλουν καὶ τοῖς προγόνοις
204 αὐτῶν. καὶ ὅπως μηδεὶς μήτε ἄρχων μήτε ἀντάρχων[2] μήτε στρατηγὸς ἢ πρεσβευτὴς ἐν τοῖς ὅροις τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀνιστῇ[3] συμμαχίαν μηδὲ στρατιώταις ἐξῇ χρήματα τούτων εἰσπράττεσθαι[4] ἢ εἰς παραχειμασίαν ἢ ἄλλῳ τινὶ ὀνόματι, ἀλλ' εἶναι πανταχόθεν
205 ἀνεπηρεάστους. ὅσα τε μετὰ ταῦτα ἔσχον ἢ ἐπρίαντο καὶ διακατέσχον[5] καὶ ἐνεμήθησαν, ταῦτα πάντα αὐτοὺς ἔχειν. Ἰόππην τε πόλιν, ἣν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἔσχον Ἰουδαῖοι ποιούμενοι τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους φιλίαν, αὐτῶν εἶναι, καθὼς καὶ τὸ πρῶτον,
206 ἡμῖν ἀρέσκει· φόρους τε τελεῖν[6] ὑπὲρ ταύτης τῆς πόλεως Ὑρκανὸν[7] Ἀλεξάνδρου υἱὸν καὶ παῖδας αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῶν τὴν γῆν νεμομένων χώρας λιμένος ἐξαγωγίου κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐν[8] Σιδῶνι μοδίους δισ-

[1] καὶ ἵνα . . . σπειρομένων om. Lat.
[2] μήτε ἀντάρχων P: om. rell. Lat.
[3] coni.: ἀνιστὰς P: ἀνιστᾷ rell.: ἐνιστᾷ Hudson: ἐνιστῇ Naber.
[4] μηδὲ στρατιώταις ἐξῇ χρήματα τούτων coni.: καὶ στρατιώτας ἐξίῃ (ἐξῇ P) ἢ τὰ χρήματα τούτων (τούτῳ χρήματα P) codd.: militibus liceat pecunias exigere Lat.
[5] καὶ διακατέσχον om. FLV.
[6] τελεῖν add. Viereck.
[7] + ἔχειν V.
[8] ἐν add. duce Viereck.

[a] Reinach substitutes μηνὶ "month" for ἔτει "year."
[b] Most mss. omit "or pro-magistrate."

because in this time they neither take fruit from the trees nor do they sow. And that in the second year [a] they shall pay the tribute at Sidon, consisting of one fourth of the produce sown, and in addition, they shall also pay tithes to Hyrcanus and his sons, just as they paid to their forefathers. And that no one, whether magistrate or pro-magistrate,[b] praetor or legate, shall raise auxiliary troops in the territories of the Jews, nor shall soldiers be allowed to exact money from them,[c] whether for winter-quarters or on any other pretext, but they shall be free from all molestation.[d] And whatever they may hereafter acquire or buy or possess [e] or have assigned to them, all these they shall keep. It is also our pleasure that the city of Joppa, which the Jews had held from ancient times when they made a treaty of friendship with the Romans,[f] shall belong to them as at first; and for this city Hyrcanus, son of Alexander, and his sons shall pay [g] tribute, collected from those who inhabit the territory, as a tax on the land, the harbour and exports, payable at [h] Sidon in the

[c] Text slightly emended.

[d] Viereck cites as a parallel to these exemptions the law *De Thermessibus* in *CIL* i. 204.

[e] The variant omits "or possess."

[f] This apparently refers to Simon's conquest of Joppa in 142 B.C., *cf. Ant.* xiii. 215; Joppa was annexed to the Roman province of Syria by Pompey in 63 B.C., *cf.* above, § 76.

[g] The words "shall pay" are conjecturally supplied; one MS. adds "shall have" after "Hyrcanus." The sentence is differently translated by Heichelheim, *Rom. Syria*, p. 232, "and that Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, and his sons, have as tribute of that city from those that occupy the land and for what they export every year to Sidon, etc." But this rendering requires emendation of the Greek, which Heichelheim does not supply.

[h] The word "at" is conjecturally supplied.

μυρίους ἑξακοσίους ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε ὑπεξαιρουμένου τοῦ ἑβδόμου ἔτους, ὃ σαββατικὸν καλοῦσι, καθ' ὃ οὔτε ἀροῦσιν οὔτε τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν
207 δένδρων καρπὸν λαμβάνουσιν. τάς τε κώμας τὰς ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ πεδίῳ, ἃς Ὑρκανὸς καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι πρότερον αὐτοῦ διακατέσχον, ἀρέσκει τῇ συγκλήτῳ ταῦτα Ὑρκανὸν καὶ Ἰουδαίους ἔχειν ἐπὶ
208 τοῖς δικαίοις οἷς καὶ πρότερον εἶχον. μένειν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς δίκαια ὅσα πρὸς ἀλλήλους Ἰουδαίοις καὶ τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν[1] ἦν, τά τε φιλάνθρωπα ὅσα τοῦ τε δήμου ψηφισαμένου καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου ἔσχον. ἔτι[2] τούτοις τε τοῖς δι-
209 καίοις χρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς ἐξεῖναι ἐν Λύδδοις.[3] τούς τε τόπους καὶ χώρας[4] καὶ ἐποίκια, ὅσα βασιλεῦσι Συρίας καὶ Φοινίκης συμμάχοις οὖσι Ῥωμαίων κατὰ δωρεὰν ὑπῆρχε καρποῦσθαι, ταῦτα δοκιμάζει ἡ σύγκλητος Ὑρκανὸν τὸν ἐθνάρχην καὶ Ἰουδαίους
210 ἔχειν. δίδοσθαί τε Ὑρκανῷ καὶ παισὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ πρεσβευταῖς τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεμφθεῖσιν ἔν τε πυγμῇ μονομάχων καὶ θηρίων καθεζομένους μετὰ τῶν συγκλητικῶν θεωρεῖν· καὶ[5] αἰτησαμένους παρὰ δικτάτορος ἢ παρὰ ἱππάρχου παρελθεῖν εἰς[6] τὴν

[1] καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν om. FLV Lat. fort. recte.
[2] coni.: ἐπὶ codd.
[3] ἔτι (ἐπὶ) . . . Λύδδοις corrupta esse monet Niese.
[4] χώραν P.
[5] καὶ ex Lat. ins. Hudson.
[6] P: ὅταν εἰς rell.

[a] Of Esdraelon, *cf. Ant.* xii. 348.
[b] These phrases, in the opinion of several scholars, indicate that we have here the fragments of a *senatus consultum* of 44 B.C., see above.

amount of twenty thousand six hundred and seventy-five *modii* every year except in the seventh year, which they call the sabbatical year, wherein they neither plow nor take fruit from the trees. As for the villages in the Great Plain,[a] which Hyrcanus and his forefathers before him possessed, it is the pleasure of the Senate[b] that Hyrcanus and the Jews shall retain them with the same rights as they formerly had, and that the ancient rights which the Jews and their high priests and priests[c] had in relation to each other should continue, and also the privileges which they received by vote of the people and the Senate. And that they be permitted to enjoy these rights at Lydda also.[d] As for the places, lands and farms, the fruits of which the kings of Syria and Phoenicia,[e] as allies of the Romans, were permitted to enjoy by their gift, these the Senate decrees that the ethnarch Hyrcanus and the Jews shall have. And that to Hyrcanus and his children and to the envoys sent by him shall be given the right to sit with the members of the senatorial order as spectators of the contests of gladiators and wild beasts; and[f] that when they request permission of the Dictator or Master of the horse[g] to enter the Senate chamber,

[c] The variant omits "and priests." The reference is to priestly revenues.

[d] Text doubtful; ἔτι "also" is my emendation of ἐπὶ.

[e] These kings are probably dynasts of Syria, to whom Pompey had granted Jewish territory, as Schürer suggests, i. 347 n. 25, not the Seleucid kings, as Reinach suggests. The allusion to their being "allies of the Romans" makes the latter supposition improbable.

[f] "And" is conjecturally supplied.

[g] In Latin *magister equitum*; the reference here is probably to Mark Antony, *cf.* Plutarch, *Ant.* 8.

σύγκλητον εἰσάγωσι καὶ τὰ ἀποκρίματα αὐτοῖς ἀποδιδῶσιν[1] ἐν ἡμέραις δέκα ταῖς ἁπάσαις ἀφ' ἧς ἂν τὸ δόγμα γένηται."

211 (7) "Γάιος Καῖσαρ, αὐτοκράτωρ δικτάτωρ τὸ τέταρτον ὕπατός τε τὸ πέμπτον, δικτάτωρ ἀποδεδειγμένος διὰ βίου, λόγους ἐποιήσατο περὶ τῶν δικαίων τῶν Ὑρκανοῦ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀρχιερέως
212 Ἰουδαίων καὶ ἐθνάρχου τοιούτους· 'τῶν πρὸ ἐμοῦ αὐτοκρατόρων ἐν ταῖς ἐπαρχίαις μαρτυρησάντων Ὑρκανῷ ἀρχιερεῖ Ἰουδαίων καὶ Ἰουδαίοις ἐπί τε συγκλήτου καὶ δήμου Ῥωμαίων, εὐχαριστήσαντός τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου αὐτοῖς, καλῶς ἔχει καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀπομνημονεύειν καὶ προνοεῖν ὅπως[2] Ὑρκανῷ καὶ τῷ ἔθνει τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ τοῖς Ὑρκανοῦ παισὶν ὑπὸ συγκλήτου καὶ δήμου Ῥωμαίων ἀξία τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς εὐνοίας αὐτῶν καὶ ὧν εὐεργέτησαν ἡμᾶς χάρις ἀνταποδοθῇ.'"

213 (8) "Ἰούλιος Γάιος[3] στρατηγὸς[4] ὕπατος[5] Ῥωμαίων Παριανῶν[6] ἄρχουσι βουλῇ δήμῳ χαίρειν. ἐνέτυχόν μοι οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐν Δήλῳ καί τινες τῶν

[1] ἀποδίδοσθαι Hudson: αἰτησαμένους . . . ἀποδιδῶσιν] et si petiverint dictatorem vel magistrum equitum ut in senatum eos introducant et responsa eis tradant Lat.

[2] ὡς P: quatenus Lat.

[3] Ἰούνιος Γάιος coni. Petitus: Πόπλιος Σερουίλιος Οὐατίας coni. Mendelssohn: Οὐίβιος Γάιος coni. Gutschmid: Πόπλιος Σερουίλιος Ἰσαυρικὸς coni. Lange.

[4] υἱοσο στρατηγὸς P: ὁ στρατηγὸς F: del. Lange.

[5] στρατηγὸς ὕπατος] dictator et consul Lat.: ἀνθύπατος coni. Lange.

[6] Παρίων coni. Schürer.

[a] Text slightly uncertain.

[b] These titles would date the document in January or February, 44 B.C., according to the chronology in Holmes iii.

they shall admit them and shall give them an answer[a] within ten days at the latest from the time when a decree is passed."

Julius Caesar commends the loyalty of the Jews.

(7) "Gaius Caesar, Imperator, Dictator for the fourth time, Consul for the fifth time, designated Dictator for life,[b] made the following speech concerning the rights of Hyrcanus, son of Alexander, the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews. 'Inasmuch as the high commanders in the provinces before me have testified on behalf of Hyrcanus, the high priest of the Jews, and of the Jews themselves before the Senate and the people of Rome, and the people and Senate have expressed thanks to them, it is fitting that we too should be mindful of this and provide that there be given by the Senate and people of Rome to Hyrcanus and the Jewish nation and the sons of Hyrcanus a token of gratitude worthy of their loyalty to us and of the benefits which they have conferred upon us.'"

Julius Caesar to the people of Parium.

(8) [c]"Julius Gaius,[d] Praetor, Consul[e] of the Romans, to the magistrates, council and people of Parium,[f] greeting. The Jews in Delos and some of

567. It probably belongs with the *senatus consultum* cited in §§ 207-211; *cf.* also §§ 220 ff.

[c] Ritschl, followed by Mendelssohn and Viereck, dates the following document in 46 B.C.

[d] The name is quite uncertain. For various conjectures see the critical note. Viereck favours Lange's conjecture "Publius Servilius Isauricus."

[e] Lange, Viereck and others emend στρατηγὸς ὕπατος to ἀνθύπατος "proconsul," but the former is defended by Juster i. 142 n. 3.

[f] Parium was on the coast of the Troad, east of the Hellespont. Schürer conjectures Παρίων "the people of Paros." The island of Paros is *c.* 10 miles S. of Delos, mentioned in the next sentence. Juster, i. 142 n. 4, defends the reading Παριανῶν, citing Haussouillier in *BCH* 8 (1884), 149 ff.

παροίκων Ἰουδαίων, παρόντων καὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων[1]
πρέσβεων, καὶ ἐνεφάνισαν ὡς ὑμεῖς ψηφίσματι
κωλύετε αὐτοὺς τοῖς πατρίοις ἔθεσι καὶ ἱεροῖς
214 χρῆσθαι. ἐμοὶ τοίνυν οὐκ ἀρέσκει κατὰ τῶν ἡμε-
τέρων φίλων καὶ συμμάχων τοιαῦτα γίνεσθαι
ψηφίσματα, καὶ κωλύεσθαι αὐτοὺς ζῆν κατὰ τὰ
αὐτῶν ἔθη καὶ χρήματα εἰς σύνδειπνα καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ
εἰσφέρειν, τοῦτο ποιεῖν αὐτῶν μηδ᾽ ἐν Ῥώμῃ κε-
215 κωλυμένων. καὶ γὰρ Γάιος Καῖσαρ ὁ ἡμέτερος
στρατηγὸς ὕπατος,[2] ἐν τῷ διατάγματι κωλύων
θιάσους συνάγεσθαι κατὰ πόλιν, μόνους τούτους
οὐκ ἐκώλυσεν οὔτε χρήματα συνεισφέρειν οὔτε
216 σύνδειπνα ποιεῖν. ὁμοίως δὲ κἀγὼ τοὺς ἄλλους
θιάσους κωλύων, τούτοις μόνοις ἐπιτρέπω κατὰ τὰ
πάτρια ἔθη καὶ νόμιμα συνάγεσθαί τε καὶ ἑστιᾶ-
σθαι.[3] καὶ ὑμᾶς οὖν καλῶς ἔχει, εἴ τι κατὰ τῶν
ἡμετέρων φίλων καὶ συμμάχων ψήφισμα ἐποιή-
σατε, τοῦτο ἀκυρῶσαι διὰ τὴν περὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτῶν
ἀρετὴν καὶ εὔνοιαν."

217 (9) Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Γαΐου θάνατον Μᾶρκος Ἀν-
τώνιος καὶ Πόπλιος Δολαβέλλας[4] ὕπατοι ὄντες τήν
τε σύγκλητον συνήγαγον καὶ τοὺς παρ᾽[5] Ὑρκανοῦ
πρέσβεις παραγαγόντες διελέχθησαν περὶ ὧν ἠξίουν
καὶ φιλίαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐποίησαν· καὶ πάντα συγ-
χωρεῖν αὐτοῖς ἡ σύγκλητος ἐψηφίσατο ὅσων τυγ-
218 χάνειν ἐβούλοντο. παρατίθεμαι[6] δὲ καὶ τὸ δόγμα,

[1] ἡμετέρων LV.
[2] Mendelssohn: στρατηγὸς καὶ ὕπατος codd.: στρατηγὸς κα om. Lat.
[3] ἵστασθαι AMV: τε καὶ ἑστιᾶσθαι om. Lat.
[4] P: Δολοβέλλας rell. hic et infra.
[5] παρ᾽ PE: om. rell.
[6] παρατέθειμαι PV.

the neighbouring Jews, some of your[a] envoys also being present, have appealed to me and declared that you are preventing them by statute from observing their national customs and sacred rites. Now it displeases me that such statutes should be made against our friends and allies and that they should be forbidden to live in accordance with their customs and to contribute money to common meals and sacred rites, for this they are not forbidden to do even in Rome. For example, Gaius Caesar, our consular praetor,[b] by edict forbade religious societies to assemble in the city, but these people alone he did not forbid to do so or to collect contributions of money or to hold common meals.[c] Similarly do I forbid other religious societies but permit these people alone to assemble and feast in accordance with their native customs and ordinances. And if you have made any statutes against our friends and allies, you will do well to revoke them because of their worthy deeds on our behalf and their goodwill toward us."

(9) After the death of Gaius,[d] Marcus Antonius and Publius Dolabella, the consuls, convened the Senate and having introduced the envoys sent by Hyrcanus, discussed the requests they presented, and made a treaty of friendship with them. And the Senate voted to grant them everything they sought. I here- Julius Caesar's policy continued after his death.

[a] Variant "our."

[b] Conjectured for ms. "praetor (or "commander") and consul"; the Lat. has only "consul." These titles are strange, applied to Julius Caesar.

[c] A similarly protective attitude toward the Jews is revealed in the decrees cited below, §§ 241-261. On Caesar's treatment of other religious groups in Rome see Suetonius, *Jul.* 42. 3, "cuncta collegia praeter antiquitus constituta distraxit."

[d] March 15, 44 B.C.

ὅπως τὴν ἀπόδειξιν τῶν λεγομένων ἐγγύθεν ἔχωσιν οἱ ἀναγινώσκοντες τὴν πραγματείαν. ἦν δὲ τοιοῦτον·

219 (10) " Δόγμα συγκλήτου ἐκ τοῦ ταμιείου ἀντιγεγραμμένον ἐκ τῶν δέλτων τῶν δημοσίων τῶν ταμιευτικῶν, Κοΐντῳ Ῥουτιλίῳ Κοΐντῳ Κορνηλίῳ[1] ταμίαις κατὰ πόλιν, δέλτῳ δευτέρᾳ κηρώματι πρώτῳ.[2] πρὸ τριῶν εἰδῶν Ἀπριλλίων ἐν τῷ ναῷ
220 τῆς Ὁμονοίας. γραφομένῳ παρῆσαν Λούκιος Καλπούρνιος[3] Μενηνία[4] Πείσων, Σερούιος[5] Σολπίκιος[6] Λεμωνία[7] Κούιντος, Γάιος Κανείνιος[8] Τηρητίνα[9] Ῥέβιλος,[10] Πόπλιος Τηδήτιος[11] Λευκίου υἱὸς Πολλία,[12] Λεύκιος Ἀπούλιος[13] Λευκίου υἱὸς Σεργία, Φλάβιος Λευκίου Λεμωνία,[14] Πόπλιος Πλαύτιος Ποπλίου Παπειρία, Μᾶρκος Γέλλιος[15] Μάρκου Μαικία, Λεύκιος Ἐρούκιος[16] Λουκίου Στηλητίνα,[17] Μᾶρκος Κούιντος Μάρκου υἱὸς Πολ-

[1] Κοΐντῳ Κορνηλίῳ om. Lat.: Κοΐντῳ om. AM.
[2] κηρώματι πρώτῳ Viereck: καὶ ἐκ τῶν πρώτων πρώτη (πρώτῳ P: πρώτῃ τῇ FLAM) codd.: δέλτῳ . . . πρώτῳ om. Lat.
[3] ex Lat. edd. Καρπούνιος codd.
[4] Μενηνίας P: Μεντηνία FL: Μεντινία AM.
[5] Gronovius: Σερουίνιος codd.
[6] Mendelssohn: Παπίνιος, Παπείνιος, Παππίνιος codd.
[7] Gronovius: Νεμωνία codd.
[8] Κανίνιος FLAM. [9] Τηληπνα P.
[10] Ῥεβίλιος FLAM. [11] Τίτιος coni. Mendelssohn.
[12] Λευκίου υἱὸς Πολλία om. PAM.
[13] Ἀπουλῖνος AM: Ἀππολήιος coni. Mendelssohn.
[14] ed. pr.: Νεμωνία (Νεμωνα P) codd.
[15] Niese: Σέλλιος, Ἀσέλλιος, Σασέλλιος codd.: Ἀκύλιος Gronovius.

with give the decree itself in order that the readers of this History may have before them a proof of these statements. It read as follows.

Decree of the Roman Senate confirming Julius Caesar's decisions regarding the Jews.

(10) "Decree of the Senate, copied from the Treasury, from the public tablets of the quaestors, Quintus Rutilius and Quintus Cornelius being quaestors of the city, second tablet, first column.[a] Three days before the Ides of April,[b] in the Temple of Concord, there being present at the writing Lucius Calpurnius Piso of the Menenian tribe, Servius Sulpicius[c] Quintus of the Lemonian tribe, Gaius Caninius Rebilus of the Teretine tribe, Publius Tedetius,[d] son of Lucius, of the Pollian tribe,[e] Lucius Apulius, son of Lucius, of the Sergian tribe, Flavius, son of Lucius, of the Lemonian tribe, Publius Plautius, son of Publius, of the Papirian tribe, Marcus Gellius,[f] son of Marcus, of the Maecian tribe, Lucius Erucius,[g] son of Lucius, of the Steletinian tribe, Marcus Quintus Plancinus, son of Marcus, of the

[a] Text emended; MSS. "second tablet and from the first ones." Viereck's emendation is supported by the rescript of 73 B.C. to the magistrates of Oropus (*cf.* Viereck, p. 39), δέλτῳ πρώτῃ κηρώματι τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῳ. κήρωμα = Lat. *cera* "column" or "page," *cf.* Horace, *Serm.* ii. 5. 51-54, Suetonius, *Nero* 17.

[b] April 11, 44 B.C. This was the date of the registration of the *senatus consultum* enacted before Caesar's death, as stated below, § 222.

[c] Conjectured for MSS. "Papinius."

[d] "Titius" is conjectured by Mendelssohn.

[e] The variant omits "son of Lucius, of the Pollian tribe."

[f] Conjectured for MSS. "Sellius," "Asellius," etc. Gronovius conjectures "Aquilius."

[g] "Raiscius" is conjectured by Mendelssohn.

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[16] Σερούκιος P: Ῥαίσκιος Mendelssohn.
[17] P: Τηλητίνα aut Τηλιτίνα rell.

221 λία[1] Πλαγκῖνος,[2] Ποὔπλιος Σέρριος.[3] Πόπλιος[4] Δολαβέλλας Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος ὕπατοι λόγους ἐποιήσαντο. περὶ ὧν δόγματι συγκλήτου Γάιος Καῖσαρ ὑπὲρ Ἰουδαίων ἔκρινε καὶ εἰς τὸ ταμιεῖον οὐκ ἔφθασεν ἀνενεχθῆναι, περὶ τούτων ἀρέσκει ἡμῖν[5] γενέσθαι, ὡς καὶ Ποπλίῳ Δολαβέλλᾳ καὶ Μάρκῳ Ἀντωνίῳ τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἔδοξεν, ἀνενεγκεῖν τε ταῦτα εἰς δέλτους καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ πόλιν ταμίας ὅπως φροντίσωσι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν δέλτοις
222 ἀναθεῖναι διπτύχοις. ἐγένετο[6] πρὸ πέντε εἰδῶν Φεβρουαρίων ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Ὁμονοίας. οἱ δὲ πρεσβεύοντες παρ᾽ Ὑρκανοῦ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἦσαν οὗτοι· Λυσίμαχος Παυσανίου, Ἀλέξανδρος Θεοδώρου, Πάτροκλος Χαιρέου, Ἰωνάθης[7] Ὀνείου[8]."

223 (11) Ἔπεμψε δὲ τούτων Ὑρκανὸς τῶν πρεσβευτῶν ἕνα καὶ πρὸς Δολαβέλλαν τὸν τῆς Ἀσίας τότε ἡγεμόνα, παρακαλῶν ἀπολῦσαι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους τῆς στρατείας[9] καὶ τὰ πάτρια τηρεῖν αὐτοῖς ἔθη, καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα ζῆν ἐπιτρέπειν· οὗ τυχεῖν αὐτῷ ῥᾳδίως
224 ἐγένετο· λαβὼν γὰρ ὁ Δολαβέλλας τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Ὑρκανοῦ γράμματα, μηδὲ βουλευσάμενος ἐπιστέλλει τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἅπασι, γράψας καὶ[10] τῇ

[1] Ποπλία FAM. [2] P: Πλάγκιλος aut Πλάκιλλος rell.
[3] Σέριος AM: Σέργιος aut Σήστιος coni. Mendelssohn.
[4] περὶ ὧν Πόπλιος coni. Mendelssohn.
[5] μοι P. [6] quod decretum est Lat.
[7] Ἰωάννης PF¹. [8] ed. pr.: Ὀνσιου P: Ὀνίου rell.
[9] στρατιᾶς PAM. [10] καὶ om. P.

[a] "Sergius" or "Sestius" is conjectured by Mendelssohn. The text is obviously incomplete.

[b] Antony, after Caesar's death, agreed to Dolabella's assumption of consular office, although he had previously objected.

Pollian tribe, and Publius Serrius.[a] Publius Dolabella and Marcus Antonius, the consuls,[b] made speeches.[c] As for the decision rendered by Gaius Caesar, with the concurrence of the Senate, concerning the Jews, which there was not time to have registered in the Treasury, this matter we wish to be disposed of as the consuls Publius Dolabella and Marcus Antonius have decided, and that these decisions be recorded in tablets and brought to the quaestors of the city, and that they take care to have them inscribed on two-leaved tablets. They were dated the fifth day before the Ides of February[d] in the Temple of Concord.[e] The envoys from the high priest Hyrcanus were the following: Lysimachus, son of Pausanias, Alexander, son of Theodorus, Patroclus, son of Chaireas, and Jonathan, son of Onias."

(11) One of these envoys Hyrcanus sent also to Dolabella, who was then governor of Asia,[f] requesting him to exempt the Jews from military service and permit them to maintain their native customs and live in accordance with them. And this request he readily obtained; for Dolabella, on receiving the letter from Hyrcanus, without even taking counsel, sent to all (the officials) in Asia, and wrote to Ephesus,

Dolabella also grants privileges to the Jews of Asia.

[c] λόγους ἐποιήσαντο = Lat. *verba fecerunt*, *cf.* Viereck, p. 36.
[d] February 9, 44 B.C.
[e] The Temple of Concord, however, was the place of registration, not of enactment, of the decree, *cf.* above, § 219 note *b*.
[f] Dolabella was appointed governor of Syria (not of the province of Asia) in June, 44 B.C., and set out for Syria at the end of the year. On his way through Asia he killed Trebonius, governor of Asia, who had been one of Caesar's assassins. Soon after, in 43 B.C., Dolabella was blockaded in Laodicea by Cassius, and committed suicide.

Ἐφεσίων πόλει πρωτευούσῃ τῆς Ἀσίας περὶ τῶν
Ἰουδαίων. ἡ δὲ ἐπιστολὴ τοῦτον περιεῖχε τὸν
τρόπον·

225 (12) "Ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως Ἀρτέμωνος μηνὸς Λη-
ναιῶνος προτέρᾳ.[1] Δολαβέλλας αὐτοκράτωρ Ἐφε-
226 σίων ἄρχουσι βουλῇ δήμῳ χαίρειν. Ἀλέξανδρος
Θεοδώρου, πρεσβευτὴς Ὑρκανοῦ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου
υἱοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ ἐθνάρχου τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἐν-
εφάνισέ μοι περὶ τοῦ μὴ δύνασθαι στρατεύεσθαι
τοὺς πολίτας αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸ μήτε ὅπλα βαστάζειν
δύνασθαι μήτε ὁδοιπορεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις
τῶν σαββάτων, μήτε τροφῶν τῶν πατρίων καὶ
227 συνήθων κατ' αὐτοὺς εὐπορεῖν. ἐγώ τε οὖν αὐτοῖς,
καθὼς καὶ οἱ πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἡγεμόνες, δίδωμι τὴν
ἀστρατείαν καὶ συγχωρῶ χρῆσθαι τοῖς πατρίοις
ἐθισμοῖς, ἱερῶν ἕνεκα καὶ ἁγίων[2] συναγομένοις,
καθὼς αὐτοῖς νόμιμον, καὶ τῶν πρὸς τὰς θυσίας
ἀφαιρεμάτων, ὑμᾶς τε βούλομαι ταῦτα γράψαι
κατὰ πόλεις."

228 (13) Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Δολαβέλλας Ὑρκανοῦ
πρεσβευσαμένου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐχαρίσατο τοῖς ἡμε-
τέροις. Λεύκιος δὲ Λέντλος ὕπατος εἶπεν· "πο-
λίτας Ῥωμαίων Ἰουδαίους, ἱερὰ Ἰουδαϊκὰ ἔχοντας
καὶ ποιοῦντας ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, πρὸ τοῦ βήματος δει-
σιδαιμονίας ἕνεκα στρατείας ἀπέλυσα[3] πρὸ δώδεκα
καλανδῶν Ὀκτωβρίων[4] Λευκίῳ Λέντλῳ Γαΐῳ

[1] P: πρώτῃ rell. Lat., cf. § 262. [2] ἁγίοις P.
[3] ex Lat. edd.: ἀπέλυσε codd.
[4] Κουιντιλίων ex seqq. (§§ 234, 237) coni. Viereck, Niese.

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[a] January 24, 43 B.C.
[b] On this special use of πολῖται see *Ant.* xii. 46 note *d*.
[c] Lucius Lentulus Crus, consul in 49 B.C., was commissioned

the chief city of Asia, about the Jews. His letter read as follows.

(12) "In the presidency of Artemon, on the first day of the month of Lenaeon,[a] Dolabella, Imperator, to the magistrates, council and people of Ephesus, greeting. Alexander, son of Theodorus, the envoy of Hyrcanus, son of Alexander, the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, has explained to me that his co-religionists[b] cannot undertake military service because they may not bear arms or march on the days of the Sabbath; nor can they obtain the native foods to which they are accustomed. I, therefore, like the governors before me, grant them exemption from military service and allow them to follow their native customs and to come together for sacred and holy rites in accordance with their law, and to make offerings for their sacrifices; and it is my wish that you write these instructions to the various cities."

Dolabella's letter to Ephesus.

(13) These, then, were the favours which Dolabella granted to our people when Hyrcanus sent an envoy to him. And Lucius Lentulus, the consul,[c] declared. "Those Jews who are Roman citizens and observe Jewish rites and practise them in Ephesus, I[d] released from military service before the tribunal on the twelfth day before the Kalends of October[e] in consideration of their religious scruples, in the consulship of Lucius Lentulus and Gaius Marcellus. Those

Lentulus exempts Jewish citizens of Ephesus from military service

by the Senate to recruit two legions in the province of Asia, *cf.* Caesar, *Bell. Civ.* iii. 4. His decree is cited by subordinate Roman officials in the cities of Asia, §§ 230-246.

[d] Conjectured from Latin for MSS. "he."

[e] September 19, 49 B.C., but 'Οκτωβρίων is probably a copyist's error for Κουιντιλίων, which would give June 19th as in §§ 234, 237.

229 Μαρκέλλῳ ὑπάτοις. παρῆσαν Τίτος Ἄμπιος[1] Τίτου υἱὸς Βάλβος[2] Ὁρατία πρεσβευτής, Τίτος Τόγγιος Τίτου υἱὸς Κροστομίνα, Κόιντος Καίσιος[3] Κοΐντου, Τίτος Πομπήιος[4] Τίτου Λογγῖνος, Γάιος Σερουίλιος Γαΐου υἱὸς Τηρητίνα Βράκχος[5] χιλίαρχος, Πόπλιος Κλούσιος[6] Ποπλίου Οὐετωρία[7] Γάλλος, Γάιος Σέντιος Γαΐου[8] υἱὸς Σαβατίνα."

230 "Τίτος Ἄμπιος[9] Τίτου υἱὸς Βάλβος[10] πρεσβευτὴς καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος Ἐφεσίων ἄρχουσι βουλῇ δήμῳ χαίρειν. Ἰουδαίους τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Λεύκιος Λέντλος ὁ ὕπατος, ἐμοῦ ἐντυγχάνοντος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, ἀπέλυσε τῆς στρατείας. αἰτησάμενος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ παρὰ Φαννίου τοῦ ἀντιστρατήγου[11] καὶ παρὰ Λευκίου Ἀντωνίου τοῦ ἀντιταμίου ἐπέτυχον, ὑμᾶς τε βούλομαι φροντίσαι ἵνα μή τις αὐτοῖς διενοχλῇ."

231 (14) Ψήφισμα Δηλίων. "ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Βοιωτοῦ μηνὸς Θαργηλιῶνος εἰκοστῇ, χρηματισμὸς στρατηγῶν. Μᾶρκος Πείσων πρεσβευτὴς ἐνδημῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἡμῶν, ὁ καὶ τεταγμένος ἐπὶ τῆς στρατολογίας, προσκαλεσάμενος ἡμᾶς καὶ ἱκανοὺς τῶν
232 πολιτῶν προσέταξεν ἵνα εἴ τινές εἰσιν Ἰουδαῖοι

[1] Borghesi: Ἄππιος codd.
[2] Borghesi: Βάλγος PLA: Βάλιος F: Γάλβος M.
[3] Κάσιος F: Κάσσιος L: Ῥάσιος AM: Ῥαίσιος Gronovius: Ῥαίκιος Mendelssohn.
[4] Πήιος ex seqq. Niese qui vero hic Σήιος coni.
[5] Βράκκος P: Βράγχος M.
[6] Καλούσιος vel Κλούιος coni. Niese.
[7] Gronovius: ἐγὼ P: Ἐτωρία V: Ἐρωρία rell.
[8] post Γαΐου lacunam indicavit Gronovius, cf. § 239.
[9] Borghesi: Ἄππιος codd.
[10] Borghesi cum Lat.: Βάλλος PF: Βέλβος rell.
[11] Ernesti: ἀρχιστρατήγου codd.: tribunum plebis Lat.

present were the legate Titus Ampius Balbus,[a] son of Titus, of the Horatian tribe, Titus Tongius, son of Titus, of the Crustuminian tribe, Quintus Caesius,[a] son of Quintus, Titus Pompeius Longinus, son of Titus, the military tribune Gaius Servilius Bracchus, son of Gaius, of the Teretine tribe, Publius Clusius Gallus, son of Publius, of the Veturian[a] tribe, Gaius Sentius, son of Gaius . . . son of . . . of the Sabatine tribe."

"Titus Ampius Balbus, son of Titus, legate and propraetor,[b] to the magistrates, council and people of Ephesus, greeting. Lucius Lentulus, the consul, has at my petition exempted the Jews in Asia from military service. And on making the same request later of Fannius, the propraetor, and of Lucius Antonius,[c] the proquaestor, I obtained my request; and it is my wish that you take care that no one shall molest them."

(14) Decree of the Delians. "In the archonship of Boeotus, on the twentieth day of the month of Thargelion,[d] response of the magistrates. The legate Marcus Piso, when resident in our city, having been placed in charge of the recruiting of soldiers, summoned us and a considerable number of citizens, and ordered that if there were any Jews who were Roman

Decree of the people of Delos.

[a] Name slightly emended.

[b] = Lat. *legatus pro praetore*, *cf.* Magie, p. 9.

[c] Identified by Reinach and Juster, i. 145, with Lucius Antonius, son of Marcus, mentioned below, § 235.

[d] = May–June in the Roman calendar. The year is probably 49 B.C., *cf.* Juster, i. 146, *vs.* Mendelssohn and Haussoullier, *BCH* 8 (1884), 150, who place it in 48 B.C. Reinach conjectures that Delos at this time was attached to the Roman province of Asia.

πολῖται Ῥωμαίων τούτοις μηδεὶς ἐνοχλῇ περὶ στρατείας, διὰ τὸ τὸν ὕπατον Λούκιον[1] Κορνήλιον Λέντλον δεισιδαιμονίας ἕνεκα ἀπολελυκέναι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους τῆς στρατείας· διὸ πείθεσθαι ἡμᾶς[2] δεῖ τῷ στρατηγῷ." ὅμοια δὲ τούτοις καὶ Σαρδιανοὶ περὶ ἡμῶν ἐψηφίσαντο.

233 (15) "Γάιος Φάννιος Γαΐου υἱὸς στρατηγὸς ὕπατος[3] Κῴων ἄρχουσι χαίρειν. βούλομαι ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι[4] ὅτι πρέσβεις Ἰουδαίων μοι προσῆλθον ἀξιοῦντες λαβεῖν τὰ ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου δόγματα περὶ αὐτῶν γεγονότα. ὑποτέτακται δὲ τὰ δεδογμένα. ὑμᾶς οὖν θέλω φροντίσαι καὶ προνοῆσαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατὰ τὸ τῆς συγκλήτου δόγμα, ὅπως διὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας χώρας εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀσφαλῶς ἀνακομισθῶσιν."

234 (16) "Λεύκιος Λέντλος ὕπατος λέγει· 'πολίτας Ῥωμαίων Ἰουδαίους, οἵτινές μοι ἱερὰ ἔχειν καὶ ποιεῖν Ἰουδαϊκὰ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐδόκουν, δεισιδαιμονίας ἕνεκα ἀπέλυσα. τοῦτο ἐγένετο πρὸ δώδεκα[5] καλανδῶν Κουιντιλίων[6].'"

235 (17) "Λούκιος Ἀντώνιος Μάρκου υἱὸς ἀντιταμίας καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος Σαρδιανῶν ἄρχουσι

[1] Λούκιον om. AM Lat. [2] Niese: ὑμᾶς codd. Lat.
[3] ἀνθύπατος coni. Viereck. [4] γνῶναι AM.
[5] δεκατριῶν FLAM.
[6] Ὀκτωβρίων Κουιντιλίων F: Ὀκτωβρίων LAM: Iuliarum Lat.

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[a] Conjectured for mss. "you."
[b] See below, § 235.
[c] = Lat. *praetor pro consule*; it is not necessary to emend ὕπατος to ἀνθύπατος, *cf.* Magie, p. 84 and Juster i. 146. This document does not belong to the decrees based on the ruling of Lucius Lentulus in 49 B.C., unless Gaius Fannius is to be

citizens, no one should bother them about military service, inasmuch as the consul Lucius Cornelius Lentulus had exempted the Jews from military service in consideration of their religious scruples. We [a] must therefore obey the magistrate." Similar to this was the decree concerning us which the people of Sardis passed.[b]

(15) "Gaius Fannius, son of Gaius, proconsular praetor,[c] to the magistrates of Cos, greeting. I would have you know that envoys have come to me from the Jews, asking to have the decrees concerning them which were passed by the Senate. These decrees are herewith appended. It is my wish therefore that you take thought and care for these men in accordance with the decree of the Senate, in order that they may safely be brought through your country to their home." Letter of Gaius Fannius to the people of Cos.

(16) [d] "Lucius Lentulus, consul, declares: 'In consideration of their religious scruples I have released those Jews who are Roman citizens and appeared to me to have and to practise Jewish rites in Ephesus. Dated the twelfth [e] day before the Kalends of July.'" [f] Statement of Lentulus concerning Jews of Ephesus.

(17) [g] "Lucius Antonius, son of Marcus, proquaestor and propraetor, to the magistrates, council and Letter of Lucius Antonius to Sardis.

identified with the Fannius mentioned in § 230. For the various conjectures about the date of this document (ranging from 161 to 44 B.C.) see works listed in Appendix J.

[d] This document seems to be a variant of that cited in §§ 228-229.

[e] Variant "thirteenth."

[f] Variant "October," *cf.* § 228 note *e*. The reading here adopted corresponds to June 19, 49 B.C.

[g] This document seems to be an extension of the rights granted to the Jews of Ephesus by Lucius Lentulus, to include general religious toleration, *cf.* Juster i. 145.

βουλῇ δήμῳ χαίρειν. Ἰουδαῖοι πολῖται ἡμέτεροι[1] προσελθόντες μοι ἐπέδειξαν αὐτοὺς[2] σύνοδον ἔχειν ἰδίαν κατὰ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ τόπον ἴδιον, ἐν ᾧ τά τε πράγματα καὶ τὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀντιλογίας κρίνουσι, τοῦτό τε αἰτησαμένοις ἵν' ἐξῇ ποιεῖν αὐτοῖς[3] τηρῆσαι καὶ ἐπιτρέψαι ἔκρινα."

236 (18) "Μᾶρκος Πόπλιος Σπουρίου[4] υἱὸς καὶ Μᾶρκος Μάρκου καὶ[5] Ποπλίου υἱὸς Λούκιος[6] λέγουσιν· 'Λέντλῳ τῷ ἀνθυπάτῳ προσελθόντες ἐδιδάξαμεν αὐτὸν περὶ ὧν Δοσίθεος Κλεοπατρίδου
237 Ἀλεξανδρεὺς λόγους ἐποιήσατο, ὅπως πολίτας Ῥωμαίων Ἰουδαίους[7] ἱερὰ Ἰουδαϊκὰ ποιεῖν εἰωθότας, ἂν αὐτῷ φανῇ, δεισιδαιμονίας ἕνεκα ἀπολύσῃ· καὶ ἀπέλυσε[8] πρὸ δώδεκα[9] καλανδῶν Κουιντιλίων[10].' "

(19) "Λευκίῳ Λέντλῳ Γαΐῳ Μαρκέλλῳ ὑπά-

[1] ὑμέτεροι P. [2] αὐτοὺς codd.: ἑαυτοὺς Hudson.
[3] αὐτοῖς ποιεῖν tr. AM.
[4] Gronovius: Σπιρίου P: Πουρίου rell.: Publii Lat.
[5] καὶ om. P.
[6] Λουκίου P: Μάρκος . . . Λούκιος] Marcus Lucius Marci Publii filius Lat.
[7] + ποιήσῃ FLAM.
[8] ex Lat. Hudson: ἀπολύσαι P: ἀπέλυσα rell.
[9] δεκατριῶν FLAM.
[10] Ὀκτοβρίῳ Κουντιλίῳ F: Ὀκτωβρίων Κυιντιλίῳ LAM: Iulias Lat.

[a] Variant "yours," which would mean the Jewish citizens of Sardis alone.
[b] Probably a synagogue, *cf.* S. Krauss, *Synagogale Altertümer*, p. 185.
[c] The statement in §§ 236-237 and the subjoined decree in

people of Sardis, greeting. Jewish citizens of ours[a] have come to me and pointed out that from the earliest times they have had an association of their own in accordance with their native laws and a place of their own,[b] in which they decide their affairs and controversies with one another; and upon their request that it be permitted them to do these things, I decided that they might be maintained, and permitted them so to do."

(18) [c] "Marcus Publius, son of Spurius,[d] and Marcus, son of Marcus, and Lucius, son of Publius,[e] declared: 'We have gone to the proconsul[f] Lentulus and informed him of the statement made by Dositheus, son of Cleopatrides, the Alexandrian, to the effect that, if it seemed proper to him, in consideration of their religious scruples he should exempt from military service those Jews who are Roman citizens and are accustomed to practise Jewish rites. And he[g] did exempt them on the twelfth[h] day before the Kalends of July.' "[i] Petition to Lentulus.

(19) "In the consulship of Lucius Lentulus and Decree of

§§ 238-240 probably refer to the same decree of Lentulus as is cited in § 234.

[d] Name slightly emended.

[e] Others read, with one ms. and Lat., "Marcus Lucius, son of Marcus Publius." As Lucius and Publius are not *gentilicia* we should have to assume a corruption in the latter reading, as well as in the name "Marcus Publius, son of Spurius." Possibly, however, as Gronovius suggests *ap.* Hudson-Havercamp, these men were Roman plebeians and converts to Judaism: in that case the names Marcus Publius, Marcus Lucius might be genuine.

[f] Reinach alters to "consul" as in § 234.

[g] Variant "I."

[h] Variant "thirteenth."

[i] Some mss. combine the variants "July" and "October." On the date see § 228 note *e*.

238 τοις. παρῆσαν Τίτος Ἄμπιος[1] Τίτου υἱὸς Βάλβος Ὁρατία πρεσβευτής, Τίτος Τόγγιος Κροστομίνα, Κόιντος Καίσιος[2] Κοΐντου, Τίτος Πομπήιος[3] Τίτου υἱὸς Κορνηλία Λογγῖνος, Γάιος Σερουίλιος Γαΐου Τηρητίνα Βράκχος χιλίαρχος, Πόπλιος Κλούσιος Ποπλίου υἱὸς Οὐετωρία[4] Γάλλος, Γάιος Τεύτιος[5] Γαΐου Αἰμιλία χιλίαρχος, Σέξτος Ἀτίλιος Σέξτου
239 υἱὸς Αἰμιλία Σέρρανος, Γάιος Πομπήιος Γαΐου υἱὸς Σαβατίνα, Τίτος Ἄμπιος[6] Τίτου Μένανδρος, Πόπλιος Σερουίλιος Ποπλίου υἱὸς Στράβων, Λεύκιος Πάκκιος Λευκίου Κολλίνα Καπίτων, Αὖλος Φούριος[7] Αὔλου[8] υἱὸς Τέρτιος, Ἄππιος Μηνᾶς.
240 ἐπὶ τούτων ὁ Λέντλος δόγμα ἐξέθετο.[9] πολίτας Ῥωμαίων Ἰουδαίους, οἵτινες ἱερὰ Ἰουδαϊκὰ ποιεῖν εἰώθασιν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, πρὸ τοῦ βήματος δεισιδαιμονίας ἕνεκα ἀπέλυσα."
241 (20) "Λαοδικέων ἄρχοντες Γαΐῳ Ῥαβηρίῳ[10] Γαΐου υἱῷ ἀνθυπάτῳ[11] χαίρειν. Σώπατρος Ὑρκανοῦ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως πρεσβευτὴς ἀπέδωκεν ἡμῖν τὴν παρὰ σοῦ ἐπιστολήν, δι' ἧς ἐδήλους[12] ἡμῖν παρὰ Ὑρκανοῦ

[1] Borghesi: Ἄππιος codd.
[2] ex § 229 coni. Niese: Ῥαίσιος codd.
[3] FL: Πήιος rell.
[4] Gronovius: Ἐγωρεία P: Ἐρωρία rell.
[5] Τέττιος F.
[6] Mendelssohn: Ἄππιος codd.
[7] Αὖλος Φούριος Gronovius: Αὔλιος Φρούριος codd.
[8] Παύλου FLAM.
[9] P: ἐξήνεγκε rell.
[10] Homolle: Ῥαβελλίῳ P: Ῥαβιλλίῳ FAM: Ῥαγιλλίῳ L: Rabilio Lat.: Ῥεβίλῳ Ritschl.
[11] Homolle: ὑπάτῳ codd.
[12] Niese: ἐδήλου codd.

[a] Name slightly emended.
[b] Conjectured from § 229 for ms. "Raesius."

pressed wish you are attacking the Jews and forbid them to observe their Sabbaths, perform their native rites or manage their produce[a] in accordance with their custom; and that he had announced this decree[b] in accordance with the laws. I would therefore have you know that after hearing the arguments of the opposing sides, I have decided that the Jews are not to be forbidden to follow their customs."

(22) Decree of the people of Pergamum. "In the presidency of Cratippus,[c] on the first of the month Daisios, a decree of the magistrates. As the Romans in pursuance of the practices of their ancestors have accepted dangerous risks for the common safety of all mankind and strive emulously to place their allies and friends in a state of happiness and lasting peace, the Jewish nation and their high priest Hyrcanus[d] have sent as envoys to them Straton, son of Theodotus, Apollonius, son of Alexander,[e] Aeneas, son of Antipater, Aristobulus, son of Amyntas, and Sosipater,[f] son of Philip, worthy and excellent men, and have made representations concerning certain particular matters, whereupon the Senate passed a decree concerning the matters on which they spoke, to the effect

Decree of Pergamum

[a] Exactly what priestly revenues (for Jerusalem) are meant is not clear; καρπός in the LXX sometimes means "first-fruits," but here it may include tithes, as Reinach suggests.

[b] Text slightly uncertain.

[c] A *prytanis* named Cratippus is mentioned in a Pergamene inscription to be dated 150–50 B.C., according to Juster, i. 134 n. 3, citing *Ath. Mitt.* 17 (1902), 126 and *JÖAI* 8 (1905), 238. See further note *a* on p. 582.

[d] Hyrcanus I is meant.

[e] An Apollonius, son of Alexander, is mentioned as an envoy of Hyrcanus I to Rome in *Ant.* xiii. 260.

[f] *Cf.* § 241 note *e*.

μηδὲν ἀδικῇ Ἀντίοχος ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀντιόχου[1] υἱὸς
Ἰουδαίους συμμάχους Ῥωμαίων, ὅπως τε φρούρια
καὶ λιμένας καὶ χώραν καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἀφείλετο
αὐτῶν ἀποδοθῇ, καὶ[2] ἐξῇ αὐτοῖς[3] ἐκ τῶν λιμένων
250 ἐξάγειν,[4] ἵνα τε μηδεὶς ἀτελὴς ᾖ ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίων
χώρας ἢ τῶν λιμένων αὐτῶν ἐξάγων βασιλεὺς ἢ
δῆμος ἢ μόνος Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Ἀλεξανδρέων βα-
σιλεὺς διὰ τὸ εἶναι σύμμαχος ἡμέτερος καὶ φίλος,
καὶ τὴν ἐν Ἰόππῃ[5] φρουρὰν ἐκβαλεῖν, καθὼς ἐδεή-
251 θησαν· τῆς τε βουλῆς ἡμῶν Λούκιος Πέττιος ἀνὴρ
καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς προσέταξεν ἵνα φροντίσωμεν
ταῦτα οὕτως γενέσθαι καθὼς ἡ σύγκλητος ἐδογ-
μάτισε, προνοῆσαί τε τῆς ἀσφαλοῦς εἰς οἶκον τῶν
252 πρεσβευτῶν ἀνακομιδῆς. ἀπεδεξάμεθα δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ
τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὸν Θεόδωρον,
ἀπολαβόντες τε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ
τῆς συγκλήτου δόγμα, καὶ ποιησαμένου μετὰ πολ-

[1] Δημητρίου coni. Ritschl. [2] καὶ μὴ FLAM.
[3] αὐτῶν Gronovius: αὐτῷ Gutschmid.
[4] μηδ᾽ ἐξαγαγεῖν P: deportare quae volunt Lat.
[5] + δὲ FLAM.

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[a] Most scholars assume that this is Antiochus IX Cyzicenus, son of Antiochus VII Sidetes, *cf. Ant.* xiii. 246 ff., 270 ff. Some scholars, however, propose to read "son of Demetrius," meaning Antiochus Sidetes, son of Demetrius I (less probably Antiochus VIII Grypus, son of Demetrius II). With the latter I agree. The emendation "son of Demetrius" is not too arbitrary, considering that in several places Josephus' text gives the wrong surname to a Seleucid ruler; see further the following notes.

[b] This seems to be a reference to the harbours, including Joppa, taken from the Jews by Antiochus Sidetes, *cf. Ant.* xiii. 261.

[c] The variant "shall not be lawful" makes no sense if "for them" means "for the Jews."

that King Antiochus, son of Antiochus,[a] shall do no injury to the Jews, the allies of the Romans; and that the fortresses, harbours, territory and whatever else he may have taken from them shall be restored to them[b]; and that it shall be lawful[c] for them to export goods from their harbours and that no king or people exporting goods from the territory of the Jews or from their harbours shall be untaxed except only Ptolemy, king of Alexandria,[d] because he is our ally and friend; and that the garrison in Joppa shall be expelled, as they have requested. And one of our council, Lucius Pettius,[e] a worthy and excellent man, has given orders that we shall take care that these things are done as the Senate has decreed, and that we shall see to the safe return of the envoys to their homes. We have also admitted Theodorus to the council and assembly, accepting from him the letter and the decree of the Senate; and after he had addressed us with great earnest-

[d] Reinach suggests that Ptolemy IX Alexander is meant; he was called to Egypt from Cyprus by his mother Cleopatra III in 107 B.C. If the Pergamene decree is to be dated in the reign of Antiochus Sidetes (who died in 129 B.C.), Reinach's conjecture is impossible, and Ptolemy VII Euergetes II (Physcon) must be meant. On his friendly relations with Rome, *cf.* Diodorus xxxiii. 28 a; he says that Scipio Aemilianus and his colleagues visited Egypt (*c.* 135 B.C.) and Syria, τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν αὐτοῖς φιλίαν πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνανεωσάμενοι.

[e] F. Münzer in *PW* 19 (1938), 1381 suggests that in spite of the wording of the text L. Pettius may have been a member of a Commission of the Roman Senate or even a praetor in Rome. This would be more likely if we accepted Reinach's emendation of τῇ βουλῇ for τῆς βουλῆς, meaning that L. Pettius gave orders *to* the council of Pergamum, not that he was one *of* the council.

λῆς σπουδῆς αὐτοῦ τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὴν Ὑρκανοῦ
253 ἐμφανίσαντος ἀρετὴν καὶ μεγαλοψυχίαν, ὅτι καὶ κοινῇ πάντας εὐεργετεῖ καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν τοὺς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικνουμένους, τά τε γράμματα εἰς τὰ δημόσια ἡμῶν ἀπεθέμεθα, καὶ αὐτοὶ πάντα ποιεῖν ὑπὲρ Ἰουδαίων, σύμμαχοι ὄντες Ῥωμαίων, κατὰ
254 τὸ τῆς συγκλήτου δόγμα ἐψηφισάμεθα. ἐδεήθη δὲ καὶ ὁ Θεόδωρος, ὁ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἡμῖν ἀποδούς, τῶν ἡμετέρων στρατηγῶν ἵνα πέμψωσι πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν τὸ ἀντίγραφον τοῦ ψηφίσματος καὶ πρέσβεις δηλώσοντας τὴν τοῦ ἡμετέρου δήμου σπουδὴν καὶ παρακαλέσοντας συντηρεῖν τε καὶ αὔξειν αὐτὸν[1] τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς φιλίαν[2] καὶ ἀγαθοῦ τινος ἀεὶ[3] αἴτιον
255 γίνεσθαι, ὡς ἀμοιβάς τε τὰς προσηκούσας ἀποληψόμενον, μεμνημένον τε ὡς καὶ ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Ἄβραμον καιροῖς, ὃς ἦν πάντων Ἑβραίων πατήρ, οἱ πρόγονοι ἡμῶν ἦσαν αὐτοῖς φίλοι, καθὼς[4] ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις εὑρίσκομεν γράμμασιν."
256 (23) Ψήφισμα Ἁλικαρνασέων. "ἐπὶ ἱερέως Μέμνονος[5] τοῦ Ἀριστείδου, κατὰ δὲ ποίησιν Εὐωνύμου,[6] Ἀνθεστηριῶνος[7] . . . ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ,

[1] αὐτῶν Hudson.
[2] αὐτὸν . . . φιλίαν] cum eis nostras amicitias Lat.
[3] ἀεὶ add. Niese.
[4] + καὶ P.
[5] Νέωνος coni. Wilhelm.
[6] Μενόλλου Wilhelm.
[7] Ἀνθεστηρίας P, unde Ἀνθεστηριῶνος ια' coni. Niese.

[a] The term "allies of the Romans" might still have been used some years after Pergamum became a Roman possession in 133 B.C. For a parallel Prof. James Oliver kindly refers me to an inscription of Sagalassus of A.D. 292 in *Suppl. Epigr. Gr.* ii. 735.

Gaius Marcellus. Present were the legate Titus Ampius[a] Balbus, son of Titus, of the Horatian tribe, Titus Tongius of the Crustuminian tribe, Quintus Caesius,[b] son of Quintus, Titus Pompeius Longinus, son of Titus, of the Cornelian tribe, the military tribune Gaius Servilius Bracchus, son of Gaius, of the Teretine tribe, Publius Clusius Gallus, son of Publius, of the Veturian[a] tribe, the military tribune Gaius Teutius, son of Gaius, of the Aemilian tribe, Sextus Atilius Serranus, son of Sextus, of the Aemilian tribe, Gaius Pompeius, son of Gaius, of the Sabatine tribe, Titus Ampius Menander, son of Titus, Publius Servilius Strabo, son of Publius, Lucius Paccius Capito, son of Lucius, of the Colline tribe, Aulus Furius[a] Tertius, son of Aulus,[c] Appius Menas. In their presence Lentulus announced the following decree. In consideration of their religious scruples I have released before the tribunal those Jews who are Roman citizens and are accustomed to observe Jewish rites in Ephesus."

Lentulus exempting Jewish citizens of Ephesus from military service.

(20) "The magistrates of Laodicea to the proconsul Gaius Rabirius,[d] son of Gaius, greeting. Sopatrus, the envoy of the high priest Hyrcanus,[e] has delivered to us a letter from you, in which you have informed us that certain persons have come from Hyrcanus,

Letter of magistrates of Laodicea to Gaius Rabirius.

[c] Variant "Paulus."

[d] The readings "proconsul" for MS. "consul" and "Rabirius" for "Rabellius" are proposed by Homolle, *BCH* 6 (1882), 608-612, on the basis of an inscription found at Delos. Juster, i. 146 n. 7, suggests that the document is to be dated in 45 B.C.

[e] Probably Hyrcanus II (see preceding note); but strong arguments have been advanced for the view that this document like the Pergamene decree below, §§ 247-255 (which mentions a Jewish envoy named Sosipater), is to be dated in the reign of Hyrcanus I; see works listed in Appendix J.

τοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερέως ἐληλυθότας τινὰς γράμματα κομίσαι περὶ τοῦ ἔθνους αὐτῶν γεγραμμένα,
242 ἵνα τά τε σάββατα αὐτοῖς[1] ἐξῇ ἄγειν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἱερὰ ἐπιτελεῖν κατὰ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους, ὅπως τε μηδεὶς αὐτοῖς ἐπιτάσσῃ διὰ τὸ φίλους αὐτοὺς ἡμετέρους εἶναι καὶ συμμάχους, ἀδικήσῃ τε μηδεὶς αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἐπαρχίᾳ, ὡς Τραλλιανῶν τε ἀντειπόντων κατὰ πρόσωπον μὴ ἀρέσκεσθαι τοῖς περὶ αὐτῶν δεδογμένοις ἐπέταξας ταῦτα οὕτως γίνεσθαι· παρακεκλῆσθαι δέ σε,[2] ὥστε καὶ ἡμῖν
243 ταῦτα γράψαι περὶ αὐτῶν. ἡμεῖς οὖν κατακολουθοῦντες τοῖς ἐπεσταλμένοις ὑπὸ σοῦ, τήν τε ἐπιστολὴν τὴν ἀποδοθεῖσαν ἐδεξάμεθα καὶ κατεχωρίσαμεν εἰς τὰ δημόσια ἡμῶν γράμματα, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὧν ἐπέσταλκας προνοήσομεν ὥστε μηδὲν μεμφθῆναι."

244 (21) "Πόπλιος Σερουίλιος Ποπλίου υἱὸς Γάλβας[3] ἀνθύπατος Μιλησίων ἄρχουσι βουλῇ δήμῳ χαίρειν.
245 Πρύτανις Ἑρμοῦ[4] υἱὸς πολίτης ὑμέτερος προσελθών μοι ἐν Τράλλεσιν ἄγοντι τὴν ἀγόραιον ἐδήλου παρὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν γνώμην Ἰουδαίοις ὑμᾶς

[1] τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις AM Lat.
[2] γε AM et Lat. vid.
[3] Οὐατίας coni. Bergmann.
[4] Σίμου coni. Wilhelm.

[a] Reinach, assuming that Hyrcanus I is meant here, believes that the documents in question are decrees of the Roman Senate. Juster, who thinks that Hyrcanus II is meant, argues *contra* that in the earlier period the Roman Senate adopted, in such cases, a tone " très modéré, plutôt courtois."

the high priest of the Jews, bringing documents concerning their nation,[a] to the effect that it shall be lawful for them[b] to observe their Sabbaths and perform their other rites in accordance with their native laws, and that no one shall give orders to them, because they are our friends and allies, and that no one shall do them an injury in our province[c]; and as the people of Tralles[d] objected in your presence that they were dissatisfied with the decrees concerning them, you gave orders that they should be carried out, adding that you have been requested to write also to us about the matters concerning them. We, therefore, in obedience to your instructions, have accepted the letter delivered to us and have deposited it among our public archives; and to the other matters on which you have given us instructions we shall give such attention that no one shall incur blame."

(21) "Publius Servilius Galba,[e] son of Publius, proconsul to the magistrates, council and people of Miletus,[f] greeting. Prytanis, son of Hermas,[g] a citizen of yours, came to me when I was holding court at Tralles and informed me that contrary to our ex- Letter of Publius Servilius Galba to Miletus.

[b] Variant "the Jews."

[c] The province of Phrygia.

[d] Probably Tralles in Caria, *c.* 75 miles W. of Laodicea. Both cities lay near the Maeander river.

[e] The reading "Vatias" for "Galba" proposed by Bergmann, *Philologus* 2 (1847), p. 684, is adopted by many scholars, but rejected by Reinach and Juster i. 147 n. 1.

[f] Juster, citing Haussoullier, *Milet*, p. 258, points out that under Roman rule Miletus had no assembly or civic autonomy before 46 B.C.

[g] Wilhelm, *JÖAI* 8 (1905), 242 (cited by Juster), proposes "son of Simos" on the basis of an inscription, probably 1st century B.C., found at Thera.

προσφέρεσθαι καὶ κωλύειν αὐτοὺς τά τε σάββατα ἄγειν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ πάτρια τελεῖν καὶ τοὺς καρποὺς μεταχειρίζεσθαι, καθὼς ἔθος ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς, αὐτόν τε κατὰ τοὺς νόμους τεθεικέναι[1] τὸ[2] ψή-
246 φισμα.[3] βούλομαι οὖν ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι ὅτι διακούσας[4] ἐγὼ λόγων ἐξ ἀντικαταστάσεως γενομένων ἐπέκρινα μὴ κωλύεσθαι Ἰουδαίους τοῖς αὐτῶν ἔθεσι χρῆσθαι."

247 (22) Ψήφισμα Περγαμηνῶν. "ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως Κρατίππου μηνὸς Δαισίου πρώτῃ[5] γνώμη στρατηγῶν. ἐπεὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κατακολουθοῦντες τῇ τῶν προγόνων ἀγωγῇ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀσφαλείας κινδύνους ἀναδέχονται, καὶ φιλοτιμοῦνται τοὺς συμμάχους καὶ φίλους ἐν
248 εὐδαιμονίᾳ καὶ βεβαίᾳ καταστῆσαι εἰρήνῃ, πέμψαντος πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοῦ ἔθνους τοῦ Ἰουδαίων καὶ Ὑρκανοῦ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως αὐτῶν πρέσβεις, Στράτωνα Θεοδότου, Ἀπολλώνιον Ἀλεξάνδρου, Αἰνείαν Ἀν-
249 τιπάτρου, Ἀριστόβουλον Ἀμύντου, Σωσίπατρον Φιλίππου, ἄνδρας καλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθούς, καὶ περὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρη ἐμφανισάντων, ἐδογμάτισεν ἡ σύγκλητος, περὶ ὧν ἐποιήσαντο τοὺς λόγους, ὅπως

[1] εὐθυνκέναι P. [2] τὸ δίκαιον P.
[3] αὐτόν . . . ψήφισμα om. Lat.
[4] ἀκούσας FLAM. [5] πρώτῃ om. P Lat.

restored to them by the Roman Senate and people,[a] they may, in accordance with their accepted customs, come together and have a communal life[b] and adjudicate suits among themselves,[c] and that a place be given them in which they may gather together with their wives and children and offer their ancestral prayers and sacrifices[d] to God, it has therefore been decreed by the council and people that permission shall be given them to come together on stated days to do those things which are in accordance with their laws, and also that a place shall be set apart by the magistrates for them to build and inhabit,[e] such as they may consider suitable for this purpose, and that the market-officials of the city shall be charged with the duty of having suitable food for them brought in."

(25) Decree of the people of Ephesus. "In the presidency of Menophilus, on the first of the month Artemision,[f] the following decree was passed by the people on the motion of the magistrates, and was announced by Nicanor. Whereas the Jews in the city have petitioned the proconsul Marcus Junius Decree of Ephesus.

[b] The variant omits "and have a communal life": the reference is to the organization of the Jewish community (*politeuma*) in Sardis.

[c] Variant "and that we shall not have legal disputes with them"—an inferior reading. The document cited in § 235 states that the Jews of Sardis have had their own courts "from the earliest times." In this document they are permitted to have a synagogue in addition.

[d] "Sacrifices" (θυσίας) must here be used in the larger sense of "offerings."

[e] Reinach assumes that a "ghetto" is meant, but τόπον here probably means a synagogue or communal building, *cf.* A. D. Nock in *HTR* 29 (1936), 46.

[f] March 24th in the Roman calendar, according to Gardthausen, *Augustus*, i. 64, ii. 72 (cited by Juster i. 148 n. 10).

ἀνθυπάτῳ, ὅπως ἄγωσι τὰ σάββατα καὶ πάντα ποιῶσι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια αὐτῶν ἔθη μηδενὸς αὐτοῖς
264 ἐμποδὼν γινομένου, ὁ στρατηγὸς συνεχώρησε, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ[1] τῷ δήμῳ, τοῦ πράγματος Ῥωμαίοις ἀνήκοντος, μηδένα κωλύεσθαι παρατηρεῖν τὴν τῶν σαββάτων ἡμέραν μηδὲ πράσσεσθαι ἐπιτίμιον, ἐπιτετράφθαι[2] δ' αὐτοῖς πάντα ποιεῖν κατὰ τοὺς ἰδίους[3] αὐτῶν νόμους."

265 (26) Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἐστιν καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα τῇ συγκλήτῳ καὶ τοῖς αὐτοκράτορσι τοῖς Ῥωμαίων δόγματα πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν καὶ τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν γεγενημένα, καὶ πόλεσιν ψηφίσματα, καὶ γράμματα πρὸς τὰς περὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων δικαίων ἐπιστολὰς ἀντιπεφωνημένα τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν, περὶ ὧν ἁπάντων ἐξ ὧν παρατεθείμεθα πιστεύειν τοῖς ἀναγνωσομένοις οὐ βασκάνως ἡμῶν τὴν συγγραφὴν[4] πάρ-
266 εστιν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐναργῆ καὶ βλεπόμενα τεκμήρια παρεχόμεθα τῆς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἡμῖν φιλίας γενομένης, ἐπιδεικνύντες αὐτὰ χαλκαῖς στήλαις καὶ δέλτοις ἐν τῷ Καπετωλίῳ μέχρι νῦν διαμένοντα καὶ διαμενοῦντα, τὴν μὲν πάντων παράθεσιν ὡς
267 περιττήν τε ἅμα καὶ ἀτερπῆ παρῃτησάμην, οὐδένα δ' οὕτως ἡγησάμην σκαιόν, ὃς[5] οὐχὶ καὶ περὶ τῆς

[1] τῇ βουλῇ καὶ om. P Lat. [2] ἐπιτετράφθω FLAM.
[3] Iudaicas Lat. [4] γραφὴν P.
[5] ὡς coni. Niese.

[a] Variant "Marcus Junius Pompeius, son of Brutus." Ritschl, Mendelssohn, Schürer and others think that the original reading gave the name of the celebrated Marcus Brutus, who was in Asia in 42 B.C. Reinach suggests that the name was that of Marcus Juncus, governor of Asia and Bithynia in 74 B.C. See works listed in Appendix J.

[b] *i.e.* the proconsul.

Brutus, son of Pontius,[a] that they might observe their Sabbaths and do all those things which are in accordance with their native customs without interference from anyone, and the governor[b] has granted this request, it has therefore been decreed by the council and[c] people that as the matter is of concern to the Romans, no one shall be prevented from keeping the Sabbath days nor be fined for so doing, but they shall be permitted to do all those things which are in accordance with their own laws."

(26) Now there are many other such decrees, passed by the Senate and the Imperators[d] of the Romans, relating to Hyrcanus[e] and our nation, as well as resolutions of cities and rescripts of provincial governors[f] in reply to letters on the subject of our rights, all of which those who will read our work without malice will find it possible to take on faith from the documents we have cited. For since we have furnished clear and visible proofs of our friendship with the Romans, indicating those decrees engraved on bronze pillars and tablets which remain to this day and will continue to remain in the Capitol, I have refrained from citing them all as being both superfluous and disagreeable; for I cannot suppose that anyone is so stupid that he will actually refuse to believe the statements about the friendliness of

Conclusion of citations from official documents.

[c] The variant omits "council and."

[d] Such as Julius Caesar, Mark Antony and Dolabella.

[e] Josephus must mean Hyrcanus II, although some of the decrees cited above probably date from the time of Hyrcanus I (*e.g.* §§ 247 ff.).

[f] Chamonard translates, "d'actes des magistrats en réponse aux lettres des gouverneurs"; but ἡγεμόσιν is clearly dative of agent depending on the passive participle ἀντιπεφωνημένα. ἡγεμών here = Lat. *praeses provinciae* (Magie, p. 85).

Ῥωμαίων ἡμῖν πιστεύσει[1] φιλανθρωπίας,[2] ὅτι ταύτην καὶ διὰ πλειόνων ἐπεδείξαντο πρὸς ἡμᾶς δογμάτων, καὶ ἡμᾶς οὐχ ὑπολήψεται περὶ ὧν εἶναί φαμεν ἀληθεύειν ἐξ ὧν ἐπεδείξαμεν. τὴν μὲν οὖν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς καιροὺς γενομένην δεδηλώκαμεν.

268 (xi. 1) Συνέβη δ' ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ταραχθῆναι τὰ κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης· Βάσσος Καικίλιος[3] εἷς τῶν τὰ Πομπηίου φρονούντων ἐπιβουλὴν συνθεὶς ἐπὶ Σέξτον Καίσαρα κτείνει μὲν ἐκεῖνον, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ στράτευμα αὐτοῦ παραλαβὼν ἐκράτει τῶν πραγμάτων, πόλεμός τε μέγας περὶ τὴν Ἀπάμειαν συνέστη τῶν Καίσαρος στρατηγῶν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐλθόντων μετά τε ἱππέων[4] καὶ
269 πεζῆς δυνάμεως. τούτοις δὲ καὶ Ἀντίπατρος συμμαχίαν ἔπεμψε μετὰ τῶν τέκνων, κατὰ μνήμην ὧν εὐεργετήθησαν[5] ὑπὸ Καίσαρος, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τιμωρεῖν αὐτῷ καὶ δίκην παρὰ τοῦ πεφονευκότος
270 εἰσπράξασθαι δίκαιον ἡγούμενος. χρονιζομένου δὲ τοῦ πολέμου Μοῦρκος[6] μὲν ἦλθεν ἐκ Ῥώμης εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν Σέξτου, Καῖσαρ δ' ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Κάσσιον καὶ Βροῦτον ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ κτείνεται,

[1] πιστεῦσαι P. [2] φιλίας Hudson.
[3] Lat.: Κέλιος PFV: Κικίλιος LAM: Κικίλλιος E: Κεκίλιος ed. pr.
[4] Niese: ἵππων P: ἱπποτῶν rell.
[5] P: εὐεργετηθείησαν rell.
[6] ex B.J. edd.: Μάρκος codd. E Lat. hic et infra.

[a] Here is resumed the parallelism with *B.J.*; §§ 268-279 are parallel with *B.J.* i. 216-224, *cf.* Laqueur, pp. 186-188.

ness and pointed out the virtues and generosity of Hyrcanus and how he confers benefits upon all men generally, and in particular upon those who come to him, we deposited the documents in our public archives and passed a decree that we on our part, being allies of the Romans,[a] would do everything possible on behalf of the Jews in accordance with the decree of the Senate.[b] And when he delivered the letter to us, Theodorus also requested our magistrates to send a copy of the decree to Hyrcanus, as well as envoys who would inform him of the friendly interest of our people, and would urge him to preserve and increase his friendship with us and always[c] be responsible for some act of good in the knowledge that he will receive a fitting recompense, and also remembering that in the time of Abraham, who was the father of all Hebrews, our ancestors were their friends, as we find in the public records."[d]

(23) Decree of the people of Halicarnassus. "In the priesthood of Memnon,[e] son of Aristides and, by adoption, of Euonymus,[f] . . . of Anthesterion,[g] the people passed the following decree on the motion Decree of Halicarnassus.

[b] Presumably by supporting the Jews against Antiochus, at least in theory. Possibly some practical support might have been given in the form of trade agreements.

[c] "Always" is added conjecturally.

[d] On the similar claim of kinship between the Jews and Spartans dating from the time of Abraham, see *Ant.* xii. 226 and works listed in Appendix F.

[e] Wilhelm, *JÖAI* 8 (1905), 238-241 (cited by Juster i. 148 n. 3), proposes to read "Neon" on the bases of inscriptions (of unknown date) in *BCH* 4 (1880), 397 and 14 (1890), 102, 402.

[f] Wilhelm, *loc. cit.*, emends to "Menollus."

[g] February–March. The day of the month must have been given originally.

257 εἰσηγησαμένου Μάρκου Ἀλεξάνδρου. ἐπεὶ τὸ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβὲς καὶ ὅσιον ἐν ἅπαντι καιρῷ διὰ σπουδῆς ἔχομεν, κατακολουθοῦντες τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πάντων ἀνθρώπων ὄντι εὐεργέτῃ, καὶ οἷς περὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίων φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἔγραψεν, ὅπως συντελῶνται αὐτοῖς αἱ εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἱεροποιίαι καὶ ἑορταὶ αἱ εἰθισμέναι
258 καὶ σύνοδοι, δεδόχθαι καὶ ἡμῖν Ἰουδαίων τοὺς βουλομένους ἄνδρας τε καὶ γυναῖκας τά τε σάββατα ἄγειν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ συντελεῖν κατὰ τοὺς Ἰουδαϊκοὺς[1] νόμους, καὶ τὰς προσευχὰς ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ κατὰ τὸ πάτριον ἔθος. ἂν δέ τις κωλύσῃ ἢ ἄρχων ἢ ἰδιώτης, τῷδε[2] τῷ ζημιώματι ὑπεύθυνος ἔστω καὶ ὀφειλέτω τῇ πόλει."

259 (24) Ψήφισμα Σαρδιανῶν. "ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, στρατηγῶν εἰσηγησαμένων. ἐπεὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει[3] Ἰουδαῖοι πολῖται[4] πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα φιλάνθρωπα ἐσχηκότες διὰ παντὸς παρὰ τοῦ δήμου, καὶ νῦν εἰσελθόντες ἐπὶ
260 τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον παρεκάλεσαν, ἀποκαθισταμένων αὐτοῖς τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ὑπὸ

[1] Ἰουδαίων PF. [2] ὅδε Hudson.
[3] + ἀπ' ἀρχῆς P. [4] πολῖται secl. Tarn.

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[a] Probably, but not certainly, a Roman official.
[b] Reinach prefers to translate τὰς προσευχὰς ποιεῖσθαι as "faire des prières," which is possible though less likely; *cf.* the implied reference to a synagogue in the following decree.
[c] On synagogues built near the water see *Ant.* xii. 106 note *c*.
[d] The decree must originally have specified the amount of the fine.
[e] The relation between this decree and the letter of Lucius

of Marcus Alexander.[a] Whereas at all times we have had a deep regard for piety toward the Deity and holiness, and following the example of the people of Rome, who are benefactors of all mankind, and in conformity with what they have written to our city concerning their friendship and alliance with the Jews, to the effect that their sacred services to God and their customary festivals and religious gatherings shall be carried on, we have also decreed that those Jewish men and women who so wish may observe their Sabbaths and perform their sacred rites in accordance with the Jewish laws, and may build places of prayer[b] near the sea,[c] in accordance with their native custom. And if anyone, whether magistrate or private citizen, prevents them, he shall be liable to the following fine[d] and owe it to the city."

(24) Decree of the people of Sardis.[e] "The following decree was passed by the council and people on the motion of the magistrates. Whereas the Jewish citizens[f] living in our city[g] have continually received many great privileges from the people and have now come before the council and the people and have pleaded that as their laws and freedom have been

Decree of Sardis.

Antonius to Sardis in § 235 (*cf.* § 232) is not clear, but the present document seems to be later.

[f] W. Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilization*, p. 176 n. 1, remarks, "*οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν τῇ πόλει* Ἰουδαῖοι *πολῖται* is a contradiction in terms; the interpolation of *πολῖται* is self-evident." So also Reinach had earlier noted that *πολῖται* is "très embarrassant," and may be an error arising from the following *πολλὰ* or else mean *πολῖται* Ῥωμαῖοι. Conceivably, however, the members of a Jewish *politeuma* within the Hellenistic *polis* may have been called *πολῖται* (for *ἰσοπολῖται*). See further the appendix on the status of Jews in the Diaspora in the last volume of this translation.

[g] One MS. adds "from the earliest times."

τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων, ἵνα κατὰ τὰ νομιζόμενα ἔθη συνάγωνται καὶ πολιτεύωνται[1] καὶ διαδικάζωνται[2] πρὸς αὑτούς,[3] δοθῇ[4] τε καὶ τόπος αὐτοῖς εἰς ὃν συλλεγόμενοι μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων ἐπιτελῶσι τὰς πατρίους
261 εὐχὰς καὶ θυσίας τῷ θεῷ· δεδόχθαι[5] τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ συγκεχωρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς συνερχομένοις ἐν ταῖς προαποδεδειγμέναις ἡμέραις πράσσειν τὰ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτῶν νόμους, ἀφορισθῆναι δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τόπον ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν εἰς οἰκοδομίαν καὶ οἴκησιν αὐτῶν, ὃν ἂν ὑπολάβωσι πρὸς τοῦτ' ἐπιτήδειον εἶναι, ὅπως τε τοῖς τῆς πόλεως ἀγορανόμοις ἐπιμελὲς ᾖ καὶ τὰ ἐκείνοις πρὸς τροφὴν ἐπιτήδεια ποιεῖν εἰσάγεσθαι."

262 (25) Ψήφισμα Ἐφεσίων. "ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως Μηνοφίλου, μηνὸς Ἀρτεμισίου τῇ προτέρᾳ, ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ, Νικάνωρ Εὐφήμου εἶπεν, εἰσηγησαμένων
263 τῶν στρατηγῶν. ἐπεὶ ἐντυχόντων τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει Ἰουδαίων Μάρκῳ Ἰουνίῳ Ποντίου[6] υἱῷ Βρούτῳ[7]

[1] καὶ πολιτεύωνται om. AM Lat.
[2] μὴ διαδικαζώμεθα FLAM.
[3] αὑτούς ex Lat. Niese: αὐτούς codd.
[4] P: ἐδόθη rell. Lat.
[5] P: δέδοκται οὖν rell. Lat.
[6] Πομπηΐῳ FLAM.
[7] Βρούτου FLAM: Μάρκῳ . . . Βρούτῳ] Μάρκῳ Ἰουνίῳ Μάρκου υἱῷ Bergmann: Μ. Ἰ. Καιπίωνι vel Μ. Ἰ. Μάρκου υἱῷ Καιπίωνι Ritschl.

[a] Viereck, p. 109, argues that this last clause refers to the Jews of Palestine in the time of Hyrcanus II, but if so one would expect the decree to state this explicitly.

the Romans towards us, when they have demonstrated this in a good many decrees relating to us, or will not admit that we are making truthful statements on the basis of the examples we have given. And herein we have set forth our friendship and alliance with the Romans in those times.

(xi. 1) [a] About the same time disturbances broke out in Syria for the following reason. Bassus Caecilius, one of Pompey's sympathizers,[b] formed a plot against Sextus Caesar,[c] and after killing him, took over his army and made himself master of the country[d]; thereupon a great war began[e] near Apamea, for Caesar's generals[f] marched against him with a force of cavalry and infantry. Antipater also sent them reinforcements together with his sons, being mindful of the benefits they had received from Caesar and on that account thinking it just to avenge Sextus and exact satisfaction from his murderer. As the war was prolonged, Murcus[g] came from Rome to take Sextus' command, and (Julius) Caesar was killed by Cassius, Brutus and their followers in the Senate-house, after having held power for three

Antipater supports the Caesarians against the Pompeians.

[b] Holmes, iii. 326 n. 5, accepts this statement that Bassus was a Pompeian sympathizer (with which Livy and Dio Cassius agree) as more accurate than other ancient accounts that Julius Caesar had left a legion in Syria under Bassus.

[c] *Cf.* § 170.

[d] In 46–45 B.C., while Julius Caesar was fighting the Pompeians in Africa.

[e] Autumn of 45 B.C.; πόλεμος συνέστη is a Thucydidean phrase (Thuc. i. 15. 2), found elsewhere in Josephus.

[f] Under C. Antistius Vetus, *cf.* Dio Cassius xlvii. 27 and Dr. Thackeray's note on *B.J.* i. 218.

[g] Emended (with *B.J.*) from MSS. "Marcus." L. Statius Murcus was sent to Syria by Julius Caesar at the beginning of 44 B.C. to oppose Bassus.

κατασχὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔτη τρία καὶ μῆνας ἕξ. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δεδήλωται.

271 (2) Τοῦ δ' ἐπὶ τῷ Καίσαρος θανάτῳ πολέμου συνερρωγότος καὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει πάντων ἐπὶ στρατιᾶς συλλογὴν ἄλλου ἄλλῃ διεσπαρμένων, ἀφικνεῖται Κάσσιος εἰς Συρίαν, παραληψόμενος τὰ περὶ
272 τὴν Ἀπάμειαν στρατόπεδα· καὶ λύσας τὴν πολιορκίαν ἀμφοτέρους προσάγεται τόν τε Βάσσον καὶ τὸν Μοῦρκον, τάς τε πόλεις ἐπερχόμενος ὅπλα τε καὶ στρατιώτας συνήθροιζε, καὶ φόρους αὐταῖς μεγάλους ἐπετίθει· μάλιστα δὲ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐκάκωσεν, ἑπτακόσια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου εἰσπραττό-
273 μενος. Ἀντίπατρος δ' ὁρῶν ἐν μεγάλῳ φόβῳ καὶ ταραχῇ τὰ πράγματα, μερίζει τὴν τῶν χρημάτων εἴσπραξιν καὶ ἑκατέρῳ τῶν υἱῶν συνάγειν δίδωσι τὰ μὲν[1] Μαλίχῳ κακοήθως πρὸς αὐτὸν διακειμένῳ,
274 τὰ δὲ ἄλλοις προσέταξεν εἰσπράττεσθαι. καὶ πρῶτος Ἡρώδης ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας εἰσπραξάμενος ὅσα ἦν αὐτῷ προστεταγμένα, φίλος ἦν εἰς τὰ μάλιστα Κασσίῳ· σῶφρον γὰρ ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ Ῥωμαίους ἤδη θεραπεύειν καὶ τὴν παρ' αὐτῶν κατασκευάζειν εὔνοιαν ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων πόνων.

[1] δὲ V: in his verbis corruptelam latere suspicatur Niese.

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[a] From the battle of Pharsalia, Aug. 9, 48 B.C. to March 15, 44 B.C. was a little over three years and *seven* months, the figure given in *B.J.* i. 218.

[b] By other historians.

[c] πολέμου συνερρωγότος is another Thucydidean phrase (Thuc. i. 66), found also in *B.J.* and *Ap.*

[d] Richards and Shutt, guided by the Latin, would change the punctuation and the tense of παραληψόμενος to read, "Cassius arrived in Syria; and after having taken over."

years and six months.[a] This, however, has been related elsewhere.[b]

(2) On the outbreak of the war[c] that followed Caesar's death and the dispersal to various quarters of all in authority in order to raise an army, Cassius arrived in Syria to take over[d] the armies near Apamea. And after raising the siege, he won over both Bassus and Mureus, and descending upon the cities, he collected arms and soldiers from them, and imposed heavy tribute upon them. Worst of all was his treatment of Judaea, from which he exacted seven hundred[e] talents of silver. But Antipater, seeing that affairs were in fearful disorder,[f] apportioned the exacting of money and gave each of his sons a part to collect, and gave orders that some of it was to be raised by Malichus,[g] who was hostile toward him, and the rest by others. And Herod, being the first to raise the sum set for him from Galilee,[h] became especially friendly with Cassius. For he thought it prudent to court the Romans and secure their good-will at the expense of others.[i] But the officials of

Cassius becomes master of Syria, and is supported by Antipater and his sons.

[e] So *B.J.* also; Syncellus, i. 576, gives 800, but see note *h* below.

[f] Prof. Post suggests, "viewing events in great terror and confusion." ἐν φόβῳ καὶ ταραχῇ is also Thucydidean (Thuc. iii. 79. 3) *cf. Ant.* ii. 100.

[g] Text slightly uncertain. Malichus (or Malchus—both forms are found in MSS. of Josephus and contemporary inscriptions) was a Jewish noble who supported Hyrcanus, *cf.* § 84: he should not be confused with the Arab king Malchus, *cf.* §§ 370 ff.

[h] 100 talents, according to *B.J.* i. 221. Apparently Syncellus (note *e* above) has included this with the 700 talents raised in Judaea in the sum obtained by Cassius.

[i] "At the expense of others" is a phrase not found in *B.J.* On this "anti-Herodian" addition see Laqueur, p. 187.

275 ἐπιπράσκοντο δ' αὔτανδροι ὅσοι[1] τῶν ἄλλων πό-
λεων[2] ἐπιμεληταί, καὶ τέσσαρας πόλεις ἐξηνδραπό-
δισε τότε[3] Κάσσιος, ὧν ἦσαν αἱ δυνατώταται Γόφνα
τε καὶ Ἀμμαοῦς, πρὸς ταύταις δὲ Λύδδα καὶ
276 Θάμνα. ἐπεξῆλθε δ' ἂν ὑπ' ὀργῆς Κάσσιος ὥστε
καὶ Μάλιχον ἀνελεῖν (ὥρμητο γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτόν), εἰ
μὴ Ὑρκανὸς δι' Ἀντιπάτρου ἑκατὸν τάλαντα ἐκ
τῶν ἰδίων[4] αὐτῷ πέμψας ἐπέσχε τῆς ὁρμῆς.
277 (3) Ἐπεὶ δὲ Κάσσιος ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας[5] ἀπῆρε,
Μάλιχος ἐπεβούλευσεν Ἀντιπάτρῳ, τὴν τούτου
τελευτὴν ἀσφάλειαν Ὑρκανοῦ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔσεσθαι[6]
νομίζων. οὐ μὴν ἔλαθε τὸν Ἀντίπατρον ταῦτα
φρονῶν, ἀλλ' αἰσθόμενος γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἐχώρει πέραν
Ἰορδάνου, καὶ στρατὸν Ἀράβιον ἅμα καὶ ἐγχώριον
278 συνήθροιζεν. δεινὸς δὲ[7] ὢν ὁ Μάλιχος ἠρνεῖτο
μὲν τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, ἀπολογούμενος δὲ μεθ' ὅρκων
αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς παισίν, καὶ ὡς Φασαήλου μὲν
Ἱεροσόλυμα φρουροῦντος, Ἡρώδου δὲ ἔχοντος τὴν

[1] οἱ P. [2] πόλεων om. PE.
[3] ἐξηνδραπόδισε τότε P: ἐξηνδραπόδισε E: ἐξανδροποδίζεται rell. [4] Ἰουδαίων PFL.
[5] cum multis pecuniis a Iudea Lat.
[6] εἶναι P. [7] μέντοι ed. pr.

[a] According to Abel, ii. 339 and Avi Yonah, p. 11, this is mod. *Jifna* (3 miles) N.W. of Bethel. It was the capital of a toparchy in Roman times, as were the other cities here mentioned, *cf.* Dr. Thackeray's note on *B.J.* iii. 55.
[b] Later Nicopolis, Mod. *'Amwas*, *cf. Ant.* xiii. 15 note *c*.
[c] Later Diospolis, mod. *Ludd*, *cf. Ant.* xiii. 127 note *c* (p. 289). [d] *Cf. Ant.* xiii. 5 note *e*.
[e] *Cf. B.J.* i. 222, "He was proceeding so far as to put Malichus to death for tardiness in levying the tribute."

the other cities, every last man of them, were sold as slaves, and at that time Cassius reduced to servitude four cities, of which the most important were Gophna[a] and Emmaus,[b] the others being Lydda[c] and Thamna.[d] And Cassius was moved by anger to the point of doing away with Malichus—for he had started to attack him[e]—had not Hyrcanus through the agency of Antipater sent him a hundred talents of his own money[f] and so stopped his hostile move.

(3) But when Cassius had left Judaea,[g] Malichus plotted against Antipater, thinking that his death[g] would make for the security of Hyrcanus' rule.[h] These plans of his did not, however, remain unknown to Antipater, who, on learning of them, moved across the Jordan and collected an army of Arabs as well as natives. Thereupon Malichus, being a shrewd[i] fellow, denied the plot and defended himself under oath before both him and his sons,[j] saying that with Phasael guarding Jerusalem and Herod having

Malichus plots against Antipater's life.

[f] Hyrcanus is not mentioned in *B.J.*; *cf.* Laqueur, p. 187, who cites a similar anti-Herodian alteration in § 127.

[g] Lat. adds, "with much money." Whether Josephus here refers to the events of the first half of 43 B.C., when Cassius was preparing to fight Dolabella (§ 223) or of the first half of 42 B.C., when he was preparing to fight Mark Antony and Octavian, is not clear. If the latter, he is anticipating events that took place after the murder of Antipater in 43 B.C. (§ 282): *cf.* Otto, *Herodes*, pp. 21-22.

[h] In *B.J.* Malichus is said to have plotted against Antipater "to remove one who was an obstacle to his malpractices." This difference of motive is duly stressed by Laqueur, p. 188.

[i] "Shrewd" (δεινός) in *Ant.* replaces the stronger "shamelessness" (ἀναιδεία) ascribed to Malichus in *B.J.*

[j] In *B.J.* Phasael and Herod act as mediators with Antipater, who apparently was not directly approached by Malichus.

φυλακὴν τῶν ὅπλων, οὐδ' ἂν εἰς νοῦν ἐβάλετο[1] τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν ὁρῶν τὴν[2] ἀπορίαν, καταλλάσσεται
279 πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίπατρον, καὶ συνέβησαν Μούρκου[3] κατὰ Συρίαν στρατηγοῦντος, ὃς αἰσθόμενος νεωτεροποιοῦντα τὰ[4] κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν[5] τὸν Μάλιχον ἦλθε μὲν ὡς[6] παρὰ μικρὸν αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν, Ἀντιπάτρου δὲ παρακαλέσαντος περιέσωσεν.

280 (4) Ἔλαθε[7] δὲ ἄρα φονέα περισώσας Ἀντίπατρος αὑτοῦ[8] τὸν Μάλιχον· Κάσσιος μὲν γὰρ καὶ Μοῦρκος στρατὸν ἀθροίσαντες τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἅπασαν ἐνεχείρισαν Ἡρώδῃ, καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτὸν κοίλης[9] Συρίας ἐποίησαν, πλοῖα δόντες καὶ δύναμιν ἱππικήν τε καὶ πεζικήν, ὑποσχόμενοί τε καὶ βασιλέα τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἀναδείξειν μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον· συνειστήκει γὰρ τότε πρός τε τὸν Ἀντώνιον καὶ τὸν νέον
281 Καίσαρα. Μάλιχος δὲ δείσας τότε[10] μάλιστα τὸν Ἀντίπατρον ἐκποδὼν ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ πείσας ἀργυρίῳ τὸν Ὑρκανοῦ οἰνοχόον, παρ' ᾧ ἑκάτεροι εἱστιῶντο, φαρμάκῳ κτείνει τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ ὁπλίτας ἔχων

[1] ἔβαλλε FLA: ἔβαλε MV.
[2] δὲ τὴν FLAMV: οὖν τὴν E.
[3] ex B.J. edd.: Μάρκου codd. E Lat. hic et infra.
[4] τὰ E: om. codd.
[5] Συρίαν P.
[6] PE: ὥστε rell.
[7] ἦν P.
[8] Naber: αὐτοῦ codd.
[9] totius Lat., cf. B.J.
[10] τοῦτο Herwerden.

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[a] Correction of MSS. "Marcus," *cf.* § 270 note *g*.

[b] One MS. "Syria."

[c] On the parallelism between §§ 280-369 and *B.J.* i. 225-273 see Laqueur, pp. 188-193. He is unable to find any "remarkable" discrepancies or tendentious alterations in these sections.

custody of the arms, he would never have entertained such a notion seeing how impossible it would be; and so he became reconciled with Antipater, and they came to an agreement at the time when Murcus[a] was governing Syria, who, on learning that Malichus was stirring up a revolt in Judaea,[b] came very near putting him to death, but on the plea of Antipater spared his life.

The Herodians' growing power under the Romans leads Malichus to poison Antipater.

(4) [c] Now Antipater in saving Malichus' life had unwittingly, it turned out, saved his own murderer. For Cassius and Murcus collected an army and entrusted the entire charge of it to Herod; and they made him governor of Coele-Syria,[d] giving him ships[e] and a force of cavalry and infantry, and also promised to appoint him king of Judaea after the war which they had just then begun with Antony and the young Caesar.[f] And as Malichus was now in greater fear than ever of Antipater, he sought to put him out of the way, and with money persuaded Hyrcanus' butler, at whose house they were both being entertained, to kill Antipater[g] by poisoning; and having

[d] "Procurator of all Syria," according to *B.J.* Otto, *Herodes*, p. 22, doubts this latter appointment in view of the chronology (*cf.* § 277 note *g*), and because it is contradicted by a statement in Appian, *Bell. Civ.* iv. 63, that Cassius entrusted Syria to his nephew, who is not named, see below, § 295 note *g*. Momigliano, *Ricerche*, pp. 219 f., notes these difficulties, but suggests that Herod held two different posts at different times. More probably *Ant.* is a correction of *B.J.*

[e] Ships are not mentioned in *B.J.*

[f] That is, Octavian, the later Augustus, *cf.* § 301 note *f*.

[g] Lit. "the man"; whether τὸν ἄνδρα is merely neutral here or has favourable connotation ("worthy," as sometimes in Josephus) is difficult to tell. Below, in § 283, applied to Malichus, it means "the fellow" (although the English context there requires the translation "man").

282 εὐτρέπιζε τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν. γνόντων δὲ τὴν
ἐπιβουλὴν τὴν κατὰ τοῦ πατρὸς Ἡρώδου καὶ
Φασαήλου καὶ χαλεπῶς ἐχόντων, ἠρνεῖτο πάλιν ὁ
283 Μάλιχος καὶ ἔξαρνος ἦν τοῦ φόνου. καὶ Ἀντί-
πατρος μὲν εὐσεβείᾳ τε καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ διενεγκὼν
καὶ τῇ περὶ τὴν πατρίδα σπουδῇ, τοῦτον ἐτε-
λεύτησε τὸν τρόπον. τῶν δὲ παίδων αὐτοῦ Ἡρώ-
δης μὲν εὐθὺς ἔγνω τιμωρεῖν τῷ πατρὶ μετὰ
στρατιᾶς ἐπὶ Μάλιχον ἐλθών, Φασαήλῳ δὲ τῷ
πρεσβυτέρῳ δόλῳ μᾶλλον ἐδόκει περιγίνεσθαι
τἀνδρός, μὴ πολέμου κατάρχειν νομισθῶσιν ἐμ-
284 φυλίου. τήν τε οὖν ἀπολογίαν τὴν Μαλίχου προσ-
δέχεται, καὶ πιστεύειν ὑποκρίνεται μηδὲν αὐτὸν
περὶ τὸν Ἀντιπάτρου κακουργῆσαι θάνατον, τάφον
τε ἐκόσμει τῷ πατρί. καὶ παραγενόμενος Ἡρώδης
εἰς Σαμάρειαν καὶ καταλαβὼν αὐτὴν κεκακωμένην
ἀνεκτᾶτο καὶ τὰ νείκη διέλυε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.
285 (5) Μετ' οὐ πολὺ δ' ἐνστάσης τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσο-
λύμοις ἑορτῆς παραγίνεται σὺν τοῖς στρατιώταις εἰς
τὴν πόλιν, καὶ δείσας ὁ Μάλιχος ἔπειθεν[1] Ὑρκανὸν
μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτῷ εἰσιέναι. καὶ πείθεται μὲν[2]
Ὑρκανός, προβέβλητο δὲ αἰτίαν τῆς ἀποκωλύσεως
τὸ μὴ δεῖν ὄχλον ἀλλοδαπὸν ἁγνεύοντος εἰσδέχε-
286 σθαι τοῦ πλήθους. ὀλίγον δὲ φροντίσας Ἡρώδης

[1] ἀνέπεισεν PE: ἔπεισεν V.
[2] πείθεται μὲν οὖν FLAM.

[a] In *B.J.* Josephus characterizes Antipater as " a man of great energy in the conduct of affairs, especially in recovering and preserving the kingdom for Hyrcanus." Here, if

soldiers there, he restored order in the city. But to Herod and Phasael, who, on learning of the plot against their father, were incensed, Malichus again denied any part in it and professed to have no knowledge of the murder. This was the manner in which Antipater died, a man distinguished for piety, justice and devotion to his country.[a] But while one of his sons, Herod, resolved to avenge his father at once by leading his army against Malichus, the elder son Phasael thought it better to get their man by cunning lest it should be thought that they were beginning a civil war. He[b] therefore accepted Malichus' defence and pretended to believe that he had done nothing criminal in connexion with Antipater's death; he then arranged the burial of his father. As for Herod, he came to Samaria and finding it in a sorry condition, repaired the damage, and put an end to the quarrels among its people.

(5) Not long afterwards, when the festival[c] took place at Jerusalem, he came to the city with his soldiers, and Malichus in fear sought to persuade Hyrcanus not to permit him to enter. Hyrcanus let himself be so persuaded, and gave the pretext for keeping him out that it was not proper to admit a crowd of foreigners when the people were in a state of ritual purity. But Herod paid little attention to

Herod enters Jerusalem in defiance of Hyrcanus and Malichus.

anywhere, one would expect a considerably less favourable estimate in *Ant.* if Laqueur's theory of the anti-Herodian revision of *B.J.* in *Ant.* is correct. But, on the contrary, *Ant.* is more favourable than *B.J.* It is significant that Laqueur passes over this difficulty in silence.

[b] Apparently Phasael is meant, but possibly, as in *B.J.*, it is Herod who accepts Malichus' defence and buries Antipater.

[c] The festival of Tabernacles (Oct. 43 B.C.) is probably meant, *cf.* *Ant.* xiii. 372 note *d*.

τῶν ἀγγέλων[1] νύκτωρ εἴσεισιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ
φοβερὸς μὲν ἦν τῷ Μαλίχῳ, ὁ δ' οὐκ ἀνίει
τὴν ὑπόκρισιν, ἀλλ' ἐδάκρυε τὸν Ἀντίπατρον καὶ
ἀνεκαλεῖτο φανερῶς ὡς φίλος,[2] κρύφα δὲ φυλακὴν
287 τοῦ σώματος ἐποιεῖτο. ἔδοξε δὲ καὶ τοῖς περὶ
Ἡρώδην μὴ ἀπελέγχειν αὐτοῦ τὴν προσποίησιν,
ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ἀνύποπτον ἀντιφιλοφρονεῖ-
σθαι τὸν Μάλιχον.

288 (6) Κασσίῳ μέντοι περὶ τῆς τελευτῆς τοῦ πατρὸς
Ἡρώδης ἐπέστελλε,[3] κἀκεῖνος εἰδὼς οἷος εἴη τὸν
τρόπον Μάλιχος, ἀντεπιστέλλει τιμωρεῖν τῷ πατρί,
καὶ λάθρα διαπέμπει πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Τύρῳ χιλι-
άρχους, κελεύων αὐτοὺς συμπράττειν Ἡρώδῃ δίκαια
289 μέλλοντι πράξειν. ὡς δὲ Λαοδίκειαν ᾑρηκότος
Κασσίου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπῄεσαν κοινῇ στεφάνους τε
αὐτῷ καὶ χρήματα κομίζοντες, Ἡρώδης μὲν προσ-
εδόκα δώσειν τὸν Μάλιχον τιμωρίαν ἐκεῖ γενό-
290 μενον, ὁ δὲ περὶ Τύρον τῆς Φοινίκης ὑπιδόμενος[4]
τὸ πρᾶγμα μειζόνων ἐφήπτετο,[5] καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς
αὐτῷ ὁμηρεύοντος ἐν Τύρῳ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν
ἔγνω τοῦτόν τε ὑπεκκλέψαι καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν
ἀπαίρειν, σπεύδοντός τε ἐπ' Ἀντώνιον Κασσίου
τὸ ἔθνος ἀποστήσας αὐτὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν κατέχειν.[6]
291 τοῖς δὲ βεβουλευμένοις ὅ τε δαίμων ἀντέπραξε,

[1] praecepta Lat.: ἀγνειῶν coni. Niese.
[2] φίλον Lat. Zonaras.
[3] ἐπέσταλκε FLAMV: ἐπέστειλε E.
[4] Dindorf: ὑπειδόμενος codd. E. [5] ἥπτετο FLAM.
[6] καθέξειν FLAMV: κατασχεῖν E: ἀποστῆσαι . . . καθέξων Naber.

his messengers,[a] and entered the city by night, to the terror of Malichus, who, however, did not give up his assumption of innocence but wept for Antipater and ostensibly mourned his memory as a friend; nevertheless he secretly provided himself with a bodyguard.[b] But Herod and his friends still thought it best not to unmask his pretence; on the contrary, they, in turn, treated Malichus with friendliness in order to avoid suspicion.

(6) However Herod wrote to Cassius about the death of his father, and he, knowing what kind of man Malichus was,[c] wrote in reply that he should avenge his father, and he secretly sent to the military tribunes at Tyre, ordering them to assist Herod in his plan to carry out justice. Now when Cassius had taken Laodicea,[d] and they presented themselves officially, bringing him crowns and money, Herod expected that Malichus would meet his punishment on coming there. He, however, being near Tyre in Phoenicia, suspected what was being done, and played for greater stakes; and as his son was a hostage in Tyre, he came to the city, determined to steal him away and depart for Judaea and then, when Cassius was marching in haste against Antony,[e] to cause the nation to revolt, and seize power for himself. These plans, however, were opposed by

Cassius authorizes Herod to kill Malichus for the murder of Antipater.

[a] Variant, conjectured from Latin, "to the laws of purity."

[b] This detail is not given in *B.J.*

[c] *Cf. B.J.* i. 230, "Cassius, who had other grounds for hating Malichus"; the reference is to Malichus' attempt to stir up a revolt in Judaea, *cf.* § 279.

[d] After besieging Dolabella, who surrendered and committed suicide *c.* June, 43 B.C., *cf.* Münzer in *PW* iv. 1308.

[e] Cassius did not leave Syria until early in 42 B.C. The events here referred to took place in the latter half of 43 B.C.

καὶ δεινὸς ὢν Ἡρώδης τὴν προαίρεσιν αὐτοῦ κατανοῆσαι,[1] ὃς[2] προεισπέμψας θεράποντα τῷ μὲν δοκεῖν ἐπὶ δείπνου παρασκευήν (καὶ γὰρ ἑστιάσειν αὐτοὺς ἅπαντας προειρήκει) ταῖς δὲ ἀληθείαις πρὸς τοὺς χιλιάρχους, ἐξελθεῖν ἐπὶ Μάλιχον πείθει
292 μετὰ ξιφιδίων. οἱ δ' ἐξελθόντες[3] καὶ πλησίον τῆς πόλεως αὐτῷ περιτυχόντες ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ κατακεντοῦσι τὸν ἄνδρα. Ὑρκανὸς μὲν οὖν ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως τοῦ γεγονότος εἰς ἀφωνίαν ἐτράπη, μόλις δὲ ἀνενεγκὼν ἐπυνθάνετο τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην, ὅ τί ποτ' εἴη τὸ γεγενημένον καὶ τίς
293 ὁ Μάλιχον ἀνῃρηκώς; εἰπόντων δὲ Κάσσιον τοῦτο προστάξαι, ἐπῄνεσε τὸ ἔργον, πονηρὸν γὰρ εἶναι πάνυ καὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἐπίβουλον. καὶ Μάλιχος μὲν ταύτην ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰς Ἀντίπατρον παρανομίας δίκην ἐξέτισεν.

294 (7) Κασσίου δ' ἐκ Συρίας ἀπάραντος ταραχὴ γίνεται κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν· Ἕλιξ[4] γὰρ ὑπολειφθεὶς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις μετὰ στρατιᾶς ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ Φα-
295 σάηλον ὅ τε δῆμος ἔνοπλος[5] ἦν. Ἡρώδης δὲ παρὰ Φάβιον ἐπορεύετο ἐν Δαμασκῷ στρατηγοῦντα, καὶ

[1] P: κατανοήσας rell. E.
[2] ὃς P: om. rell.
[3] ἐπεξελθόντες P.
[4] Φῆλιξ ex Lat. coni. Richards et Shutt.
[5] ἐν ὅπλοις FLAMV.

[a] Lit. "daimon"; *B.J.* i. 233 has "Destiny" (τὸ χρεών). Schlatter, *Theol. Jos.*, p. 35, remarks that Josephus uses τὸ δαιμόνιον as equivalent to τὸ θεῖον.

[b] *B.J.* has merely, "invited him (Malichus) and Hyrcanus to dinner."

[c] In *B.J.* Hyrcanus says more concretely, "Cassius has saved both me and my country by destroying one who conspired against both." Josephus there adds, "Whether he

a heavenly power[a] and by Herod, who was clever enough to perceive his intention, and sent ahead his servant, ostensibly to prepare a dinner—for he had earlier spoken of entertaining them all[b]—but in reality to go to the military tribunes, whom he persuaded to come out against Malichus with their daggers ready. So they came out, and meeting him near the city on the seashore, stabbed him to death. Hyrcanus was struck speechless with amazement at what had been done, and on recovering with some difficulty, inquired of Herod's men what this act might mean and who had had Malichus slain. But when they said that Cassius had ordered this, he commended the deed, saying that Malichus was a very bad man and a conspirator against his country.[c] Such, then, was the penalty which Malichus paid for his lawless act against Antipater.

Disturbances in Judaea after the departure of Cassius.

(7) But when Cassius left Syria,[d] disturbances arose in Judaea. For Helix,[e] who had been left behind with an army in Jerusalem,[f] marched against Phasael, and the citizens took up arms. Now Herod was on his way to Fabius, who was governor at Damascus,[g]

expressed his real opinion or from fear acquiesced in the deed, was uncertain."

[d] See above, § 290 note *e*. [e] Lat. "Felix."

[f] By Hyrcanus, probably, on his leaving for Tyre, as Reinach suggests.

[g] Reinach queries whether this Fabius may not have been the nephew left by Cassius in Syria, whose name is not given by Appian, *Bell. Civ.* iv. 63 (*cf.* § 280 note *d*). Schürer, however, citing Noris, *Cenotaphia Pisana*, 1681, p. 280, suggests that the nephew was Lucius Cassius, later killed at Philippi, according to Appian, *Bell. Civ.* iv. 135. If this is true, Fabius must have been the governor appointed to succeed Cassius' nephew, probably early in 42 B.C.

βουλόμενος προσδραμεῖν πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὑπὸ νόσου κωλύεται, ἕως οὗ Φασάηλος δι' αὐτοῦ[1] κρείττων Ἕλικος γενόμενος κατακλείει μὲν αὐτὸν εἰς πύργον, εἶτα δὲ ὑπόσπονδον ἀφίησι, τόν τε Ὑρκανὸν ἐμέμφετο ὡς[2] πολλὰ μὲν εὖ παθόντα ὑπ'
296 αὐτῶν συμπράττοντα δὲ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς. ὁ γὰρ ἀδελφὸς Μαλίχου τότε ἀποστήσας οὐκ ὀλίγα χωρία ἐφρούρει καὶ Μάσαδαν τὸ πάντων ἐρυμνότατον. ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦτον[3] ῥαΐσας Ἡρώδης ἐκ τῆς νόσου παραγίνεται, καὶ ἀφελόμενος αὐτὸν πάντα ὅσα εἶχε χωρία ὑπόσπονδον ἀπέλυσεν.

297 (xii. 1) Ἀντίγονον δὲ τὸν Ἀριστοβούλου, στρατιὰν ἀθροίσαντα καὶ Φάβιον τεθεραπευκότα χρήμασι, κατῆγε Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Μενναίου διὰ τὸ κήδευμα. συνεμάχει δ' αὐτῷ καὶ Μαρίων, ὃν Τυρίων καταλελοίπει Κάσσιος τύραννον. τυραννίσι[4] γὰρ διαλαβὼν τὴν Συρίαν οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐφρούρησεν.
298 ὁ δὲ Μαρίων καὶ εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ὅμορον οὖσαν ἐνέβαλε, καὶ τρία καταλαβὼν ἐρύματα διὰ φρουρᾶς εἶχεν. ἐλθὼν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτον Ἡρώδης ἅπαντα μὲν αὐτὸν ἀφείλετο, τοὺς δὲ Τυρίων φρουροὺς φιλανθρώπως ἀπέλυσεν, ἔστιν οἷς καὶ δωρεὰς δοὺς
299 διὰ τὸ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν εὔνουν. ταῦτα διαπραξά-

[1] Naber: αὐτοῦ codd.
[2] ed. pr.: καὶ V: om. rell.
[3] οὖν τοῦτον] τούτων PE.
[4] τυραννίδι FLAMV Lat.

[a] Modern *Sebbé* on the E. shore of the Dead Sea; see the full description of the Hasmonaean and Herodian fortresses in *B.J.* vii. 280 ff., and A. Schulten (*et al.*), *Die Burg des Herodes*, 1933.

[b] Ptolemy, ruler of Chalcis in Lebanon, had married Alexandra, the sister of Antigonus, a few years earlier, see above, § 126.

but although he wished to rush to his brother's side, was prevented by illness; finally Phasael by his own efforts got the better of Helix and shut him up in a tower, but later let him go under a truce: he also reproached Hyrcanus for acting with his foes although he had received many kindnesses from him. For Malichus' brother, having stirred up a revolt, was then guarding a good many fortresses, including Masada,[a] the strongest of all. Accordingly when Herod had recovered from his illness, he came against him and took from him all the fortresses he held, after which he released him under a truce.

(xii. 1) But Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, who had collected an army and sought the favour of Fabius with bribes, was brought back to his country by Ptolemy, the son of Mennaeus, because of their kinship.[b] He was also aided by Marion, whom Cassius had left as prince[c] of Tyre, for that worthy on occupying Syria had controlled it through small principalities.[d] Marion therefore invaded Galilee, which lay on his borders, and captured three strongholds, in which he placed garrisons. But Herod came against him also and took from him all these places[e]; the Tyrian garrison, however, he considerately released, and even gave gifts to some of them out of goodwill to their city.[f] After achieving these things,

Herod defeats Antigonus.

[c] On this meaning of *τύραννος* see *Ant.* xiii. 235 note *a*.

[d] Variant "through tyranny"; the reading here adopted is supported by *B.J.* i. 239.

[e] From the decree of Antony cited below, §§ 314 ff., it appears that Herod was not entirely successful in expelling the Tyrians from Jewish territory.

[f] *B.J.* i. 238 says more frankly, "to procure for himself the favour of the citizens, and for the prince (Marion) their hatred."

μενος ὑπήντησεν Ἀντιγόνῳ, καὶ μάχην αὐτῷ συνάψας νικᾷ καὶ ὅσον οὔπω τῶν ἄκρων ἐπιβάντα τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐξέωσεν. εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα δὲ παραγενόμενον στεφάνοις ἀνέδουν Ὑρκανός τε καὶ ὁ
300 δῆμος. ἐγεγάμβρευτο[1] δὲ ἤδη καθ' ὁμολογίαν τῷ Ὑρκανοῦ γένει, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ προειστήκει, μέλλων ἄγεσθαι τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλου θυγατέρα Ὑρκανοῦ δὲ θυγατριδῆν, ἐξ ἧς πατὴρ γίνεται τριῶν μὲν ἀρρένων δύο δὲ θηλειῶν. ἦκτο δὲ καὶ πρότερον γυναῖκα δημότιν Δῶριν ὄνομα ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους, ἐξ ἧς αὐτῷ πρεσβύτατος γίνεται παῖς Ἀντίπατρος.

301 (2) Κάσσιον μὲν οὖν χειροῦνται Ἀντώνιός τε καὶ Καῖσαρ περὶ Φιλίππους, ὡς καὶ παρ' ἄλλοις δεδήλωται.[2] μετὰ δὲ τὴν νίκην Καῖσαρ μὲν ἐπ' Ἰταλίας[3] ἐχώρει, Ἀντώνιος δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀπῆρε· γενομένῳ δὲ ἐν τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ αἱ πανταχόθεν
302 ἀπήντων πρεσβεῖαι. παρῆσαν δὲ καὶ Ἰουδαίων οἱ ἐν τέλει, κατηγοροῦντες τῶν περὶ Φασάηλον καὶ

[1] ἐπεγαμβρεύετο AMF.
[2] ὡς . . . δεδήλωται om. VE.
[3] Ἰταλίας ex Lat. et B.J. coni. Aldrich: Γαλλίας codd. E.

[a] *B.J.* is also vague about the site of the battle.
[b] *Cf. B.J.* i. 240, "he returned to Jerusalem, where his success won him all men's hearts."
[c] This was Mariamme, who is named at this point in *B.J.*, which inaccurately speaks of Herod's marriage (ἐπιγαμίαν) to her. The marriage did not take place until some five years later, see below, § 467 (parallel with *B.J.* i. 344).
[d] The three sons were Alexander, Aristobulus (III), and one who died in infancy; the two daughters were Salampsio and Cypros, *cf. B.J.* i. 435, 566 and *Ant.* xviii. 130.
[e] Perhaps we should interpret ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους as "of the (Jewish) nation," rather than of Herod's nation, the Idu-

he went to meet Antigonus, and joining battle with him, defeated him and drove him out of Judaea before he had time to penetrate further than its border.[a] And when he arrived in Jerusalem, Hyrcanus and the people wreathed his head with crowns.[b] As Herod had already become connected by an agreement of marriage with the family of Hyrcanus, he was for that reason the more protective of him; he was, in fact, about to marry the daughter of Aristobulus' son Alexander and granddaughter of Hyrcanus,[c] by whom he was to become the father of three sons and two daughters.[d] He had previously married a plebeian woman of his own nation,[e] named Doris, by whom he had his eldest son Antipater.

(2) Meanwhile Cassius was conquered by Antony and Caesar[f] at Philippi,[g] as has been related by others.[h] And after their victory Caesar proceeded to Italy,[i] while Antony departed for Asia[j]; when he came to Bithynia, he was met by embassies from all parts. Also present were the leading Jews, who brought accusations against Phasael and Herod to

M. Antony in Asia shows favour to Herod and Hyrcanus.

maean. In *B.J.* i. 241 Doris is said to be a "distinguished native" (τῶν ἐπιχωρίων οὐκ ἄσημον), and in 432 she is called "a native of Jerusalem" (γένος ἦν ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων). The latter statement is suspected by Otto, *Herodes*, p. 23 note.

[f] The young Gnaeus Octavius was officially recognized as Julius Caesar's heir in August 43 B.C. under the name of Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus. Later, in 27 B.C., he adopted the surname (or epithet) Augustus.

[g] In Macedonia, October 42 B.C.

[h] The variant omits the last clause.

[i] "Italy" is conjectured from Lat. and *B.J.* for MSS. "Gaul." The former is historically correct.

[j] Antony was in Asia Minor in the spring of 41 B.C. On his activity there see Plutarch, *Ant.* 24, Appian, *Bell. Civ.* v. 4 and Dio Cassius xlviii. 24.

Ἡρώδην, πρόσχημα μὲν εἶναι λέγοντες τῆς βασιλείας Ὑρκανόν, τούτους δὲ τὴν πᾶσαν ἔχειν
303 ἐξουσίαν. Ἡρώδην δὲ Ἀντώνιος διὰ πολλῆς εἶχε τιμῆς, ἐλθόντα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ἀπολογίᾳ τῶν κατηγορούντων, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο συνέβη μηδὲ λόγου τυχεῖν τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτας· διεπέπρακτο δὲ τοῦτο
304 χρήμασιν Ἡρώδης παρ' Ἀντωνίου. ἐπεὶ δ' εἰς Ἔφεσον ἧκεν Ἀντώνιος, ἔπεμψεν Ὑρκανὸς ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ τὸ ἔθνος τὸ ἡμέτερον πρεσβείαν πρὸς αὐτόν, στέφανόν τε κομίζουσαν χρυσοῦν καὶ παρακαλοῦσαν τοὺς αἰχμαλωτισθέντας ὑπὸ Κασσίου Ἰουδαίους οὐ νόμῳ πολέμου, γράψαντα τοῖς κατὰ τὰς ἐπαρχίας, ἐλευθέρους ἀπολῦσαι, καὶ τὴν χώραν ἣν ἐν τοῖς Κασσίου καιροῖς ἀφηρέθησαν, ἀποδοῦναι.
305 ταῦτα κρίνας Ἀντώνιος δίκαια τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀξιοῦν, παραχρῆμα ἔγραψεν Ὑρκανῷ καὶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, ἐπέστειλε δὲ ἅμα[1] καὶ τοῖς[2] Τυρίοις[3] διάταγμα[4] περιέχον[5] ταὐτά.[6]

306 (3) "Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος αὐτοκράτωρ Ὑρκανῷ ἀρχιερεῖ καὶ ἐθνάρχῃ καὶ τῷ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνει[7] χαίρειν. εἰ ἔρρωσθε, εὖ ἂν ἔχοι, ἔρρωμαι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς
307 μετὰ τοῦ στρατεύματος. Λυσίμαχος Παυσανίου καὶ Ἰώσηπος Μενναίου καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος Θεοδώρου πρεσβευταὶ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ μοι συντυχόντες τήν τε

[1] ἅμα om. P. [2] τοῖς P: om. rell.
[3] + καὶ P. [4] + ἔπεμπε P.
[5] διατάγματα περιέχοντα coni. Richards et Shutt.
[6] coni. Hudson: ταῦτα codd.
[7] καὶ τῷ Ἰ. ἔθνει P: (τῶν) Ἰουδαίων rell. Lat.

[a] This detail is not mentioned at this point in *B.J.* On Antony's friendship with Herod's father, who had been his host more than a decade earlier, see § 326 (parallel with *B.J.* i. 244).

the effect that while Hyrcanus had the outward appearance of sovereignty, it was they who had all the power. But Herod, who was held in great honour by Antony,[a] came to him to defend himself against his accusers, and in this way his adversaries did not even get a chance to speak, for this service had been obtained by Herod from Antony with money. And [b] when Antony came to Ephesus, the high priest Hyrcanus and our nation sent an embassy to him, bringing a golden crown and requesting that he would write to the provincial governors to set free those Jews who had been taken captive by Cassius in violation of the laws of war, and restore to them the territory of which they had been deprived in the time of Cassius.[c] These demands Antony decided the Jews were justified in making, and so he immediately wrote to Hyrcanus and the Jews. He also sent to the Tyrians a decree [d] to the same effect.[e]

M. Antony's letter to Hyrcanus and the Jews, granting them privileges in Tyre.

(3) [f] "Marcus Antonius, Imperator, to Hyrcanus, high priest and ethnarch, and to the Jewish nation,[g] greeting. If you are in good health, it is well. I also am in good health, as is the army. The envoys Lysimachus, son of Pausanias, Josephus, son of Mennaeus, and Alexander, son of Theodorus,[h] who met me at Ephesus, have renewed the mission pre-

[b] §§ 304-323 have no parallel in *B.J.*

[c] See above, § 297.

[d] Two decrees are cited, §§ 314 ff., 319 ff.

[e] Conjectured for MSS. "containing these things."

[f] For a brief discussion of the following decrees see works listed in Appendix J.

[g] So MS. P; the rest have, "to Hyrcanus, high priest and ethnarch of the Jews."

[h] Two of these men, Lysimachus and Alexander, are mentioned above in § 219 as envoys sent to Rome by Hyrcanus.

ἔμπροσθεν ἐν Ῥώμῃ τελεσθεῖσαν αὐτοῖς πρεσβείαν
ἀνενεώσαντο, καὶ τὴν νῦν ὑπὲρ σοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἔθνους
σπουδαίως διέθεντο, ἣν ἔχεις εὔνοιαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς
308 ἐμφανίσαντες. πεπεισμένος οὖν καὶ ἐκ τῶν πραγ-
μάτων καὶ ἐκ τῶν λόγων ὅτι οἰκειότατα[1] ἔχετε
πρὸς ἡμᾶς, καὶ τὸ ἀραρὸς ὑμῶν ἦθος καὶ θεοσεβὲς
309 κατανοήσας, ἴδιον ἥγημαι[2]· καταδραμόντων δὲ τὴν
Ἀσίαν ἅπασαν τῶν ἐναντιωθέντων ἡμῖν τε καὶ τῷ
δήμῳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, καὶ μήτε πόλεων[3] μήτε
ἱερῶν[4] ἀποσχομένων μήτε ὅρκους οὓς ἐποιήσαντο
φυλαξάντων, ἡμεῖς ὡς οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἰδίου μόνον ἀγῶ-
νος, ἀλλ' ὡς ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων κοινοῦ, τοὺς αἰτίους
καὶ τῶν εἰς ἀνθρώπους παρανομιῶν καὶ τῶν εἰς
θεοὺς ἀνομημάτων[5] ἠμυνάμεθα, δι' ἃ καὶ τὸν ἥλιον
ἀπεστράφθαι δοκοῦμεν, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς ἀηδῶς ἐπεῖδε
310 τὸ ἐπὶ Καίσαρι μύσος. ἀλλὰ τὰς ἐπιβουλὰς αὐτῶν
τὰς θεομάχους, ἃς ὑπεδέξατο ἡ Μακεδονία καθάπερ
ἴδιος αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀνοσίων τολμημάτων ἀήρ, καὶ
τὴν σύγχυσιν τῆς ἡμιμανοῦς κακοηθείας ἣν κατὰ
Φιλίππους τῆς Μακεδονίας συνεκρότουν,[6] τόπους[7]
εὐφυεῖς καταλαμβανόμενοι μέχρι θαλάσσης ἀπο-
τετειχισμένους ὄρεσιν, ὡς πύλῃ μιᾷ τὴν[8] πάροδον

[1] οἰκειότητα LAMW Lat.
[2] ἴδιον ἥγημαι] proprium te nobiscum esse iudicavimus Lat.: post ἥγημαι excidisse verba non pauca putat Niese.
[3] πολέμων W: ὁσίων coni. Naber.
[4] ἡρώων PFLV.
[5] ἁμαρτημάτων P.
[6] post συνεκρότουν lacunam indicat Dindorf.
[7] Bekker: καὶ τόπους codd.
[8] τὴν πᾶσαν LAMW.

[a] The text is obscure and probably incomplete. The

viously carried out by them in Rome, and have conscientiously discharged their present mission on behalf of you and the nation, making clear the goodwill you have for us. Being, therefore, persuaded by both deeds and words that you have the friendliest feelings for us, and being aware of your obliging and pious nature, I regard your interests as my own.[a] For when our adversaries and those of the Roman people overran all Asia, sparing neither cities nor temples, and disregarding the sworn agreements they had made, it was not only our own battle but that of all mankind in common that we fought when we avenged ourselves on those who were guilty both of lawless deeds against men and of unlawful acts against the gods, from which we believe the very sun turned away, as if it too were loath to look upon the foul deed against Caesar.[b] But their god-defying plots, which Macedonia received as though its climate were proper to their unholy crimes, and the confused mob of half-crazed villains whom they got together at Philippi in Macedonia, where[c] they occupied places naturally favourable and walled in by mountains as far as the sea, so that the passage[d] could be controlled through only one gate[e]—these

latter part of the sentence may have read originally, "I regard it as my own concern that you have suffered injury at the hands of Cassius" or the like.

[b] This bit of rhetoric appears to be based on a passage from a lost play of Sophocles on Thyestes or Atreus, describing the sun's behaviour when Thyestes feasted on his sons; *cf.* Seneca, *Thyestes* 775 ff. and Hyginus, *Fabulae* 88, "ad id scelus etiam sol cursum avertit."

[c] Text slightly uncertain.

[d] Variant "the entire passage."

[e] A rather different description of the site is given, in some detail, by Appian, *Bell. Civ.* iv. 105-106.

ταμιεύεσθαι,[1] τῶν θεῶν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀδίκοις
311 ἐγχειρήμασιν κατεψηφισμένων ἐκρατήσαμεν. καὶ
Βροῦτος συμφυγὼν εἰς Φιλίππους καὶ συγκλεισ-
θεὶς ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐκοινώνησε Κασσίῳ τῆς αὐτῆς
ἀπωλείας. τούτων κεκολασμένων εἰρήνης τὸ λοι-
πὸν ἀπολαύσειν[2] ἐλπίζομεν καὶ ἀναπεπαῦσθαι τὴν
312 Ἀσίαν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου. κοινὴν οὖν ποιούμεθα καὶ
τοῖς συμμάχοις τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ δοθεῖσαν ἡμῖν
εἰρήνην· ὥσπερ οὖν[3] ἐκ νόσου μεγάλης τὸ τῆς
Ἀσίας σῶμα νῦν διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν νίκην ἀναφέρει.[4]
ἔχων τοίνυν καὶ σὲ διὰ μνήμης καὶ τὸ ἔθνος αὔξειν,
313 φροντίσω τῶν ὑμῖν συμφερόντων. ἐξέθηκα δὲ καὶ
γράμματα κατὰ πόλεις, ὅπως εἴ τινες ἐλεύθεροι ἢ
δοῦλοι ὑπὸ δόρυ ἐπράθησαν ὑπὸ Γαΐου Κασσίου ἢ
τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῷ τεταγμένων ἀπολυθῶσιν οὗτοι, τοῖς
τε ὑπ' ἐμοῦ δοθεῖσιν καὶ Δολαβέλλα φιλανθρώποις[5]
χρῆσθαι ὑμᾶς βούλομαι. Τυρίους τε κωλύω βιαίους
εἶναι περὶ ὑμᾶς, καὶ ὅσα κατέχουσιν Ἰουδαίων
ταῦτα ἀποκαταστῆσαι κελεύω. τὸν δὲ στέφανον
ὃν ἔπεμψας ἐδεξάμην."
314 (4) "Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος αὐτοκράτωρ Τυρίων
ἄρχουσι βουλῇ δήμῳ χαίρειν. ἐμφανισάντων[6] μοι
ἐν Ἐφέσῳ Ὑρκανοῦ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ ἐθνάρχου
πρεσβευτῶν καὶ[7] χώραν αὐτῶν ὑμᾶς κατέχειν λε-
γόντων, εἰς ἣν ἐνέβητε κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἐναντιου-
315 μένων[8] ἡμῖν ἐπικράτειαν, ἐπεὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ[9] τῆς

[1] post *ταμιεύεσθαι* lacunam statuit Gutschmid.
[2] P: *ἀπολαύειν* rell.
[3] *ὥσπερ οὖν*] *ὡς παρὸν* coni. Gutschmid.
[4] Dindorf: *ἀναφέρειν* codd.: refovemus Lat.: *ἀναφέρεται* ed. pr.
[5] Mendelssohn: *φιλανθρώπως* codd. Lat.
[6] occurrissent Lat., unde *ὑπαντησάντων* coni. Dindorf.
[7] *καὶ* P: om. rell. Lat. vid.

plots and this mob, condemned by the gods for their unjust enterprise, we have overcome. And Brutus, who fled to Philippi and was hemmed in by us, shared the ruin of Cassius. Now that these men have been punished, we hope that henceforth we shall enjoy peace and give Asia respite from war. We are therefore ready to let our allies also participate in the peace given us by God; and so, owing to our victory, the body of Asia is now recovering, as it were, from a serious illness. Having, therefore, in mind to promote the welfare both of you and your nation, I shall take care of your interests. And I have also sent notices throughout the cities that if any persons, whether freemen or slaves, were sold at auction [a] by Gaius Cassius or by those subordinate to him, they shall be released; and it is my wish that you shall enjoy the privileges granted by me and Dolabella.[b] And I forbid the Tyrians to use violence against you, and command that they restore whatever they possess belonging to the Jews. As for the crown which you have sent, I have accepted it."

(4) "Marcus Antonius, Imperator, to the magistrates, council and people of Tyre, greeting. It has been made known to me [c] at Ephesus by the envoys of Hyrcanus, the high priest and ethnarch, that you are in possession of their territory, which you invaded during the time when our adversaries were in control [d]; and since we have undertaken a war for

M. Antony's letter to Tyre, on behalf of Jewish rights.

[a] The Greek here closely follows the Latin idiom *sub hasta venire*. [b] See above, §§ 217 ff., 224 ff.
[c] Text slightly uncertain. [d] *Cf.* §§ 297-298.

[8] ἐναντιωθέντων AMW. [9] περὶ Hudson.

ἡγεμονίας πόλεμον ἀνεδεξάμεθα καὶ τῶν εὐσεβῶν καὶ δικαίων ποιούμενοι πρόνοιαν ἠμυνάμεθα τοὺς μήτε χάριτος ἀπομνημονεύσαντας μήτε ὅρκους φυλάξαντας, βούλομαι καὶ τὴν ἀφ' ὑμῶν εἰρήνην τοῖς συμμάχοις ἡμῶν ὑπάρχειν, καὶ ὅσα παρὰ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐλάβετε ἀνταγωνιστῶν μὴ συγχωρεῖν,
316 ἀλλὰ ταῦτα ἀποδοῦναι[1] τοῖς ἀφῃρημένοις. οὔτε γὰρ ἐπαρχίας ἐκείνων οὐθεὶς οὔτε στρατόπεδα τῆς συγκλήτου δούσης ἔλαβεν, ἀλλὰ βίᾳ καθαρπάσαντες ἐχαρίσαντο βιαίως τοῖς πρὸς ἃ ἠδίκουν
317 χρησίμοις αὐτοῖς γενομένοις. δίκην οὖν αὐτῶν δεδωκότων, τούς τε συμμάχους τοὺς ἡμετέρους ὅσα ποτ' εἶχον ἀξιοῦμεν ἀκωλύτους διακατέχειν, καὶ ὑμᾶς, εἴ τινα χωρία Ὑρκανοῦ ὄντα τοῦ ἐθνάρχου Ἰουδαίων πρὸ μιᾶς ἡμέρας ἢ Γάιον Κάσσιον πόλεμον οὐ συγκεχωρημένον ἐπάγοντα ἐπιβῆναι τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἡμῶν, νῦν ἔχετε, ἀποδοῦναι αὐτῷ, βίαν τε αὐτοῖς μηδεμίαν προσφέρειν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀσθενεῖς
318 αὐτοὺς ποιεῖν τῶν ἰδίων δεσπόζειν. εἰ δέ τινα ἔχετε πρὸς αὐτὸν δικαιολογίαν, ὅταν ἔλθωμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους ἐξέσται ὑμῖν ταύτῃ χρῆσθαι, ἡμῶν ἕκαστα τοῖς συμμάχοις ὁμοίως τοῖς κρίμασιν φυλασσόντων."

319 (5) "Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος αὐτοκράτωρ Τυρίων ἄρχουσι βουλῇ δήμῳ χαίρειν. διάταγμα ἐμὸν

[1] ἀποδοθῆναι P.

the supreme power, and having in mind the cause of piety and justice, have taken vengeance on those who neither remembered kindnesses nor observed their oaths, it is my wish that our allies [a] shall have peace at your hands, and that whatever you have received from our opponents shall not be retained by you but shall be restored to those from whom it was taken. For none of these men [b] obtained his province or army by grant of the Senate, but they seized them by force, and by an act of violence presented them to those who had been useful to them in their unjust activities. And now that they have paid the penalty, we think it right that our allies shall remain in undisturbed possession of whatever they formerly owned, and also that you, if you now hold any places which belonged to Hyrcanus, the ethnarch of the Jews, as recently as one day before Gaius Cassius, waging an unlawful war, invaded our [c] province, you shall return them to him, and shall not use any force against them in order to make them incapable of managing their own possessions. And if you have any plea against him in justification, you will be permitted to make it when we come to these parts, for we preserve the rights of all our allies equally in giving judgment."

(5) "Marcus Antonius, Imperator, to the magistrates, council and people of Tyre, greeting. I have M. Antony to the Tyrians.

[a] The word "allies" (συμμάχοις) should not be taken too seriously, since Judaea was in reality a vassal state within the Roman empire.

[b] The party of Brutus and Cassius.

[c] For ἡμῶν "our" Reinach suggests ὑμῶν "your," on the ground that Syria had never been assigned to Antony as a province. But "our" may refer to the Caesarian party, represented in this case by Dolabella, see above, § 289 note *d*.

ἀπέσταλκα πρὸς ὑμᾶς, περὶ οὗ βούλομαι ὑμᾶς φροντίσαι, ἵνα αὐτὸ εἰς τὰς δημοσίας ἐντάξητε δέλτους γράμμασι Ῥωμαϊκοῖς καὶ Ἑλληνικοῖς καὶ ἐν τῷ[1] ἐπιφανεστάτῳ ἔχητε αὐτὸ γεγραμμένον,
320 ὅπως ὑπὸ πάντων ἀναγινώσκεσθαι δύνηται. ' Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος αὐτοκράτωρ τριῶν[2] ἀνδρῶν καταστάντων περὶ τῶν δημοσίων πραγμάτων εἶπεν· ἐπεὶ Γάιος Κάσσιος ταύτῃ τῇ ἀποστάσει[3] ἀλλοτρίαν ἐπαρχίαν κατεχομένην ὑπὸ στρατοπέδων[4] καὶ συμμάχους ὄντας διήρπασε, καὶ ἐξεπολιόρκησε τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος, φίλον ὑπάρχον τοῦ Ῥωμαίων
321 δήμου, τὴν ἀπόνοιαν τὴν ἐκείνου τοῖς ὅπλοις κρατήσαντες διατάγμασιν καὶ κρίμασιν ἐπανορθούμεθα τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διηρπασμένα, ὥστε ἀποκατασταθῆναι ταῦτα τοῖς συμμάχοις ἡμῶν· καὶ ὅσα ἐπράθη Ἰουδαίων ἤτοι σώματα[5] ἢ κτῆσις,[6] ταῦτα ἀφεθήτω, τὰ μὲν σώματα ἐλεύθερα εἶναι,[7] ὡς ἦν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ἡ δὲ κτῆσις τοῖς πρότερον κυρίοις.
322 τὸν δ' οὐχ ὑπακούσαντα τῷ ἐμῷ διατάγματι δίκην συστήσασθαι βούλομαι, κἂν ἁλῷ τότε κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πράγματος ἀξίαν μελήσει μοι ἐπεξελθεῖν[8] τὸν οὐχ ὑπακούσαντα.' "
323 (6) Τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ Σιδωνίοις καὶ Ἀντιοχεῦσιν καὶ Ἀραδίοις[9] ἔγραψεν. παρεθέμεθα μὲν οὖν καὶ ταῦτα εὐκαίρως, τεκμήρια γενησόμενα ἧς φαμὲν Ῥωμαίους ποιήσασθαι προνοίας ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἡμετέρου ἔθνους.

[1] τόπῳ coni. Gutschmid.
[2] PF Lat.: τυρίων LVW: om. AM.
[3] Hudson: ὑποστάσει codd.
[4] στρατοπέδῳ FLAMW Lat.: hic lacunam statuit Niese.
[5] + Ἰουδαίων P.
[6] κτήσεις AMW.
[7] εἶναι om. PFV.
[8] P: ὑπεξελθεῖν rell.

sent you my edict, and it is my wish that you take care to register it in the public tablets in Latin and Greek characters, and, when it is written, keep it in the most conspicuous place in order that it may be read by all. 'Statement of Marcus Antonius, Imperator, one of the triumvirs appointed to govern the republic.[a] Whereas Gaius Cassius in the late rebellion[b] seized a province which did not belong to him, and after occupying it with armed forces, plundered it and our allies,[c] and forced the surrender of the Jewish nation, which was a friend of the Roman people, we, therefore, having overcome his madness by our arms, do establish order by our edicts and decisions in the territories plundered by him, so that they may be restored to our allies. And whatever was sold belonging to the Jews, whether persons or possessions, shall be released, the slaves to be free, as they were originally, and the possessions to be returned to their former owners. And it is my wish that whoever disobeys my edict shall be brought to trial, and if such a person is convicted, it shall be my concern to prosecute the offender in accordance with the seriousness of his act.' "

(6) In the same way he also wrote to the people of Sidon, Antioch and Aradus.[d] Now we have cited these documents in a suitable place, for they will be proofs of our statements concerning the thoughtfulness which the Romans showed for our nation. Letters to Sidon, Antioch and Aradus.

[a] Here the Greek translates the Latin formula *triumviratus rei publicae constituendae* (this passage is not noted by Magie, p. 100). [b] Text slightly emended.
[c] Text slightly uncertain, perhaps incomplete.
[d] The variant "the Arabs" is a scribal error.

[9] Ἀραβίοις F corr. AMV: Ἀβίοις W.

324 (xiii. 1) Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἰς Συρίαν Ἀντωνίου παραγενομένου, Κλεοπάτρα περὶ Κιλικίαν ἐντυχοῦσα δι' ἔρωτος αὐτὸν ἐκεχείρωτο. καὶ δὴ πάλιν Ἰουδαίων ἑκατὸν οἱ δυνατώτατοι παραγίνονται πρὸς αὐτόν, κατηγοροῦντες Ἡρώδου καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτόν, προστησάμενοι σφῶν αὐτῶν τοὺς[1]
325 δεινοτάτους λέγειν.[2] ἀντέλεγεν δ' αὐτοῖς Μεσσάλας ὑπὲρ τῶν νεανίσκων, παρόντος καὶ Ὑρκανοῦ, ὃς κηδεστὴς[3] ἐτύγχανεν ἤδη γενόμενος. ἀκροασάμενος δὲ ἀμφοτέρων Ἀντώνιος ἐπὶ Δάφνης, πυνθάνεται Ὑρκανοῦ πότεροι τοῦ ἔθνους ἄμεινον προ-
326 ΐστανται· φήσαντος δὲ τοὺς περὶ Ἡρώδην, Ἀντώνιος καὶ πάλαι οἰκείως ἔχων πρὸς αὐτοὺς διὰ τὴν πατρῴαν ξενίαν, ἣν ἡνίκα σὺν Γαβινίῳ παρῆν ἐπεποίητο πρὸς τὸν πατέρα αὐτῶν, τούτους μὲν ἀμφοτέρους τετράρχας καθίστησι, καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέπει πράγματα, γράφει δὲ καὶ γράμματα[4] καὶ πεντεκαίδεκα[5] τῶν ἀντιστα-

[1] αὐτῶν τοὺς VE: αὐτῶν P: τοὺς rell.
[2] προστησάμενοι . . . λέγειν om. Lat.
[3] ὃς κηδεστὴς] κηδεστὴς γὰρ FLAMW.
[4] γράφει . . . γράμματα om. Lat.: post γράμματα quaedam deesse putat Niese.
[5] καὶ πεντεκαίδεκα (ιε') V: δέκα (om. γράμματα πεντεκαι.) P: καὶ δέκα E: πεντεκαίδεκα δὲ rell. Lat.

[a] At this point is resumed the parallelism with *B.J.*; §§ 324-354 are parallel with *B.J.* i. 245-263.

[b] In the late summer of 41 B.C. Antony had summoned her to answer a charge (not founded in fact) of aiding Cassius. It was on this occasion that Cleopatra, adorned as Aphrodite,

(xiii. 1) [a] When Antony afterwards came to Syria, Cleopatra met him in Cilicia [b] and made him a captive of love. And once again [c] a hundred of the most influential Jews came before him to accuse Herod and his friends,[d] putting forward their most skilful speakers. But Messala [e] spoke against them on behalf of the young men in the presence of Hyrcanus, who had by then become Herod's kinsman by marriage.[f] And when Antony had listened to both sides at Daphne [g] and inquired of Hyrcanus which were the better leaders of the nation, he replied, "Herod and his people," whereupon Antony, who had from of old been friendly with them because of the hospitable relations which he had formed with their father when he was with Gabinius,[h] appointed both Herod and Phasael tetrarchs,[i] and entrusted to them the government of the Jews; he also wrote letters (to this effect), and put in chains fifteen of their adversaries,[j]

Antony at Daphne favours Herod.

sailed up the Cydnus river in a golden barge, *cf.* Plutarch, *Ant.* 26.

[c] See above, § 302.

[d] *B.J.* "accused the brothers" (Herod and Phasael).

[e] M. Valerius Messala Corvinus; see Dr. Thackeray's note on *B.J.* i. 243.

[f] Herod was still only the betrothed, not the husband of Hyrcanus' granddaughter Mariamme, *cf.* § 300 note *c*.

[g] A suburb of Antioch, as *B.J.* explains.

[h] *Cf.* §§ 84-86.

[i] This (with the parallel *B.J.* i. 244) is the first occurrence in Josephus of this title, so well known from the New Testament in connexion with the later Herodians. Whatever the official position of Herod and Phasael as tetrarchs (see works listed in Appendix L), it is likely that the Romans still regarded Hyrcanus, the ethnarch, as nominally head of the state.

[j] Variant "of the rebels." These fifteen were of the influential Jewish spokesmen mentioned above, as *B.J.* makes clear.

σιαστῶν[1] ἔδησε, μέλλοντος δὲ καὶ κτείνειν αὐτοὺς παρῃτήσαντο οἱ περὶ Ἡρώδην.

327 (2) Ἠρέμουν δὲ οὐδ' οὕτως ἐπανελθόντες ἐκ τῆς πρεσβείας, ἀλλ' ἀπήντων πάλιν Ἀντωνίῳ χίλιοι εἰς Τύρον ἐκεῖ δόξαντι ἀφικέσθαι. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος πολλοῖς ἤδη διεφθαρμένος χρήμασιν ὑπό τε Ἡρώδου καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ, τῷ κατὰ τόπον ἄρχοντι προσέταξε κολάσαι τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς τῶν Ἰουδαίων, νεωτέρων ἐπιθυμοῦντας πραγμάτων, καὶ τοῖς περὶ Ἡρώδην συγκαθιστάναι τὴν ἀρχήν.

328 ταχὺ δὲ Ἡρώδης (ἵδρυντο[2] γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς ψάμμου πρὸ τῆς πόλεως) προϊὼν[3] ἀπιέναι παρεκελεύετο (συνῆν δὲ αὐτῷ[4] καὶ Ὑρκανός) ὡς μεγάλου κακοῦ

329 εἰ προέλθοιεν εἰς φιλονεικίαν ἐσομένου. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἐπείθοντο. παραχρῆμα δὲ ἐκδραμόντες Ῥωμαῖοι σὺν ἐγχειριδίοις τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν, πλείους[5] δὲ κατέτρωσαν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ διαφυγόντες ἐπ' οἴκου περιδεεῖς[6] ἡσύχαζον. τοῦ δὲ δήμου καταβοῶντος Ἡρώδου, παροξυνθεὶς Ἀντώνιος τοὺς δεδεμένους ἀπέκτεινεν.

330 (3) Δευτέρῳ δ' ἔτει Συρίαν κατέσχον Πάκορός

[1] PVE: στασιωτῶν rell.
[2] E et Lat. vid.: ἵδρυτο codd.
[3] προσιὼν AM: πρὸς Σιδῶνα P.
[4] αὐτῷ ex B.J. coni. Lowthius: αὐτοῖς codd. E.
[5] PVE Lat.: ἐνίους rell.
[6] περιδεεῖς om. P.

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[a] Herod's intercession is not mentioned in *B.J.*

[b] See above, § 303. The bribe is not mentioned a second time as here in the parallel, *B.J.* i. 245.

[c] *B.J.* "the tetrarchs."

[d] So the Epitome and Lat.: mss. "he."

but as he was about to kill them, Herod's intercession saved their lives.[a]

(2) Not even on their return from the embassy, however, did they remain quiet, but again a thousand men met Antony at Tyre, where he had decided to go. And as Antony had already been heavily bribed by Herod and his brother,[b] he ordered the local magistrate to punish the envoys of the Jews, who were bent on revolution, and to establish Herod[c] in power. But Herod hastily went out to them—for they[d] had taken up a position on the beach before the city—, and urged them, Hyrcanus being with him,[e] to go away, saying that great harm would befall them if they proceeded to a contest. But as they refused to take his advice, the Romans[f] immediately rushed upon them with their daggers and killed some and wounded a still greater number,[g] while the rest escaped to their homes and remained there in great terror without moving.[h] But when the populace cried out against Herod, Antony in a rage killed those who had been taken prisoners.

The Romans attack some of Herod's opponents.

(3) [i]Two years later[j] Syria was occupied by Pacorus,

Antigonus purchases

[e] The sing. pron. is conjectured from *B.J.* for mss. "them" (*i.e.* the deputies).

[f] At Antony's command, according to *B.J.*

[g] Variant "wounded some."

[h] *Ant.* omits the statement, in *B.J.* i. 246, that "burial for the dead and medical attention for the wounded were granted by Hyrcanus."

[i] The parallelism between §§ 330-369 and *B.J.* i. 248-273, dealing largely with the Parthians, is discussed by Laqueur, pp. 189-193.

[j] The dating seems to be from about the time of the battle of Philippi (*cf.* § 301), as the Parthians invaded Syria in 40 B.C. (spring). Olmstead, *JAOS* 56 (1936), 255 sees an allusion to the Parthian invasion in Enoch, ch. 56. For rabbinic traditions see works listed in Appendix K.

τε ὁ βασιλέως παῖς καὶ Βαρζαφράνης[1] σατράπης
ὢν Πάρθων. τελευτᾷ δὲ καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ
Μενναίου, καὶ τὴν αρχὴν ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ Λυσανίας
παραλαβὼν διαπράττεται φιλίαν πρὸς Ἀντίγονον
τὸν Ἀριστοβούλου, πρὸς τοῦτο χρήσιμον τὸν
σατράπην παραλαβών, μέγα παρ' αὐτῷ δυνάμε-
331 νον.[2] Ἀντίγονος δὲ ὑπισχνεῖτο χίλια τάλαντα καὶ
πεντακοσίας γυναῖκας δώσειν Πάρθοις, εἰ τὴν
ἀρχὴν Ὑρκανὸν ἀφελόμενοι παραδώσουσιν αὐτῷ,
332 καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην ἀνέλοιεν. οὐ μὴν
ἔδωκεν· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν Πάρθοι διὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τὴν
Ἰουδαίαν ἐστράτευσαν κατάγοντες Ἀντίγονον,[3]
Πάκορος μὲν διὰ τῆς παραθαλαττίου, ὁ δὲ σα-
333 τράπης Βαρζαφράνης διὰ τῆς μεσογείου. Τύριοι
μὲν οὖν ἀποκλείουσι Πάκορον, Σιδώνιοι δὲ καὶ
Πτολεμαεῖς ἐδέξαντο. ἴλην μέντοι Πάκορος ἱπ-
πέων εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐξέπεμψε κατασκεψομένην[4]
τε τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν καὶ Ἀντιγόνῳ συμπράξου-
σαν, ἡγεμόνα τε ὁμώνυμον τοῦ βασιλέως οἰνοχόον.
334 ἐκ δὲ[5] τῶν περὶ Κάρμηλον τὸ ὄρος Ἰουδαίων πρὸς

[1] AMW: Βαζαφράνης P: Βαρζαφαρμάνης FV: Βαρζαφραμάνης L Lat.: Βαζαφαρμάνης E Photius: Βαρζαφάρνης Hudson: sim. infra.
[2] δυνάμενον Niese: δυνάμενος codd.
[3] κατάγοντες Ἀντίγονον] deducente eos Antigono Lat.
[4] κατασκαψαμένην P: vexaturam Lat.
[5] ἐκ δὲ sqq. corrupta esse monet Niese.

[a] Orodes II (see the list of Parthian rulers in Debevoise, p. 270).
[b] Variants "Bazaphranes," "Barzapharmanes," etc.: in *B.J.* most mss. have "Barzaphranes." The Iranian original, roughly transcribed, was *Barzafarna* "exalted in glory" (*cf.* F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 65).
[c] See above, § 297.

the son of the Parthian king,[a] and Barzaphranes,[b] the Parthian satrap. At the same time Ptolemy, the son of Mennaeus, died,[c] and his son Lysanias on succeeding to his throne made a pact of friendship with Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, in which matter he found the satrap useful, for he had great influence with him.[d] And Antigonus promised to give the Parthians a thousand talents and five hundred women[e] if they would deprive Hyrcanus of power and give it over to him, and destroy Herod and his people.[f] He did not in fact give them these,[g] but nevertheless the Parthians for the sake of these rewards marched against Judaea, bringing Antigonus back to his country; Pacorus went along the sea-coast while the satrap Barzaphranes went through the interior. Now whereas the Tyrians excluded Pacorus, the people of Sidon and Ptolemais admitted him. However, Pacorus sent out a troop of cavalry to Judaea to make a reconnaissance of the country and also to co-operate with Antigonus under the command of the cupbearer of the king, who had the same name as himself.[h] And as some of the Jews near Mount support from the Parthians.

[d] Niese's slight alteration of the text (one consonant), here adopted, makes the clause mean that the satrap had great influence with Antigonus; the mss. reading means that Lysanias had great influence with the satrap.

[e] According to *B.J.* i. 248 it was Lysanias who promised the bribe to the Parthians. From this and similar discrepancies, Laqueur argues (unconvincingly) that *Ant.* shows a more intense nationalism than *B.J.* But in *B.J.* i. 257 Antigonus is cited as the one responsible for the promised bribe—a passage that Laqueur does not mention.

[f] The request for the destruction of the Herodians is not mentioned in *B.J.* Again Laqueur fails to comment.

[g] This statement too is an addition to *B.J.*

[h] *i.e.* Pacorus, as is more clearly stated in *B.J.*

Ἀντίγονον ἐλθόντων καὶ συνεισβαλεῖν ἑτοίμως ἐχόντων, προσεδόκα δι' αὐτοὺς[1] τῆς χώρας μέρος τι λαβεῖν ὁ Ἀντίγονος· δρυμοὶ δὲ τὸ χωρίον καλεῖται· καί τινων ὑπαντιασάντων αὐτοῖς, διεκπίπτουσιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα οἱ ἄνθρωποι. προσγενομένων δέ τινων, πολλοὶ συστραφέντες ἐπὶ τὰ
335 βασίλεια ἧκον καὶ ταῦτα ἐπολιόρκουν. προσβοηθούντων δὲ τῶν περὶ Φασάηλον καὶ Ἡρώδην, καὶ μάχης γενομένης κατὰ τὴν ἀγοράν, νικῶσιν οἱ νεανίσκοι τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ συνδιώξαντες εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν πέμπουσιν ὁπλίτας τινὰς εἰς τὰς πλησίον οἰκίας φρουρήσοντας αὐτάς, οὓς ἐπαναστὰς ὁ δῆμος συμμάχων ὄντας ἐρήμους σὺν αὐτοῖς
336 οἴκοις κατέπρησεν. ὑπὲρ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἀδικίας ταύτης Ἡρώδης μετ' ὀλίγον τιμωρίαν παρὰ τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν λαμβάνει, συμβαλὼν αὐτοῖς εἰς μάχην καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνας.[2]

337 (4) Γινομένων δὲ ὁσημέραι ἀκροβολισμῶν αὐτοῖς, ἀνέμενον οἱ πολέμιοι τὸν ἐκ τῆς χώρας ὄχλον εἰς τὴν καλουμένην πεντηκοστὴν (ἑορτὴ δ' ἐστὶν αὕτη)
338 μέλλοντα ἥξειν. τῆς δὲ ἡμέρας ἐνστάσης πολλαὶ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀθροίζονται μυριάδες ἀνθρώπων

[1] δι' αὐτοὺς Hudson: διὰ FLV: ras. 1-2 litt. A: δὲ PW: om. ME.
[2] συμβαλὼν . . . ἀποκτείνας om. Lat.

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[a] The text is slightly uncertain. *B.J.* i. 250 has, "while these troops (of Pacorus) were raiding Carmel, Jews flocked to Antigonus," etc.

[b] "With their help" is an emendation of MSS. reading, "Antigonus expected them to take," etc.

[c] Apparently the Plain of Sharon is meant, *cf.* Abel, *GP* i. 414 (who refers to Strabo xvi. 2. 27 f., as does Debevoise,

Carmel came to Antigonus[a] and were ready to join him in the invasion, Antigonus expected to take some part of the territory with their help,[b] namely, the place called The Grove (*Drymoi*)[c]; and although some opponents engaged them, these men got away to Jerusalem,[d] and on being joined by others, formed a large body and came against the palace, which they proceeded to besiege. But Phasael and Herod[e] came to the assistance of the besieged, and in the battle which was fought in the market-place the young men[f] defeated the enemy; and after pursuing them into the temple, they sent some soldiers[g] to the adjacent houses to guard them, but as the soldiers were left without reinforcements,[h] the people rose against them and burnt them to death in the houses. For this outrage Herod, however, soon afterwards took vengeance on his adversaries, and engaging them in battle, killed many of them.

(4) During the daily skirmishes that took place the enemy were waiting for the arrival of the multitude from the country[i] who were coming for the celebration of Pentecost, as it is called, which is a festival. And when this day came, there were many tens of thousands of armed and unarmed men gathered

Herod and Phasael engage their enemies in Jerusalem.

p. 111 n. 74). Avi Yonah, p. 18, identifies it more closely as a wood near *Arsūf* (Apollonia).

[d] *B.J.* i. 250 says that Antigonus' partisans "repulsed the enemy and rushed in pursuit to Jerusalem."

[e] *B.J.* here has Hyrcanus in place of Herod, but see next note.

[f] *B.J.* "Herod and his men."

[g] *B.J.* "sixty men."

[h] The lack of reinforcements is a detail omitted in *B.J.*

[i] *B.J.* i. 253 speaks of the arrival of the country people but does not say that the Herodians' enemies were waiting for them. The use of the word "enemies" here points to a source favourable to Herod, *i.e.* Nicolas of Damascus.

ὡπλισμένων τε καὶ ἀνόπλων.[1] κατεῖχον δὲ τὸ
ἱερὸν καὶ τὴν πόλιν οἱ παρόντες, πλὴν τῶν περὶ τὰ
βασίλεια· ταῦτα γὰρ σὺν ὀλίγοις στρατιώταις οἱ
339 περὶ Ἡρώδην ἐφρούρουν. Φασάηλος μὲν οὖν τὸ
τεῖχος ἐφύλασσεν, Ἡρώδης δὲ λόχον ἔχων ἐπέξεισι
τοῖς πολεμίοις κατὰ τὸ προάστειον, καὶ καρτερῶς
μαχεσάμενος πολλὰς[2] μυριάδας τρέπει, τῶν μὲν
εἰς τὴν πόλιν φευγόντων, τῶν δὲ εἰς τὸ ἱερόν,
ἔστι δ᾽ ὧν εἰς τὸ ἔξω χαράκωμα· ἦν γάρ τι αὐτόθι·
340 παρεβοήθει δὲ καὶ Φασάηλος. Πάκορος δ᾽ ὁ
Πάρθων στρατηγὸς σὺν ἱππεῦσιν ὀλίγοις Ἀντι-
γόνου δεηθέντος εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἔρχεται, λόγῳ μὲν
ὡς καταπαύσων τὴν στάσιν, τὸ δ᾽ ἀληθὲς συμπρά-
341 ξων ἐκείνῳ τὴν ἀρχήν. Φασαήλου δ᾽ ὑπαντή-
σαντος καὶ δεξαμένου ξενίᾳ, Πάκορος πείθει
πρεσβεύσασθαι παρὰ Βαρζαφράνην αὐτόν, δόλον
τινὰ τοῦτον συνθείς.[3] καὶ Φασάηλος οὐδὲν ὑπιδό-
μενος[4] πείθεται, μὴ ἐπαινοῦντος Ἡρώδου τοῖς
πραττομένοις διὰ τὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἄπιστον, ἀλλὰ
καὶ Πακόρῳ καὶ τοῖς ἥκουσιν ἐπιτίθεσθαι κε-
λεύοντος.

342 (5) Ὤιχοντο δ᾽ οὖν[5] πρεσβεύοντες Ὑρκανός τε
καὶ Φασάηλος, Πάκορος δὲ καταλιπὼν Ἡρώδῃ
διακοσίους[6] ἱππεῖς καὶ δέκα τῶν ἐλευθέρων λεγο-
μένων προύπεμψεν αὐτούς. γενομένοις δ᾽ ἐν τῇ

[1] ἀόπλων cum L Dindorf coni. Naber.
[2] E: πολλάς τε codd. [3] συντιθείς PVW.
[4] Dindorf: ὑπειδόμενος codd. E.
[5] δ᾽ οὖν P: οὖν M: γοῦν rell. E.
[6] πεντακοσίους E.

[a] *B.J.* "killed very many and routed the rest."

round the temple. The newcomers held the temple and the city except for the palace and its environs, for these Herod was protecting with a few soldiers. And so, while Phasael guarded the wall, Herod with a company attacked the enemy in the suburbs and after a stout fight routed many tens of thousands [a]; some of them fled to the city, others to the temple, and still others to some outer ramparts which were there. And Phasael also gave him assistance. Thereupon Pacorus, the Parthian general,[b] at Antigonus' request came to the city with a few horsemen,[c] ostensibly to put an end to the uprising, but in reality to help Antigonus obtain power. And when Phasael met him and received him hospitably,[d] Pacorus persuaded him to go on an embassy himself to Barzaphranes, for this was part of a plot he had devised against him. Phasael, suspecting nothing, let himself be persuaded although Herod did not approve of what was being done because of the faithlessness of the barbarians, and advised him, instead, to attack Pacorus and the others who had come.[e]

(5) And so Hyrcanus and Phasael went off on the embassy, and Pacorus escorted them, leaving with Herod two hundred[f] horsemen and ten of the Freemen,[g] as they were called. But when they came to The Parthians plot against Phasael.

[b] The cupbearer (§ 333), not the king's son.

[c] *B.J.* "with five hundred horsemen."

[d] In this statement and in § 346 Otto, *Herodes*, p. 26, sees an indication of Phasael's attempt to win the Parthians over from Antigonus.

[e] *B.J.* "to kill the plotter" (Pacorus).

[f] The Epitome has "five hundred"; *B.J.* does not specify the number.

[g] Most of the Parthian soldiers were slaves, according to Justinus xli. 25, cited (after Reinach) in Dr. Thackeray's note on *B.J.* i. 255.

Γαλιλαίᾳ μεθ' ὅπλων ὑπαντῶσιν οἱ ταύτῃ τῶν
343 πολεμίων[1] ἐφεστῶτες.[2] καὶ Βαρζαφράνης τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αὐτοὺς ὑποδέχεται προθύμως καὶ δῶρα δίδωσιν, ἔπειτα[3] ἐπεβούλευεν. πλησίον δ' Ἐκδίππων[4] ὑπὲρ θαλάττης οἱ περὶ Φασάηλον κατάγονται· καὶ ἐνταῦθ' ἀκούσαντες ὡς Ἀντίγονος ὑπόσχοιτο χίλια τάλαντα καὶ γυναῖκας πεντακοσίας τοῖς Πάρθοις κατ' αὐτῶν, δι' ὑποψίας
344 εἶχον ἤδη τοὺς βαρβάρους. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ νύκτωρ ἐπιβουλευομένους αὐτοὺς ἀπήγγειλέ τις, φυλακῆς αὐτοὺς ἐκ τἀφανοῦς περιισταμένης, καὶ συνελήφθησαν ἄν, εἰ μὴ περιέμενον ἕως[5] οἱ περὶ Ἱεροσόλυμα Πάρθοι Ἡρώδην συλλάβοιεν, μὴ προανῃρημένων τούτων ἐκεῖνος αἰσθόμενος διαφύγοι. καὶ ἦν ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχοντα, καὶ οἱ φύλακες
345 αὐτῶν ἑωρῶντο. Φασαήλῳ μὲν οὖν παρῄνουν τινὲς εὐθὺς ἀφιππάσασθαι καὶ μὴ περιμένειν, μάλιστα μέντοι πρὸς ταῦτα αὐτὸν Ὀφέλλιος ἐνῆγεν, ὃς ἠκηκόει παρὰ Σαραμάλλα τοῦ πλουσιωτάτου τῶν ἐν Συρίᾳ τότε, καὶ πλοῖα πρὸς τὴν
346 φυγὴν ὑπισχνεῖτο· ἐγγὺς γὰρ ἦν ἡ θάλασσα. ὁ δὲ Ὑρκανὸν ἀπολιπεῖν οὐκ ἠξίου οὐδὲ παρακινδυνεύειν τἀδελφῷ· προσελθὼν δὲ πρὸς τὸν Βαρζαφράνην οὐ δίκαια ποιεῖν αὐτὸν ἔλεγε, τοιαῦτα

[1] πόλεων AMW: provinciae Lat.
[2] ὑφεστῶτες PFL: ἀφεστῶτες ex B.J. coni. T. Reinach.
[3] PE: εἶτα rell.
[4] δ' Ἐκδίππων ex B.J. Niese: δὲ μετὰ ἱππέων codd. E.
[5] Niese: ἕως ἂν codd.

[a] Text uncertain; the variant has "those who were in command of the cities"; for "were stationed" Reinach conjectures, from *B.J.*, "those of the enemy who were in revolt."

Galilee, those of the enemy who were stationed in that region[a] met them with arms. And though Barzaphranes at first received them cordially and gave them gifts, he then began to plot against them. Phasael and his party were thereupon brought to Ecdippa[b] overlooking the sea; and when they there heard that Antigonus had promised the Parthians a thousand talents and five hundred women at their expense,[c] they now had suspicions of the barbarians. Furthermore someone informed them that a plot was being hatched against them to be carried out by night, and that an unseen guard was placed round them; and they would have been seized had it not been that the enemy were waiting until the Parthians at Jerusalem should have seized Herod lest upon their doing away with the envoys first, Herod should learn of it and escape. And these reports were actually so, and their guards were seen. Accordingly some of the men urged Phasael to mount his horse immediately and not wait any longer; especially was he pressed to do this by Ophellius, who had heard these things from Saramalla, at that time the wealthiest man in Syria, and he promised him boats for his flight, for the sea was near.[d] Phasael, however, did not think it right to desert Hyrcanus or to endanger his brother[e]; but he went to Barzaphranes and told him that he was doing the wrong thing in

[b] The name Ecdippa is restored from *B.J.*; the mss. have the awkward reading "with horsemen." Ecdippa is bibl. Achzib, mod. *ez Zîb* on the coast midway between Carmel and Tyre, *cf. Ant.* v. 85 note *c*.

[c] According to *B.J.* the five hundred women included "most of their own" (the Herodians').

[d] The promise of boats is a detail omitted in *B.J.*

[e] The second motive is not mentioned in *B.J.*

βουλευόμενον[1] περὶ αὐτῶν· χρημάτων τε γὰρ δεομένῳ πλείονα ἔσεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ ὧν Ἀντίγονος δίδωσι, καὶ ἄλλως δεινὸν εἶναι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πίστει συνελθόντας πρεσβευτὰς ἀποκτεῖναι μηδὲν
347 ἀδικοῦντας. ὁ δὲ βάρβαρος, ταῦτα λέγοντος, ὤμνυε μηδὲν ἀληθὲς εἶναι τῶν ὑπονοουμένων, ἀλλὰ ψευδεῖς αὐτὸν ὑποψίας ταράξαι, ἀπῄει τε πρὸς Πάκορον.

348 (6) Οἰχομένου δὲ τῶν Πάρθων ἐδέσμευόν τινες Ὑρκανὸν καὶ Φασάηλον πολλὰ τῆς ἐπιορκίας κακίζοντας[2] τοὺς Πάρθους. ὁ δ' ἐπὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην ἀπεσταλμένος οἰνοχόος[3] ἐντολὰς εἶχε προαγαγὼν
349 αὐτὸν ἔξω τοῦ τείχους συλλαμβάνειν. ἔτυχον δὲ ἄγγελοι παρὰ Φασαήλου πεμφθέντες ἐπὶ δηλώσει τῆς Πάρθων ἀπιστίας, οὓς τῶν πολεμίων συλλαβόντων γνοὺς Ἡρώδης πρόσεισι[4] Πακόρῳ καὶ Πάρθων τοῖς δυνατοῖς[5] ὡς οὖσιν τῶν ἄλλων
350 δεσπόταις.[6] οἱ δὲ τὸ πᾶν εἰδότες ὑπεκρίνοντο δολερῶς, καὶ δεῖν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν μετὰ σφῶν ἐξελθόντα πρὸ τοῦ τείχους ὑπαντᾶν τοῖς τὰ γράμματα κομίζουσιν· οὐδέπω γὰρ αὐτοὺς εἰλῆφθαι πρὸς τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν, ἥκειν μέντοι δηλοῦντας ὅσα κατ-
351 ορθώσειε Φασάηλος. τούτοις Ἡρώδης οὐκ ἐπίστευεν· ἠκηκόει γὰρ τὴν σύλληψιν τἀδελφοῦ παρ' ἑτέρων· καὶ παραινούσης δὲ τῆς Ὑρκανοῦ θυγατρός,

[1] βουλόμενον FLV.
[2] ex B.J. Niese: κακίζοντα codd.
[3] ex Lat. et B.J. (cf. supra § 333) Hudson: εὐνοῦχος codd.
[4] πρόσεισι ἀγανακτῶν ex Lat. (cum querelis) coni. Richards et Shutt.
[5] AMW: δυνατωτάτοις rell. Lat.
[6] ὡς . . . δεσπόταις om. Lat.

[a] Variant "in wishing such things"; *B.J.* agrees with the reading adopted.

forming such plots[a] against them, for if it was money he wanted, he would get more from him (Phasael) than Antigonus was giving him, and that in any case it was a terrible thing to kill envoys who had come to him trustfully and were doing no wrong.[b] But in reply to this speech the barbarian swore that there was no truth in these suspicions and that, on the contrary, the suspicions that disturbed Phasael were false: he then went off to join Pacorus.[c]

(6) But when he had gone, some of the Parthians put Hyrcanus and Phasael in chains, and they[d] bitterly reviled the Parthians for their perfidy. Now the cup-bearer[e] who had been sent to Herod had orders to lead him outside the walls and seize him. But fortunately messengers had been sent by Phasael to inform him of the faithlessness of the Parthians; and so, when Herod learned that the enemy had seized them, he went to Pacorus[f] and the influential Parthians as the masters of the others. But they, although they knew everything, deceitfully pretended innocence and said that he should go with them before the wall in order to meet the bearers of letters, for they had not yet been seized by their adversaries but had come with a report of all that Phasael had accomplished. Herod, however, did not believe them, for he had heard from others of his brother's capture; and at the prompting of Hyrcanus'

Herod is informed of Phasael's danger in the Parthian camp.

[b] The last clause has no parallel in *B.J.*

[c] The king's son. The cupbearer Pacorus was busy with Herod, *cf. B.J.* i. 261 = *Ant.* § 349.

[d] "They" is conjectured from *B.J.* for mss. "he" (Phasael).

[e] So *B.J.*: mss. "eunuch."

[f] From the Latin Richards and Shutt conjecturally supply "indignantly."

ἧς ἐγγεγύητο τὴν παῖδα, ἔτι μᾶλλον ὑπώπτευε τοὺς Πάρθους. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι ταύτῃ οὐ προσεῖχον, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπίστευε λίαν ἔμφρονι γυναικί.

352 (7) Βουλευομένων δὲ τῶν Πάρθων τί χρὴ ποιεῖν (οὐ γὰρ ἤρεσκεν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ἐπιχειρεῖν ἀνδρὶ τηλικούτῳ) καὶ ὑπερθεμένων εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν, ἐν τοιαύταις ταραχαῖς Ἡρώδης γενόμενος καὶ μᾶλλον οἷς ἤκουσε περὶ τἀδελφοῦ καὶ τῆς Πάρθων ἐπιβουλῆς ἢ τοῖς ἐναντίοις προστιθέμενος, ἑσπέρας ἐπελθούσης ἔγνω ταύτῃ πρὸς φυγὴν χρήσασθαι καὶ μὴ διαμέλλειν ὡς ἐπ' ἀδήλοις τοῖς παρὰ[1]

353 τῶν πολεμίων κινδύνοις. ἄρας οὖν σὺν οἷς εἶχεν ὁπλίταις, καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις ἐπιθέμενος, μητέρα τε αὑτοῦ καὶ ἀδελφὴν καὶ ἣν ἔμελλεν ἄξεσθαι πρὸς γάμον Ἀλεξάνδρου θυγατέρα τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλου παιδός, τήν τε ταύτης μητέρα (Ὑρκανοῦ δ' ἦν θυγάτηρ) καὶ τὸν νεώτατον ἀδελφόν, τήν τε θεραπείαν πᾶσαν καὶ τὸν ἄλλον ὄχλον τὸν σὺν αὐτοῖς, ἐδίωκε τὴν ἐπὶ Ἰδουμαίας,

354 λαθὼν τοὺς πολεμίους. ὧν οὐδεὶς ἂν οὕτω στερρὸς τὴν φύσιν εὑρέθη, ὃς τότε παρὼν τοῖς πραττομένοις οὐκ ἂν ᾤκτειρεν αὐτοὺς τῆς τύχης, γυναίων ἐπαγομένων νήπια τέκνα καὶ μετὰ δακρύων καὶ οἰμωγῆς ἀπολειπουσῶν τὴν πατρίδα καὶ φίλους

[1] ἀπὸ P.

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[a] Alexandra, the mother of Mariamme (on the betrothal see above § 300). *B.J.* i. 262 has "Mariamme, the daughter of Hyrcanus, most sagacious of women"; there, it seems,

daughter,[a] to whose daughter he was betrothed, he became still more suspicious of the Parthians. Now though the others paid no attention to her, he himself had faith in her as a very sensible woman.

(7) While the Parthians deliberated what they should do—for they did not like the idea of openly attacking so powerful a man—and postponed the matter to the next day, Herod, who was in great perturbation and gave more weight to what he had heard about his brother and the Parthians' plot than to the other side, decided when evening came to take this opportunity to flee and not to delay as if there were some uncertainty of danger from the enemy.[b] Accordingly he set out with those soldiers whom he had there, and mounted the women on beasts of burden, including his mother and sister and the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, whom he was to marry, and her mother, who was a daughter of Hyrcanus; he also took his youngest brother and all the servants and the rest of the crowd that was with them, and unknown to the enemy followed the road to Idumaea.[c] And no enemy would have been found so hard of heart that on witnessing what was taking place at that time he would not have pitied their fate as the wretched women led their infants and with tears and wailing left behind their native

Herod escapes with his family to Idumaea.

either "Mariamme" is a gloss or the text should read "the daughter of Hyrcanus and the mother of Mariamme," since the description of the woman fits the mother better than the daughter, as Dr. Thackeray points out in his note on the parallel in *B.J.*

[b] The foregoing is an amplification of *B.J.* i. 263.

[c] According to *B.J.* Herod covered their retreat. The following sections in *Ant.*, §§ 354-358 a, have no parallel in *B.J.* Otto, *Herodes*, p. 26, questions the authenticity of some of the details following; see also Laqueur, p. 192.

ἐν δεσμοῖς, καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν[1] οὐδὲν ἔτι χρηστὸν προσδεχομένων.

355 (8) Ἀλλ' Ἡρώδης ἐπάνω τῆς ἐκ τοῦ δεινοῦ πληγῆς τὸ φρόνημα ποιησάμενος αὐτός τε ἦν πρὸς τὸ δεινὸν εὔψυχος, καὶ παριὼν κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν θαρρεῖν ἕκαστον παρεκελεύετο καὶ μὴ παρέχειν αὑτὸν ἔκδοτον τῇ λύπῃ· τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτοὺς βλάπτειν πρὸς τὴν φυγήν, ἐν ᾗ τὴν σωτηρίαν
356 αὐτοῖς μόνῃ[2] κεῖσθαι συμβέβηκεν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὡς Ἡρώδης παρῄνει φέρειν τὴν συμφορὰν ἐπειρῶντο. μικροῦ δ'[3] αὑτὸν διεχρήσατο ζεύγους περιτραπέντος καὶ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῷ κινδυνευσάσης ἀποθανεῖν, διά τε τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῇ πάθος καὶ διὰ τὸ φοβεῖσθαι μὴ καταλάβωσιν αὐτὸν οἱ πολέμιοι διώκοντες, τριβῆς περὶ τὸ πταῖσμα[4] γενομένης.
357 σπασάμενον γοῦν αὐτὸν τὸ ξίφος καὶ μέλλοντα πλήττειν αὑτὸν κατέσχον οἱ παρόντες, τῷ τε πλήθει κατισχύσαντες καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἐχρῆν αὐτοὺς ἐγκαταλιπεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐσομένους λέγοντες· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι γενναίου τῶν δεινῶν αὑτὸν[5] ἐλευθερώ-
358 σαντα τοὺς φίλους ἐν αὐτοῖς ὑπεριδεῖν. βιασθεὶς οὖν ἀποσχέσθαι τοῦ καθ' αὑτὸν τολμήματος αἰδοῖ τε τῶν λεγομένων καὶ πλήθει τῶν οὐκ ἐπιτρεπόντων αὐτοῦ τῇ χειρὶ διακονεῖν οἷς ἐντεθύμητο, ἀνακτησάμενος τὴν μητέρα καὶ θεραπείας ἧς ὁ καιρὸς ἤπειγεν ἀξιώσας, ἐβάδιζε τὴν προκειμένην ὁδόν, συντονωτέραν ποιούμενος τὴν πορείαν εἰς Μάσαδαν τὸ ἔρυμα. πολλὰς δὲ μάχας πρὸς τοὺς

[1] Naber: αὐτῶν codd. [2] V: μόνην rell.
[3] μικροῦ δ'] ἐκεῖνος δὲ μικροῦ E: ipse vero paene Lat.
[4] πρᾶγμα V: passionis Lat.
[5] Niese: αὐτοὺς P: αὐτὸν rell.

country and their friends in chains; nor did they expect anything better for themselves.[a]

(8) Nevertheless Herod let his spirit rise above the blow caused by this misfortune, and being himself of good courage[b] in the face of misfortune, went to the others along the road and urged each of them also to have courage and not give himself wholly over to grief, for this, he said, would hinder them in their flight, in which alone their safety lay. And so at Herod's exhortation they tried to bear their troubles. But once when a wagon overturned and his mother was in danger of death, he was near to taking his own life because of his anguish on her account and his fear that as a result of the delay caused by the overturn the enemy might overtake them in pursuit. Indeed he had drawn his sword and was about to stab himself when those about him restrained him and prevailed upon him by their number and also by telling him that it was not right for him to abandon them and leave them in the power of their foes, for it was not the act of a noble man to free himself from danger and disregard that of his friends. And so, being forced to desist from his rash act against himself by shame at their words and by the number of those who stayed his hand from carrying out his plan, he revived his mother and procured for her such care as was possible in the short time at his disposal, and continued on his way, making the journey to the fortress of Masada[c] at great speed. Many were the

The tribulations of the fleeing Herodians.

[a] "Themselves" is an emendation of MSS. "them" (*i.e.* their friends).

[b] The phrase *παριὼν . . . θαρρεῖν . . . παρεκελεύετο* is reminiscent of Thucydides iv. 94. 2 and vii. 76.

[c] See above, § 296 note *a*.

ἐπεξελθόντας καὶ διώκοντας τῶν Πάρθων μαχεσάμενος πάσας ἐνίκησεν.

359 (9) Ἔμεινε δ' αὐτῷ παρὰ τὴν φυγὴν οὐδὲ τὰ παρὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀσφαλῆ, συνεπέθεντο δὲ καὶ οὗτοι γενομένοις ἀπὸ σταδίων ἑξήκοντα[1] τῆς πόλεως προσβάλλοντές τε καὶ εἰς χεῖρας ἐρχόμενοι
360 κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν. οὓς δὴ καὶ τρεψάμενος καὶ κρατήσας οὐχ ὡς ἐν ἀπορίᾳ καὶ ἀνάγκῃ τις τοιαύτῃ καθεστώς, ἀλλ' ὡς κάλλιστα καὶ μετὰ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος πρὸς πόλεμον παρεσκευασμένος, ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χωρίῳ, ἐν ᾧ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐκράτησε,[2] μετὰ χρόνον βασιλεύσας καὶ βασίλειον κατεσκεύασεν ἀξιολογώτατον καὶ πόλιν ἔκτισε[3]
361 περὶ αὐτό, Ἡρωδίαν προσαγορεύσας. γενομένῳ δὲ τῆς Ἰδουμαίας ἐν Ὀρήσᾳ[4] χωρίῳ οὕτω καλουμένῳ ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἰώσηπος ὑπήντησε, καὶ βουλὴν περὶ τῶν ὅλων ἦγε τί χρὴ ποιεῖν, πολλοῦ μὲν πλήθους ἑπομένου[5] καὶ δίχα τῶν μισθοφορούντων αὐτοῖς, τοῦ δὲ χωρίου τῆς Μασάδας, εἰς ὃ προύκειτο συμφυγεῖν, ἐλάττονος ὄντος ὑποδέξασθαι
362 τοσοῦτον ὄχλον. τοὺς μὲν οὖν πλείους ἀπέλυσεν, ὑπὲρ ἐννέα χιλιάδας ὄντας, ἄλλον ἀλλαχῇ κελεύσας διὰ τῆς Ἰδουμαίας σώζειν αὐτούς, δοὺς ἐφόδια· ὅσοι δ' ἦσαν κοῦφοι καὶ τοὺς ἀναγκαιοτάτους παραλαβὼν[6] εἰς τὸ ἔρυμα παραγίνεται καὶ καταθέμενος αὐτόθι τάς τε γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς ἑπομένους

[1] PE (ut in B.J.): ξ' rell.
[2] οὓς . . . ἐκράτησε om. Lat.: ἐν ᾧ . . . ἐκράτησε secl. Ernesti.
[3] ἔκτισε hic ponit Lowthius: post βασιλεύσας hab. codd. (om. L).
[4] coni. Schlatter: Θρήσᾳ aut Θρήσσᾳ codd.: Risa Lat., cf. B.J. et infra § 400.
[5] ἐπαγομένου P. [6] ἀναλαβὼν P.

battles he fought with the Parthians who harassed him in pursuit, and he was victorious in all of them.

(9) But during his flight he was not safe from the Jews either, for they too attacked his party when they were sixty[a] stades from the city and engaged them in hand to hand combat along the road; but these too he routed and crushed as if he were in no such helpless and difficult position[b] but were excellently prepared for war and had a great advantage; and later when he became king, he built a wonderful palace on the spot where he defeated the Jews, and founded a city round it,[c] which he called Herodia.[d] Now when he came to a place in Idumaea called Oresa,[e] he was met by his brother Joseph, and he held a council to see what he must do about his general situation, for a great number of people, apart from his mercenaries, accompanied him, and the fortress of Masada, in which he proposed to take refuge, was too small to hold so great a crowd. He therefore sent most of them away, numbering over nine thousand, and told them to seek safety in flight to various places in Idumaea, and gave them provisions for the journey. Those, however, who were lightly armed and his nearest relatives he took with him and reached the fortress, where he left the women and their followers,

Herod leaves his family in the fortress of Masada.

[a] So *B.J.*; variant in *Ant.* "six." 60 stades = *c.* 7 miles.

[b] The words ἀπορία and ἀνάγκη are coupled in Thucydides vi. 68. 4.

[c] Text slightly uncertain.

[d] Called Herodeion in *B.J.* i. 265; a description of the site is given in *B.J.* i. 419. It is the mod. *Jebel el-Fureidis*, *c.* 4 miles S.E. of Bethlehem, and is to be distinguished from the fortress Herodeion, *cf.* *Ant.* xvi. 13.

[e] "Oresa" is Schlatter's excellent emendation of MSS. "Thresa" or "Rhesa" (*B.J.*); it is bibl. Horeshah, mod. *Khirbet Khoreisa*, *c.* 8 miles S. of Hebron (*cf.* Abel, *GP* ii. 350 and Avi Yonah, p. 22).

(ἦσαν δ' ὡς ὀκτακόσιοι) σίτου τε ὄντος ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ καὶ ὕδατος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων ἁπάντων διαρκούντως αὐτοῖς,[1] ἐξώρμησεν αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Πέτρας
363 τῆς Ἀραβίας. ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν[2] διήρπαζον οἱ Πάρθοι καὶ τὸ βασίλειον, μόνων δὲ ἀπείχοντο τῶν Ὑρκανοῦ χρημάτων· τὰ δ' ἦν εἰς τριακόσια[3] τάλαντα.
364 πολλὰ δὲ τῶν Ἡρώδου διέφυγε, καὶ μάλιστα ὅσα προεκκομισθῆναι[4] κατὰ προμήθειαν τἀνδρὸς εἰς τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν[5] ἐφθάκει. τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἀπέχρησε τοῖς Πάρθοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐξιόντες ἐκάκουν, καὶ Μάρισαν δὲ[6] πόλιν δυνατὴν ἀνέστησαν.
365 (10) Καὶ Ἀντίγονος μὲν οὕτως καταχθεὶς εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Πάρθων βασιλέως Ὑρκανὸν καὶ Φασάηλον δεσμώτας παραλαμβάνει· σφόδρα δ' ἦν ἄθυμος τῶν γυναικῶν αὐτὸν διαφυγουσῶν, ἃς τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνεθυμεῖτο δώσειν, τοῦτον αὐτοῖς μετὰ τῶν χρημάτων τὸν μισθὸν ὑποσχόμενος.
366 φοβούμενος δὲ τὸν Ὑρκανόν, μὴ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῷ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀποκαταστήσῃ, παραστάς[7] (ἐτηρεῖτο δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Πάρθων) ἀποτέμνει[8] αὐτοῦ τὰ ὦτα,[9] πραγματευόμενος μηκέτ' αὖθις εἰς αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι

[1] οὕτως LAMW: om. FV.
[2] Ἱεροσολύμων P.
[3] ὀγδοήκοντα PE.
[4] Niese: προκομισθῆναι P: κομισθῆναι E: προκεκομίσθαι rell.
[5] ex Lat. et B.J. Niese: Ἰουδαίαν codd. E.
[6] Niese: τε codd.
[7] παραστὰν V: παραρπάσαν Naber.
[8] ἐπιτέμνει P.
[9] τὸ ὠτίον V.

[a] Variant "eighty." *B.J.* has "no more than three hundred"; *cf.* Laqueur, p. 190.

[b] Conjectured from Lat. and *B.J.* for MSS. "Judaea."

[c] Mod. *Tell Sandaḥanna*, *cf.* *Ant.* viii. 246 note *i*.

who numbered some eight hundred, for there was sufficient grain and water and other necessities in the place; and he himself set out for Petra in Arabia. But when day came, the Parthians plundered all the possessions of the people of Jerusalem, as well as the palace, leaving untouched only the funds of Hyrcanus, which amounted to three hundred [a] talents. Much of Herod's property, however, escaped, especially all that with his usual foresight he had succeeded in removing beforehand to Idumaea.[b] But the Parthians were not satisfied with what they found in the city, and so they went out and ravaged the Jews' country as well, and also destroyed the important city of Marisa.[c]

The Parthians plunder Jerusalem.

(10) In this way was Antigonus brought back to Judaea by the Parthian king and took over Hyrcanus and Phasael as prisoners. He was, however, very despondent over the escape of the women whom he had planned to give to the enemy, for this was the reward he had promised them together with money.[d] And being fearful that the people might restore Hyrcanus to the throne, he went up to him where he was being guarded by the Parthians,[e] and cut off his ears,[f] thus taking care that the high priesthood

Antigonus mutilates Hyrcanus and has Phasael killed.

[d] See above, § 343. Antigonus' disappointment is not mentioned in *B.J.*; see below, § 369 note *c*.

[e] According to *B.J.* Hyrcanus threw himself at the feet of Antigonus.

[f] Variant "ear." *B.J.* says that Antigonus "with his teeth mutilated" (*λωβᾶται τοῖς ὀδοῦσιν*) Hyrcanus' ears. Julius Africanus *ap.* Syncellus (*cf.* H. Gelzer, *Sextus Julius Africanus*, p. 262) says that Antigonus "cut off his ears" (*ἀποτεμὼν αὐτοῦ τὰ ὦτα*), while Syncellus himself says that Antigonus "cut off his ears with his teeth" (*τοῖς ὀδοῦσιν ἀποτεμὼν αὐτοῦ τὰ ὦτα*). The latter statement seems to be a conflation of the two accounts in Josephus; "cut off" is a strange verb in combination with "teeth."

τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην διὰ τὸ λελωβῆσθαι, τοῦ νόμου
367 τῶν ὁλοκλήρων εἶναι τὴν τιμὴν ἀξιοῦντος. Φασάηλον δ' ἄν τις θαυμάσειε τῆς εὐψυχίας, ὃς γνοὺς αὐτὸν ἀποσφάττεσθαι μέλλοντα οὐχὶ τὸν θάνατον ἡγήσατο δεινόν, τὸ δ' ὑπ' ἐχθροῦ τοῦτο παθεῖν πικρότατον[1] καὶ αἴσχιστον ὑπολαβών, τὰς χεῖρας οὐκ ἔχων ἐλευθέρας ὑπὸ δεσμῶν πρὸς ἀναίρεσιν πέτρᾳ προσαράξας[2] τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐξήγαγε μὲν ἑαυτὸν τοῦ ζῆν, ὡς ἐδόκει, κάλλιστα παρὰ τοιαύτην ἀπορίαν, τῆς δ' ἐξουσίας τοῦ κτεῖναι πρὸς ἡδονὴν
368 αὐτὸν ἀφείλετο τὸν πολέμιον. λέγουσι δ', ὡς τραύματος μεγάλου γενομένου φαρμάκοις αὐτὸν ὑποπέμψας ἰατροὺς Ἀντίγονος ὡς ἐπὶ θεραπείᾳ διέφθειρε θανασίμοις χρησαμένων εἰς τὸ τραῦμα.
369 πρὸ μέντοι τοῦ τελέως ἀφεῖναι τὴν ψυχὴν ὁ Φασάηλος ἀκούσας παρά τινος γυναίου τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἡρώδην τοὺς πολεμίους διαπεφευγότα, σφόδρα τὴν τελευτὴν εὐθύμως ὑπέμεινε, καταλιπὼν τὸν ἐκδικήσοντα[3] τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τιμωρήσασθαι δυνάμενον.
370 (xiv. 1) Ἡρώδην δὲ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν περιεστηκότων αὐτὸν κακῶν οὐ κατέπληττεν, ἀλλ' ἐποίει δεινὸν εὑρίσκειν ἐπιβολὰς[4] ἔργων παραβόλων. πρὸς

[1] οἰκτρότατον V: δεινότατον E.
[2] PE: προσρήξας V: προσράξας rell.
[3] ἐκδικῆσαι PE.
[4] P: ἐπιβουλὰς rell.

[a] *Cf. Ant.* iii. 278-279 on Lev. xxi. 17 ff. A rabbinic parallel, on the mutilation of a (Sadducaean) high priest by biting his ear, is found in the Tosephta, *Parah* iii. 8; see works listed in Appendix K.

[b] According to Julius Africanus (see above, § 366 note *f*), Phasael perished in battle with the Parthians.

[c] Phasael's statement is given as a direct quotation in *B.J.*, which adds (§ 273) that the Parthians were disappointed of

should never come to him another time, because he was now mutilated, and the law requires that this office should belong only to those who are sound of body.[a] As for Phasael, one must admire his courage, for though he knew that he was marked for slaughter, he did not look upon death as terrible in itself but believed that it was a most bitter and shameful thing to suffer at the hands of a foe; and so, not having his hands free to destroy himself because of his chains, he dashed his head against a rock and removed himself from the world of the living, which he thought was the best thing to do in view of his helpless position, and thus he deprived the enemy of the power of killing him as they pleased. But some say that when he had incurred this serious wound, Antigonus quietly sent physicians as if to heal it, and had him killed by deadly poisons which they applied to his wound.[b] However, before he breathed his last, Phasael heard from some woman that his brother Herod had escaped the enemy, and so he bore his death with cheerfulness, for he left behind one who would avenge his death and was able to punish his foes.[c]

(xiv. 1) [d] Herod, however, was not discouraged by the magnitude of the dangers that encompassed him; instead they made him the keener in attempting[e] perilous deeds. And so he went to Malchus,[f] The Arab king Malchus declines to aid Herod.

their prize, the women promised them by Antigonus, and that they carried Hyrcanus a prisoner to Parthia.

[d] On the parallelism between §§ 370-389 and *B.J.* i. 274-285 see Laqueur, pp. 193-199.

[e] Variant "contriving."

[f] Variant "Malichus." He is not to be confused with the Jewish supporter of Hyrcanus mentioned above, § 273. The Arab (Nabataean) King Malchus was a successor of Aretas III, see above, §§ 14 ff. Some of the following incidents are related by Dio Cassius xlviii. 41.

γὰρ Μάλχον[1] τὸν Ἀράβων βασιλέα πολλὰ πρόσθεν εὐεργετημένον ἀπῄει τὴν ἀμοιβὴν κομιούμενος, ὧν τε[2] μάλιστα ἐδεῖτο, χρήματα ληψόμενος εἴτε δάνειον εἴτε δωρεὰν ὡς ἂν πολλῶν παρ'[3] αὐτοῦ
371 τετυχηκότος. οὐ γὰρ εἰδὼς τὰ κατὰ τὸν ἀδελφόν, ἔσπευδε λυτρώσασθαι παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων αὐτόν, λύτρον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καταβαλὼν νόμισμα ἕως τριακοσίων ταλάντων.[4] ἐπήγετο δὲ καὶ τὸν Φασαήλου παῖδα διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν ἑπταετῆ τυγχάνοντα,
372 παρέξων[5] αὐτὸν ἐνέχυρον τοῖς Ἄραψιν. ἀγγέλων δ' αὐτῷ ὑπαντησάντων παρὰ τοῦ Μάλχου, δι' ὧν ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἀναχωρεῖν (παρηγγελκέναι[6] γὰρ αὐτῷ Πάρθους Ἡρώδην μὴ δέχεσθαι· ταύτῃ δ' ἐχρῆτο προφάσει ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ἀποδοῦναι τὰ χρέα, καὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει παρὰ τοῖς Ἄραψιν εἰς τοῦτο ἐναγόντων, ὅπως ἀποστερήσωσι τὰς παρακαταθήκας, ἃς παρὰ Ἀντιπάτρου λαβόντες ἔτυχον),
373 ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἐνοχλήσων ἀφικνεῖσθαι πρὸς αὐτούς, μόνον δὲ διαλεξόμενος περὶ τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων αὐτῷ πραγμάτων.

374 (2) Ἔπειτα δόξαν ἀναχωρεῖν, ἀπῄει μάλα σωφρόνως τὴν ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου. καὶ τότε μὲν ἔν τινι ἱερῷ κατάγεται (καταλελοίπει γὰρ αὐτόθι πολλοὺς[7] τῶν ἑπομένων), τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ παραγενόμενος εἰς

[1] Μάλιχον P. [2] ὧν τε Niese: ὅτε codd. E.
[3] ἂν πολλῶν παρ' AMV: παρὰ πολλῶν ἐξ rell.
[4] λύτρον . . . ταλάντων] Tyriis argenti trecenta talenta promittendo Lat. [5] παρασχὼν P.
[6] PV: παραγγεῖλαι rell. [7] οὐ πολλοὺς FLAMW.

the Arab king, who had previously received many benefits from him,[a] in order to receive a return and to get money, which was what he most needed, either as a loan or as a gift from one who had obtained many sums from him. For as he did not know what had happened to his brother, he was in haste to ransom him from the enemy, being ready to pay as his ransom as much as three hundred talents in coin. And for this purpose he also took along Phasael's son, who was seven years old, to offer him as security to the Arabs.[b] But he was met by messengers from Malchus, who through them ordered Herod to retire, for the Parthians, he said, had instructed him not to receive Herod; this he used as a pretext for not repaying his debts, and the influential Arabs urged him on to this in order that they might withhold from Herod the sums which they had received in deposit from Antipater. Thereupon he replied to them that he had come to them with no thought of making trouble but only to discuss matters which were of the greatest importance to him.[c]

(2) Then, on deciding to retire, he very prudently took the road to Egypt. And on that occasion he lodged in a certain temple where he had left many[d] of his followers. The next day he came to Rhino- Herod reaches Alexandria.

[a] From Herod's father, according to *B.J.*, but see below, § 372.

[b] *B.J.* adds a rather obscure allusion to Tyrian guarantors; *cf.* the mention of Tyrians in the Latin translation of the preceding sentence.

[c] *B.J.* i. 277 says that Herod gave the reply "which his feelings (τὸ πάθος) dictated," indicating a harsher tone than that used in *Ant.*

[d] Variant "not many." The temple was probably Idumaean.

Ῥινοκόρουρα, ἐκεῖ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν
375 ἤκουσεν. Μάλχῳ δὲ μεταγνόντι καὶ μεταθέοντι
τὸν Ἡρώδην οὐδὲν τούτου περισσότερον ἐγένετο·
πορρωτάτω γὰρ ἦν ἤδη σπεύδων τὴν ἐπὶ Πηλουσίου.
ἐπεὶ δ' αὐτὸν ἐλθόντα νῆες ὁρμοῦσαι αὐτόθι εἶργον
τοῦ ἐπ' Ἀλεξανδρείας πλοῦ, τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἐντυγ-
χάνει, ὑφ' ὧν κατ' αἰδῶ καὶ πολλὴν ἐντροπὴν
προπεμφθεὶς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ Κλεοπάτρας
376 κατείχετο. πεῖσαι μέντοι μένειν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἠδυ-
νήθη, εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπειγόμενον χειμῶνός τε ὄντος
καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐν ταραχῇ καὶ σάλῳ
πολλῷ δηλουμένων.[1]
377 (3) Ἀναχθεὶς οὖν ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ Παμφυλίας καὶ
χειμῶνι σφοδρῷ περιπεσὼν μόλις εἰς Ῥόδον διασώ-
ζεται, φορτίων ἀποβολῆς γενομένης. καὶ δύο μὲν
ἐνταυθοῖ τῶν φίλων αὐτῷ συνήντησαν, Σαππῖνός[2]
378 τε καὶ Πτολεμαῖος. εὑρὼν δὲ τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ τοῦ
πρὸς Κάσσιον πολέμου κεκακωμένην, οὐδ' ἐν
ἀπόροις ὢν εὖ ποιεῖν αὐτὴν ὤκνησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
παρὰ δύναμιν αὐτὴν ἀνεκτᾶτο. τριήρη τε κατα-
σκευάσας καὶ ἀναχθεὶς ἐκεῖθεν σὺν τοῖς φίλοις
379 ἐπ' Ἰταλίας εἰς Βρεντέσιον κατάγεται. κἀκεῖθεν

[1] κειμένων cod. Bush. ap. Hudson: δονουμένων Naber.
[2] Σαππίνας FAMV: Σαππῆνας L: Σαππιονὰς W: Sapinum aut Sapininum Lat.

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[a] Mod. *el-'Arîš* on the border of Palestine and Egypt, *cf. Ant.* xiii. 395.
[b] *B.J.* adds that the news grieved him greatly.
[c] Pelusium was *c.* 80 miles from Rhinocoroura.
[d] According to *B.J.* Cleopatra "hoped to get Herod to

coroura,[a] where he heard of his brother's fate.[b] Malchus, however, had a change of heart and hurried after Herod, but gained nothing thereby, for Herod was by now a great way off, in his haste to reach Pelusium.[c] But when he came there, the ships anchored there prevented him from sailing to Alexandria, whereupon he appealed to their commanders and was escorted by them to the city with respect and great deference, and was detained there by Cleopatra.[d] She was not able, however, to persuade him to remain, for he was eager to get to Rome although it was winter and Italy was reported to be disturbed and in great disorder.[e]

(3) And so from there he set sail for Pamphylia,[f] and after encountering a violent storm barely reached Rhodes in safety by throwing the cargo overboard. There he was met by two of his friends, Sappinus[g] and Ptolemy. And finding the city damaged from the war against Cassius,[h] he did not hesitate to help it even though he was in need of funds, but actually exceeded his means in restoring it.[i] He also built a trireme, and setting sail from there for Italy with his friends, landed at Brundisium. From there he

Herod receives help from his friends at Rome.

command an expedition she was preparing." If this statement is authentic, it may refer to an attempt on her part to aid Antony, who had set out against the Parthians early in 40 B.C.

[e] Perhaps this is a reference to the Perusine war in 41–40 B.C. between Octavian and Lucius Antonius, brother of Antony, as Ricciotto suggests in his note on *B.J.* i. 279.

[f] In the autumn of 40 B.C.

[g] Greek "Sappinos"; variant "Sappinas," *B.J.* "Saphinius."

[h] In 42 B.C.

[i] Nothing is said in *B.J.* about Herod's restoration of Rhodes.

εἰς Ῥώμην ἀφικόμενος πρῶτον[1] μὲν Ἀντωνίῳ φράζει τὰ συμβάντα αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, καὶ πῶς ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Φασάηλος ὑπὸ Πάρθων ἀπόλοιτο συλληφθεὶς καὶ Ὑρκανὸς ὑπ' αὐτῶν αἰχμάλωτος ἔχοιτο, καὶ ὡς Ἀντίγονον καταστήσειαν βασιλέα, χρήματα δώσειν ὑποσχόμενον χίλια τάλαντα καὶ γυναῖκας πεντακοσίας, αἳ τῶν πρώτων κἀκ[2] τοῦ γένους τοῦ αὐτῶν ἔμελλον ἔσεσθαι, καὶ ὅτι ταύτας νυκτὸς ἐκκομίσειε, καὶ διαφύγοι τὰς τῶν ἐχθρῶν χεῖρας, πολλὰς ὑπομείνας
380 ταλαιπωρίας. εἶτα ἐπιδιακινδυνεύειν[3] αὐτῷ τοὺς οἰκείους πολιορκουμένους, καὶ ὡς[4] πλεύσειέ τε διὰ χειμῶνος καὶ παντὸς καταφρονήσειε δεινοῦ σπεύδων ἐπὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας τὰς παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν μόνην βοήθειαν.

381 (4) Ἀντώνιον δὲ οἶκτος εἰσέρχεται τῆς Ἡρώδου μεταβολῆς, καὶ τῷ κοινῷ χρησάμενος λογισμῷ περὶ τῶν ἐν ἀξιώματι τοσούτῳ καθεστώτων ὡς κἀκείνων ὑποκειμένων τῇ τύχῃ, τὰ μὲν κατὰ
382 μνήμην τῆς Ἀντιπάτρου ξενίας, τὰ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ χρημάτων ὧν αὐτῷ δώσειν Ἡρώδης, εἰ γένοιτο βασιλεύς, ὑπέσχετο καθὼς καὶ πρότερον ὅτε[5] τετράρχης ἀπεδέδεικτο, πολὺ μέντοι μᾶλλον διὰ τὸ πρὸς Ἀντίγονον μῖσος (στασιαστὴν γὰρ καὶ

[1] πρῶτα LAMW. [2] PE: καὶ rell.
[3] ἐπεὶ διακινδυνεύειν PF: post ἐπιδιακινδυνεύειν lacunam statuit Niese: deflebat periclitare Lat., unde τὸ ἐπιδιακινδυνεύειν κατεδάκρυεν coni. Richards et Shutt.
[4] καὶ ὡς om. P.
[5] ὅτε om. AMW Lat.

[a] This was probably about December 40 B.C., soon after the Pact of Brundisium (October) between Octavian and Antony

went to Rome where he first of all related to Antony[a] what had befallen him in Judaea, and how his brother Phasael had been seized by the Parthians and put to death, and that Hyrcanus was being held a prisoner by them, and that they had set up Antigonus as king after his promise to give them a thousand talents and five hundred women, who were to be of the first families and of their own race,[b] and that he had removed the women by night and had escaped from the hands of his foes after enduring many hardships. Then he said[c] that his relatives shared his danger by being besieged, and told how he had sailed through a storm, and how he had made light of every danger in his haste to reach Antony, in whom lay his hope and only help.

(4) Antony was moved to pity by the reverses of Herod, and indulged in the familiar reflection concerning those who are placed in so high a station, that they too are subject to the rule of fortune; and partly in memory of Antipater's hospitality,[d] partly because of the money which Herod promised to give him if he became king,[e] as he had promised once before when he was appointed tetrarch,[f] but chiefly because of his hatred of Antigonus—for he considered him

Antony and Octavius promise to aid Herod.

and the marriage of Antony to Octavian's sister Octavia (November).

[b] *i.e.* of the Jewish race. It may, however, mean "of his (Herod's) family."

[c] Text slightly uncertain; perhaps with the Latin we should read "then he bewailed the fact."

[d] See above, § 326.

[e] As a second motive *B.J.* mentions Antony's admiration of Herod's prowess (ἀρετήν), and not the bribe offered him. In this substitution Laqueur, p. 194, sees another instance of the anti-Herodian spirit of *Ant.* as compared with *B.J.*

[f] See above, § 326.

Ῥωμαίοις ἐχθρὸν αὐτὸν ὑπελάμβανε) πρόθυμος ἦν
383 οἷς Ἡρώδης παρεκάλει συλλαμβάνεσθαι. Καῖσαρ μὲν οὖν καὶ διὰ τὰς Ἀντιπάτρου στρατείας,[1] ἃς κατ' Αἴγυπτον αὐτοῦ τῷ πατρὶ συνδιήνεγκε, καὶ τὴν ξενίαν καὶ τὴν ἐν ἅπασιν εὔνοιαν, χαριζόμενος δὲ καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ σφόδρα περὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην ἐσπουδακότι, πρὸς τὴν ἀξίωσιν καὶ τὴν ὧν ἐβού-
384 λετο Ἡρώδης συνεργίαν ἑτοιμότερος ἦν. συναγαγόντες δὲ[2] τὴν βουλὴν Μεσσάλας καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν[3] Ἀτρατῖνος,[4] παραστησάμενοι τὸν Ἡρώδην τάς τε τοῦ πατρὸς εὐεργεσίας αὐτοῦ διεξῄεσαν, καὶ ἣν αὐτὸς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους εἶχεν εὔνοιαν ὑπεμίμνησκον, κατηγοροῦντες ἅμα καὶ πολέμιον ἀποφαίνοντες τὸν Ἀντίγονον, οὐκ ἐξ ὧν τὸ πρῶτον προσέκρουσεν αὐτοῖς μόνον, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ παρὰ Πάρθων τὴν ἀρχὴν λάβοι, Ῥωμαίους ὑπεριδών.
385 τῆς δὲ βουλῆς ἐπὶ τούτοις[5] παρωξυμμένης παρελθὼν Ἀντώνιος ἐδίδασκεν αὐτοὺς ὡς καὶ πρὸς τὸν κατὰ Πάρθων πόλεμον Ἡρώδην βασιλεύειν συμφέρει. καὶ δόξαν τοῦτο πᾶσι ψηφίζονται.

[1] VE: στρατιάς rell.
[2] PE: τε rell.
[3] μετ' αὐτὸν] δι' αὐτῶν P: μετ' αὐτοῦ coni. Richards et Shutt.
[4] ex Lat. et B.J. Niese duce Hudson: Ἀγρατῖνος P: Σατραπῖνος rell.
[5] τούτῳ FE.

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[a] Not least because Antigonus was allied with Rome's dangerous enemy Parthia, see below, § 384.

[b] Octavian, the later Augustus.

[c] Octavian's adoptive father, Julius Caesar; for these campaigns see above, §§ 127-136.

[d] *B.J.* does not mention Octavian's desire to do Antony a favour; instead, it says that Octavian recognized Herod's

a seditious person and an enemy of the Romans[a]—he was eager to give Herod the assistance he asked for. As for Caesar,[b] because of the campaigns in Egypt on which Antipater had served with his father,[c] and his hospitality and goodwill at all times, and also as a favour to Antony, who was very zealous on Herod's behalf, he was more ready to grant this rank and to co-operate in the things which Herod wished.[d] And so Messala[e] and Atratinus[f] after him convened the Senate, and presenting Herod, dwelt on the good deeds of his father, and recalled the loyalty which Herod himself had shown toward the Romans; at the same time they brought accusations against Antigonus, whom they declared an enemy, not only because of the first offence he had committed against them[g] but because he had received his kingly title from the Parthians, thus showing no regard for the Romans. And when the Senate had been aroused by these charges, Antony came forward and informed them that it was also an advantage in their war with the Parthians that Herod should be king. And as this proposal was acceptable to all, they voted accordingly.[h]

"enterprising character." Laqueur, pp. 194-195, mistranslating ἑτοιμότερος in § 383 (as Prof. Post notes), remarks that *Ant.* does not clearly explain why Octavian showed himself even more zealous than Antony in Herod's behalf.

[e] M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus; *cf.* Dr. Thackeray's note on *B.J.* i. 243.

[f] Conjectured from Latin and *B.J.* for MSS. "Agratinus" or "Satrapinus." The person meant is L. Sempronius Atratinus, then augur, according to Reinach.

[g] In aiding his father Aristobulus II, see above, §§ 125 ff.

[h] The naming of Herod to the kingship by Antony and Octavian is mentioned also by Strabo xvi. 765, Appian, *Bell. Civ.* v. 75 and Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 9.

386 (5) Καὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέγιστον ἦν τῆς Ἀντωνίου περὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην σπουδῆς, ὅτι μὴ μόνον αὐτῷ τὴν βασιλείαν οὐκ ἐλπίζοντι περιεποιήσατο (οὐ γὰρ εἰς ἑαυτὸν[1] ἀνέβη ταύτην αἰτησόμενος, οὐ γὰρ ἐνόμιζεν αὐτῷ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους παρέξειν, τοῖς ἐκ
387 τοῦ γένους ἔθος ἔχοντας αὐτὴν διδόναι, ἀλλὰ τῷ[2] τῆς γυναικὸς ἀδελφῷ λαβεῖν ἀξιώσων υἱωνῷ[3] τυγχάνοντι πρὸς μὲν πατρὸς Ἀριστοβούλου πρὸς δὲ μητρὸς Ὑρκανοῦ), ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ἑπτὰ ταῖς πάσαις ἡμέραις παρέσχεν αὐτῷ τυχόντι τῶν οὐδὲ
388 προσδοκηθέντων ἀπελθεῖν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν τὸν νεανίσκον Ἡρώδης ἀπέκτεινεν, ὡς κατὰ καιρὸν δηλώσομεν[4]· λυθείσης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς, μέσον ἔχοντες Ἡρώδην Ἀντώνιος καὶ Καῖσαρ ἐξῄεσαν, προαγόντων[5] ἅμα ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀρχαῖς τῶν ὑπάτων, θύσοντές τε καὶ τὸ δόγμα[6]
389 καταθησόμενοι εἰς τὸ Καπετώλιον. εἱστία δὲ τὴν πρώτην ἡμέραν Ἡρώδην[7] τῆς βασιλείας Ἀντώνιος. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαμβάνει, τυχὼν αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τῆς ἑκατοστῆς καὶ ὀγδοηκοστῆς

[1] εἰς ἑαυτὸν] πρὸς αὐτὸν P: ἑαυτῷ coni. Ernesti.
[2] τῷ Ernesti: διὰ τὸ τῷ P: διὰ τὸ FLVW: διὰ τῷ AM.
[3] υἱωνῷ ex Lat. Hudson: Ἀλεξάνδρῳ υἱωνῷ codd.: Ἀριστοβούλῳ Ἀλεξάνδρου υἱῷ (verba υἱωνῷ <δὲ> post τυγχάνοντι transp.) coni. Phaletranus.
[4] τοῦτον μὲν οὖν . . . δηλώσομεν post Ὑρκανοῦ § 387 collocat Lat.
[5] συμπροαγόντων FLAMW. [6] τὰ δόγματα V.
[7] Ἡρώδην om. P.

[a] §§ 386-387 have no parallel in *B.J.*; see below, § 387 note *d*.
[b] The MSS. add "Alexander," probably a scribal error. Aristobulus (III) is meant.

(5) [a] But this was the greatest sign of Antony's devotion to Herod, that not only did he obtain the kingship for him, which he had not hoped for—he had come to the capital not to claim the kingship for himself, for he did not believe the Romans would offer it to him, since it was their custom to give it to one of the reigning family, but to claim it for his wife's brother,[b] who was a grandson of Aristobulus on his father's side and of Hyrcanus on his mother's [c] —but he also made it possible for Herod in only seven days altogether to obtain these unexpected grants and leave Italy.[d] This youth, however, Herod put to death, as we shall relate at the proper time.[e] Now when the Senate was adjourned, Antony and Caesar went out with Herod between them, and the consuls and other magistrates leading the way, in order to sacrifice and to deposit the decree in the Capitol. Then Antony entertained him on the first day of his reign. Thus did Herod take over royal power, receiving it in the hundred and eighty-fourth

The honour shown Herod by the Roman rulers.

[c] His father was Aristobulus II's son Alexander, and his mother was Hyrcanus II's daughter Alexandra.

[d] Otto, *Herodes*, p. 28, expresses scepticism about Herod's original intention of claiming the throne for Aristobulus, not for himself, on the ground that Herod was in Italy so short a time; he sees in this passage an attempt to clear Herod of overweening ambition. On the other hand, Laqueur, pp. 195-199, in the interest of his theory about the anti-Herodian alterations and additions in *Ant.*, resorts to a rather artificial explanation of secondary changes in *Ant.* to make the point that far from clearing Herod here, Josephus is criticising him for making use of Aristobulus in the belief that the Roman policy of retaining the reigning dynasty would make his own appointment as king impossible. Laqueur combines §§ 386-388 with 403-405 and 489 as anti-Herodian revisions of Josephus' source, here supposedly the memoirs of Herod himself.

[e] *Ant.* xv. 53 ff.

καὶ τετάρτης ὀλυμπιάδος, ὑπατεύοντος Γναίου[1] Δομετίου Καλβίνου[2] τὸ δεύτερον καὶ Γαΐου Ἀσινίου Πωλίωνος.

390 (6) Τοῦτον δὲ ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον Ἀντίγονος ἐπολιόρκει τοὺς ἐν Μασάδᾳ, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων αὐτοῖς ὑπαρχόντων, μόνου δὲ σπανίζοντος[3] ὕδατος, ὡς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν Ἡρώδου Ἰώσηπον σὺν διακοσίοις τῶν οἰκείων ἀποδρᾶναι βουλεύσασθαι πρὸς Ἄραβας· ἠκηκόει γὰρ ὡς[4] Μάλχος τῶν εἰς Ἡρώδην ἁμαρτημάτων μετανοεῖ.[5]
391 κατέσχε δ' αὐτὸν ὕσας διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς ὁ θεός· τῶν γὰρ ἐκδοχείων πλησθέντων τοῦ ὕδατος οὐκέτι τῆς φυγῆς ἐδεῖτο, ἀλλὰ τεθαρρηκότες ἤδη καὶ πλέον ἢ κατὰ τὴν εὐπορίαν τοῦ σπανίζοντος, ὡς ἐκ θεοῦ προνοίας ταύτης αὐτοῖς γεγενημένης, ἐπεξιόντες καὶ συμπλεκόμενοι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον, τοῖς μὲν φανερῶς, τοῖς δὲ καὶ λάθρα, πολλοὺς αὐτῶν
392 διέφθειραν. κἀν τούτῳ Βεντίδιος ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς πεμφθεὶς ἐκ Συρίας ὥστε Πάρθους ἀνείργειν μετ' ἐκείνους εἰς Ἰουδαίαν παρέβαλε, τῷ λόγῳ μὲν Ἰωσήπῳ συμμαχήσων, τὸ δ' ὅλον ἦν αὐτῷ στρατήγημα χρήματα παρ' Ἀντιγόνου λαβεῖν· ἔγγιστα γοῦν Ἱεροσολύμων στρατοπεδευσάμενος ἀποχρώντως ἠργυρίσατο τὸν Ἀντίγονον.
393 καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἀνεχώρησε σὺν τῇ πλείονι δυνάμει,

[1] Γαίου FLMV Lat.
[2] P: καὶ Ἀλβίνου rell.: Albino Lat.
[3] σπανίζοντας FLAW.
[4] ὡς om. A[1]W Lat.: καὶ Hudson.
[5] Μάλχος . . . μετανοεῖ] Μάλχον . . . μετανοεῖν FLAMW.

[a] This is slightly inaccurate, as the 184th Olympiad had ended several months earlier (July 40 B.C.).

[b] On the parallelism between §§ 390-438 and *B.J.* i. 286-320

Olympiad,[a] the consuls being Gnaeus Domitius Calvinus, for the second time, and Gaius Asinius Pollio.

(6) [b] All this time Antigonus was besieging those in Masada, who had all other necessary provisions and lacked only water[c]; on this account Herod's brother Joseph planned to flee with two hundred of his people to the Arabs, for he had heard that Malchus regretted the wrongs which he had done Herod.[d] But he was stopped by a rain which God sent in the night, for once the cisterns were filled with water, they no longer needed to flee; instead, they were now encouraged, not merely because they had an abundance of what they had lacked before, but rather because this seemed an act of God's providence[e]; and so they sallied out, and engaging Antigonus' men, sometimes openly and sometimes from under cover, destroyed many of them.[f] Meanwhile Ventidius,[g] the Roman general sent from Syria to keep back the Parthians, after disposing of them,[h] made a side-march into Judaea, ostensibly to give aid to Joseph, but in reality the whole business was a device to obtain money from Antigonus; at any rate he encamped very near Jerusalem and extorted from Antigonus as much money as he wanted. Then he himself withdrew with the greater part of his force;

Joseph, the brother of Herod, successfully defends Masada.

The Romans extort money from Antigonus.

see Laqueur, pp. 199-205, according to whom Josephus in *Ant.* is hostile to Antigonus as well as to Herod.

[c] See above, § 362. [d] See above, §§ 370-375.

[e] These reflections on Providence are not found in *B.J.*

[f] *B.J.* adds that the Herodians met with occasional reverses and were sometimes forced to retire.

[g] P. Ventidius Bassus had been sent to Asia by Antony in 40 B.C.

[h] In 39 B.C. Ventidius defeated the combined forces of Labienus and the Parthians; *cf.* Debevoise, pp. 114-116 for the ancient sources.

ἵνα δὲ μὴ κατάφωρον γένηται τὸ λῆμμα,[1] Σίλωνα μετὰ μέρους τινὸς τῶν στρατιωτῶν κατέλιπεν, ὃν καὶ αὐτὸν ἐθεράπευεν Ἀντίγονος, ὅπως μηδὲν ἐνοχλοίη, προσδοκῶν καὶ πάλιν αὐτῷ Πάρθους ἐπαμυνεῖν.[2]

394 (xv. 1) Ἡρώδης δ' ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἤδη καταπεπλευκὼς εἰς Πτολεμαΐδα, καὶ συναγηοχὼς δύναμιν οὐκ ὀλίγην ξένων τε ἅμα καὶ ὁμοφύλων, ἤλαυνε διὰ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἐπ' Ἀντίγονον. συνελάμβανον δ' αὐτῷ Σίλων τε καὶ Βεντίδιος πεισθέντες ὑπὸ Δελλίου[3] συγκατάγειν Ἡρώδην, τοῦ
395 πεμφθέντος[4] ὑπ' Ἀντωνίου. Βεντίδιος μὲν οὖν ἐτύγχανε τὰς ταραχὰς τὰς διὰ Πάρθους ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν οὔσας καθιστάμενος, Σίλων δ' ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ χρήμασιν ὑπ' Ἀντιγόνου διεφθαρμένος. Ἡρώδῃ μέντοι προϊόντι[5] καθ' ἑκάστην[6] ἡμέραν ἡ[7] δύναμις ηὔξετο, καὶ πᾶσα Γαλιλαία πλὴν ὀλίγων αὐτῷ
396 προστέθειτο. ὡρμηκότι δ' αὐτῷ[8] ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν Μασάδᾳ (ἀναγκαῖον γὰρ ἦν τὸ σῶσαι τοὺς ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ πολιορκουμένους συγγενεῖς ὄντας) ἐμποδὼν Ἰόππη γίνεται· πολεμίαν γὰρ οὖσαν αὐτὴν ἐχρῆν ἐξελεῖν πρότερον, ὅπως μηδὲν ὑπολείπηται κατὰ νώτου τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἔρυμα, χωροῦντος ἐπὶ
397 Ἱεροσολύμων. ποιησαμένου δὲ καὶ Σίλωνος ταύ-

[1] P Lat.: τόλμημα rell.
[2] cum Lat. Dindorf: ἐπαμύνειν codd. E.
[3] ex B.J. Usserius: Δελαίου P: Βδελλίου FLAM: Βδελίου V: Βδελλίους W: Delium Lat.
[4] τὸν πεμφθέντα LAMW.
[5] E: προσιόντι codd.
[6] καθ' ἑκάστην P: κατὰ πᾶσαν rell.
[7] ἡ P: om. rell.
[8] ὡρμηκότι δ' αὐτῷ ed. pr.: ὡρμηκότα δ' αὐτὸν codd.

[a] Variant "his shameless act."

but in order that his extortion[a] might not be detected, he left Silo[b] behind with a certain number of soldiers ; to him also Antigonus paid court in order that he might not cause any trouble, hoping at the same time that the Parthians would once more give him help.

(xv. 1) By this time Herod had sailed from Italy[c] to Ptolemais and had collected a not inconsiderable force of both foreigners and his countrymen, and was marching through Galilee against Antigonus. And he was supported by Silo and Ventidius, for they had been persuaded by Dellius,[d] who had been sent by Antony, to join in restoring Herod to his country. And so while Ventidius was quieting the disturbances that had been created in the cities by the Parthians, Silo remained in Judaea, having been corrupted by bribes from Antigonus. Nevertheless Herod's strength increased day by day as he went forward, and all Galilee, except for a few of its inhabitants, came over to his side. But when he set out to reach those in Masada—for it was essential to save the people who were being besieged in the fortress, since they were his relatives—he found Joppa in his way, and as it was hostile to him, he had first to capture it in order that no stronghold should be left on his rear in the enemy's hands while he was moving on Jerusalem. But as Silo made this a pretext for departing, and

Herod, supported by the Romans, wins over large numbers of Jews.

[b] His name is given as Pupedius (*ell.* Pompedius, Poppedius) Silo in Dio Cassius xlviii. 41.

[c] Herod had sailed from Italy in December, 40 B.C. or January, 39 B.C. (see above, §§ 379, 387 notes). Ventidius was near Jerusalem in the latter part of 39 B.C. (*cf.* Debevoise, p. 116). Herod must therefore have had more than half a year to prepare a force against Antigonus.

[d] Name slightly emended from *B.J.*

την πρόφασιν τῆς ἀπαναστάσεως, καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων διωκόντων αὐτόν,[1] Ἡρώδης μετ' ὀλίγου στίφους ἐπέξεισι καὶ τρέπεται μὲν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, Σίλωνα δὲ σώζει κακῶς ἀμυνόμενον, ἑλὼν δὲ[2] τὴν Ἰόππην, ἔσπευδε ῥυσόμενος τοὺς ἐν Μασάδᾳ
398 οἰκείους. τῶν δ' ἐπιχωρίων οἱ μὲν αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν πατρῴαν προσεχώρουν φιλίαν, οἱ δὲ διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ δόξαν, ἄλλοι δὲ κατ' ἀμοιβὴν τῆς παρ' ἀμφοτέρων εὐεργεσίας, οἱ πλείους δὲ διὰ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἃς ὡς ἐπὶ βασιλεῖ βεβαίῳ τὸ λοιπὸν εἶχον.

399 (2) Ἤθροιστο δὴ[3] δύναμις βαρεῖα, καὶ προϊόντος Ἀντίγονος τῶν παρόδων τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους τόπους ἐνέδραις καὶ λόχοις κατελάμβανε, καὶ καθάπαξ οὐδὲν ἐκ τούτου τοὺς πολεμίους ἢ μικρὰ παντά-
400 πασιν ἔβλαπτεν. Ἡρώδης δὲ τοὺς ἐκ Μασάδας οἰκείους ἐπαναλαβὼν[4] καὶ Ὀρῆσαν[5] τὸ φρούριον ᾔει πρὸς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα, συνῆπτε[6] δ' αὐτῷ τὸ μετὰ Σίλωνος στρατιωτικὸν καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐκ
401 τῆς πόλεως τὴν ἰσχὺν καταπλαγέντες. στρατοπεδευσαμένου δὲ κατὰ τὸ πρὸς δύσιν τῆς πόλεως κλίμα, οἱ κατὰ τοῦτο τεταγμένοι φύλακες ἠκόντιζόν
402 τε καὶ ἐτόξευον εἰς αὐτούς, ἐνίων δὲ καὶ κατὰ στῖφος ἐκθεόντων[7] καὶ τοῖς προτεταγμένοις εἰς χεῖρας ἐρχομένων, Ἡρώδης τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐκέλευσε κηρύσσειν περὶ τὸ τεῖχος ὡς ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τε παρείη τοῦ δήμου καὶ ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῆς πόλεως, μηδὲν μηδὲ τοῖς φανεροῖς τῶν ἐχθρῶν μνησικακή-

[1] τῶν . . . αὐτόν om. P. [2] τε P.
[3] δ' ἡ PAMVW: δὲ E. [4] παραλαβὼν P.
[5] coni., cf. annot. ad § 361: Ῥῆσαν PFLA: Ῥύσσαν M: Ῥύσαν W corr.: Ῥῆσσαν V: Risam Lat.
[6] ex B.J. coni. Niese: συνήπτετο P: συνῆπτο FAMW: συνήπτω L: συνείπετο V et in ras. E. [7] ἐξιόντων P.

the Jews pursued him, Herod fell upon them with a small body of men and routed them, and so saved Silo, who was defending himself feebly; and after taking Joppa he hastened to rescue his relatives in Masada. Thereupon the local inhabitants joined him, some because of their friendship with his father,[a] others because of his reputation, and still others as a return for benefits received from both of them, but the majority because of the hopes which they placed in him as one who would thereafter have a secure position as king.

(2) Thus a strong force had been collected, and as it advanced, Antigonus occupied the most suitable places for passage with snares and ambushes, but did not the least, or at best only slight, damage thereby to the enemy. Then Herod having recovered his relatives from Masada and taken the fortress of Oresa,[b] went on to Jerusalem, where he was joined[c] by Silo's army and many from the city who were intimidated by his strength. When he encamped on the western side of the city, the guards who had been stationed in this quarter hurled javelins and shot arrows at them, while some ran out in a compact body and fought hand to hand with his front-line men; but Herod gave orders that his men should first make a proclamation before the wall that he had come for the good of the citizens and the welfare of the city, bearing no grudge even against those who were openly his foes, but, on the contrary, being

Herod and Silo besiege Antigonus in Jerusalem

[a] Antipater being an Idumaean, see above, §§ 8-10.
[b] On this conjecture for MSS. "Rhesa" (or "Rhysa") see above, § 361 note e.
[c] Text slightly uncertain.

σων, ἀλλὰ παρέξων καὶ τοῖς διαφορωτάτοις ἀμνη-
403 στίαν τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ἁμαρτημάτων. τοῦ δὲ Ἀντιγόνου πρὸς τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡρώδου κηρυχθέντα λέγοντος πρός τε Σίλωνα καὶ τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στράτευμα ὡς παρὰ τὴν αὐτῶν δικαιοσύνην Ἡρώδῃ δώσουσι τὴν βασιλείαν ἰδιώτῃ τε ὄντι καὶ Ἰδουμαίῳ, τουτέστιν ἡμιιουδαίῳ, δέον τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ γένους οὖσι παρέχειν[1] ὡς ἔθος ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς.
404 καὶ γὰρ εἰ νυνὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχουσι χαλεπῶς καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ὡς λαβόντα παρὰ Πάρθων ἀφελέσθαι διεγνώκασιν, εἶναί γε[2] πολλοὺς ἐκ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ τοὺς ληψομένους κατὰ τὸν[3] νόμον τὴν βασιλείαν, οἳ μηδὲν ἐξημαρτηκότες αὐτοὶ[4] πρὸς Ῥωμαίους καὶ ἱερεῖς ὄντες οὐκ ἂν εἰκότα πάσχοιεν
405 τῆς τιμῆς στερόμενοι.[5] ταῦτα πρὸς ἀλλήλους αὐτῶν λεγόντων καὶ προελθόντων εἰς βλασφημίας, Ἀντίγονος ἀμύνασθαι τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἐπέτρεπε τοῖς ἰδίοις. οἱ δὲ τοξεύοντες καὶ πολλῇ προθυμίᾳ κατ' αὐτῶν χρώμενοι ῥᾳδίως αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων ἐτρέψαντο.

406 (3) Τότε καὶ Σίλων ἀπεκαλύψατο τὴν δωροδοκίαν· καθῆκε γὰρ τῶν οἰκείων στρατιωτῶν οὐκ ὀλίγους σπάνιν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων καταβοᾶν καὶ χρήματα εἰς τροφὰς αἰτεῖν, καὶ χειμάσοντας ἀπάγειν εἰς τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους τόπους, τῶν περὶ τὴν πόλιν ὄντων ἐρήμων διὰ τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀντιγόνου

[1] ἄρχειν P. [2] ed. pr.: τε codd.: om. E.
[3] τὸν P: om. rell. E. [4] αὐτοὶ om. VE.
[5] PAM: στερούμενοι rell. E.

[a] The preceding passage, §§ 403-404, on the Hasmonaean claim to the kingship is an addition to *B.J.*, which says

ready to forget the offences which his most determined adversaries had committed against him. But Antigonus in answer to Herod's proclamation told Silo and the Roman army that it would be contrary to their own notion of right if they gave the kingship to Herod who was a commoner and an Idumaean, that is, a half-Jew, when they ought to offer it to those who were of the (royal) family, as was their custom. And, he argued, if they were now ill-disposed toward him and were determined to deprive him of the kingship on the ground that he had received it from the Parthians, there were at least many of his family who might lawfully receive the kingship, for they had committed no offence against the Romans, and were priests; and thus they would be unworthily treated if they were deprived of this rank.[a] Such things they said to one another and were proceeding to imprecations when Antigonus permitted his men to battle with Herod's men from the wall.[b] But the enemy shot their arrows and opposed them with so much spirit that they easily drove them from the towers.

(3) Then it was that Silo showed openly that he had taken a bribe[c]; for he got a good many of his own soldiers to cry aloud about the lack of provisions, to demand money for food, and to insist that they be taken to suitable quarters for wintering, since the region about the city was a waste as a result of the

Silo proves to be an unreliable ally of Herod.

merely that "Antigonus issued counter-exhortations forbidding any to listen to these proclamations (of Herod) or to go over to the enemy." See above, § 387 note *d*, § 390 note *b*.

[b] The text is probably faulty. *B.J.* reads more intelligibly, "Herod at once gave his men permission to battle with the men on the wall."

[c] From Antigonus, see above, § 395 and below, § 412.

στρατιωτῶν ἀνεσκευάσθαι, ἐκίνει τε τὸ στρατό-
407 πεδον καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν ἐπειρᾶτο. Ἡρώδης δ' ἐν-
έκειτο παρακαλῶν τούς τε ὑπὸ τῷ Σίλωνι ἡγεμόνας
καὶ[1] στρατιώτας μὴ καταλιπεῖν αὐτόν, Καίσαρός
τε καὶ Ἀντωνίου καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου προτρεψάν-
των[2] αὐτόν· προνοήσειν γὰρ αὐτῶν τῆς εὐπορίας,
καὶ παρέξειν αὐτοῖς ἀφθονίαν ὧν ἐπιζητοῦσι
408 ῥᾳδίως. καὶ μετὰ τὴν δέησιν εὐθὺς ἐξορμήσας
εἰς τὴν χώραν οὐκέτ' οὐδεμίαν Σίλωνι τῆς ἀνα-
χωρήσεως πρόφασιν ὑπελείπετο· πλῆθος γὰρ ὅσον
οὐδ' ἤλπισέ τις τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐκόμισε, τοῖς τε
περὶ Σαμάρειαν ᾠκειωμένοις πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπέστειλε,[3]
σῖτα καὶ οἶνον καὶ ἔλαιον καὶ βοσκήματα τά τε
ἄλλα πάντα κατάγειν[4] εἰς Ἱεριχοῦντα, τοῦ μηδὲ
τὰς ἑξῆς ἡμέρας τὴν[5] χορηγίαν τοὺς στρατιώτας
409 ἐπιλιπεῖν.[6] οὐκ ἐλάνθανε δὲ ταῦτ' Ἀντίγονον,
ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἀπέπεμψε κατὰ τὴν χώραν τοὺς εἴρ-
ξοντας καὶ λοχήσοντας τοὺς σιτηγοῦντας· οἱ δὲ
πειθόμενοι τοῖς Ἀντιγόνου προστάγμασι καὶ πολὺ
πλῆθος ὁπλιτῶν περὶ Ἱεριχοῦντα συναθροίσαντες
παρεφύλασσον ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρῶν καθεσθέντες τοὺς τὰ
410 ἐπιτήδεια κομίζοντας. οὐ μὴν Ἡρώδης τούτων
πραττομένων ἠρέμει, δέκα δὲ σπείρας ἀναλαβών, ὧν
πέντε μὲν Ῥωμαίων, πέντε δὲ Ἰουδαίων ἦσαν,
καὶ μισθοφόρους μιγάδας πρὸς οἷς ὀλίγους τῶν
ἱππέων ἐπὶ τὴν Ἱεριχοῦντα παραγίνεται· καὶ τὴν
μὲν πόλιν ἐκλελειμμένην καταλαβών, πεντακοσίους
δὲ τὰ ἄκρα κατειληφότας σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ γενεαῖς,

[1] καὶ τοὺς P.
[2] P: προπεμψάντων rell.: honoratum Lat.
[3] F: ἀπέστειλεν P: ἐπέστελλε rell.
[4] PE: καταγαγεῖν rell.
[5] εἰς P.
[6] PE: ἀπολιπεῖν rell.

ravaging by Antigonus' soldiers; and so he began to move his camp and attempted to withdraw. But Herod persisted in urging the officers under Silo and their soldiers not to desert him, for Caesar as well as Antony and the Senate had given him encouragement[a]; he would, he said, take care that they should have plenty of provisions, and would readily furnish them with an abundance of the things they wanted. After making this plea he at once set out into the country and left Silo no longer any pretext for withdrawing, for he brought back a greater mass of provisions than anyone had hoped for, and also instructed those around Samaria who had become friendly toward him[b] to bring down to Jericho grain, wine, oil, cattle and all other things in order that there should be no lack of supplies for the soldiers for some days to come. But these activities did not remain unknown to Antigonus, who at once sent off men throughout the country to obstruct and waylay those who were collecting food; and in obedience to Antigonus' orders they mustered a large body of armed men near Jericho, and taking up posts in the hills, kept a look-out for the men who were bringing provisions. Herod, however, did not remain still while this was being done, but took ten cohorts, five Roman and five Jewish, and a mixed mercenary force, to which he added a few mounted men, and marched on Jericho; and while he found the city deserted, he seized five hundred men occupying the heights with their wives and families, but after capturing

[a] Variant (as in *B.J.*) "had given him a commission."

[b] Or "had become subject to him": Samaria (and Idumaea) had been added to Herod's territory by Mark Antony, according to Appian, *Bell. Civ.* v. 75; *cf.* Momigliano, *Ricerche*, pp. 347-350.

τούτους μὲν ἀπέλυσε λαβών, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ εἰσ-
πεσόντες διήρπασαν τὴν πόλιν, μεσταῖς ἐπιτυχόν-
411 τες[1] παντοίων κειμηλίων ταῖς οἰκίαις. Ἱεριχοῦντος
μὲν οὖν φρουρὰν ὁ βασιλεὺς καταλιπὼν ὑπέστρεψε,
καὶ χειμάσουσαν τὴν Ῥωμαίων στρατιὰν εἰς τὰς
προσκεχωρηκυίας διαφῆκεν, Ἰδουμαίαν[2] καὶ Γαλι-
412 λαίαν καὶ Σαμάρειαν. ἔτυχε δὲ καὶ Ἀντίγονος
παρὰ Σίλωνος ἀντὶ τῆς δωροδοκίας ὥστε ὑπο-
δέξασθαι τοῦ στρατοῦ μοῖραν ἐν Λύδδοις, θερα-
πεύων Ἀντώνιον. καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἐν ἀφθόνοις
διῆγον ἀνειμένοι τῶν ὅπλων.

413 (4) Ἡρώδῃ δὲ οὐκ ἐδόκει μένειν ἐφ' ἡσυχίας,
ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν[3] τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰώσηπον
σὺν δισχιλίοις ὁπλίταις καὶ τετρακοσίοις ἱππεῦσιν
ἐξέπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ εἰς Σαμάρειαν παραγενόμενος,
καὶ καταθέμενος αὐτόθι τήν τε μητέρα καὶ τοὺς
ἄλλους[4] συγγενεῖς ἐξεληλυθότας ἤδη ἐκ τῆς Μα-
σάδας, ἐπὶ Γαλιλαίας ᾤχετο ἐξαιρήσων τινὰ τῶν
χωρίων ὑπ' Ἀντιγόνου φρουραῖς κατειλημμένα.
414 διελθὼν δὲ εἰς Σέπφωριν νίφοντος τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ
τῶν Ἀντιγόνου φρουρῶν ὑπεξελθόντων, ἐν ἀφθό-
415 νοις ἦν τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις. εἶτ' ἐκεῖθεν λῃστῶν
τινῶν ἐν σπηλαίοις κατοικούντων, ἱππέων ἐπ'
αὐτοὺς ἴλην ἐκπέμπει καὶ ὁπλιτικοῦ τρία τέλη,
παῦσαι κακουργοῦντας ἐγνωκώς· ἔγγιστα δ' ἦν

[1] ἐπιτυγχάνοντες P. [2] Ἰουδαίαν LAMW.
[3] Ἰουδαίαν L Lat. [4] ἄλλους om. P.

[a] Or "which had been added to his territory," see the preceding note.
[b] Variant (wrongly) "Judaea"; *B.J.* has "Idumaea."

them, released them; then the Romans fell upon the city and plundered it, finding the houses full of all kinds of valuable things. And after leaving a garrison at Jericho, the king returned and dismissed his Roman army to their winter quarters in the districts which had joined his side,[a] namely Idumaea,[b] Galilee and Samaria. At the same time Antigonus through bribery obtained Silo's consent to quarter a part of his army in Lydda,[c] seeking to win Antony's favour thereby. And so the Romans put aside their arms and lived on the fat of the land.[d]

(4) Herod, however, did not choose to remain inactive, but sent off his brother Joseph to Idumaea with two thousand foot-soldiers and four hundred mounted men,[e] while he himself went to Samaria, where he left his mother and his other relatives, who had by now made their way out of Masada, and proceeded to Galilee to capture some of the strongholds which had been occupied by the garrisons of Antigonus. He reached Sepphoris in a snow-storm, and as Antigonus' garrison had quietly withdrawn, he came into possession of an abundance of provisions. From here he then sent out a troop of cavalry and three companies of foot-soldiers against some brigands living in caves, for he had made up his mind to put an end to their depredations[f]; these caves were very

Herod's conquests in Galilee.

[c] Mod. *Ludd*, *c.* 10 miles S.E. of Jaffa, *cf. Ant.* xiii. 127 note *c* (p. 288). Dr. Thackeray comments on the parallel, *B.J.* i. 302, that this was "an action apparently designed to weaken the allegiance of the Roman troops."

[d] During the winter of 39–38 B.C.

[e] *B.J* i. 303 adds "to prevent any insurrection in favour of Antigonus."

[f] Herod had earlier encountered "brigands" in Galilee, see above, §§ 159-160. But in this case they were more probably political opponents, as Otto remarks, *Herodes*, p. 30.

416 ταῦτα κώμης Ἀρβήλων λεγομένης.[a] εἰς δὲ τεσσαρακοστὴν ἡμέραν αὐτὸς ἧκε πανστρατιᾷ, καὶ θρασέως[1] ἐξελθόντων τῶν πολεμίων κλίνεται μὲν τὸ εὐώνυμον αὐτῷ[2] κέρας τῆς φάλαγγος, ἐπιφανεὶς δ' αὐτὸς μετὰ στίφους τρέπει μὲν εἰς φυγὴν τοὺς πάλαι νικῶντας, ἀναστρέφει δὲ τοὺς φεύγοντας.
417 ἐνέκειτο δὲ διώκων τοὺς πολεμίους ἄχρι Ἰορδάνου ποταμοῦ φεύγοντας ἄλλους κατ' ἄλλας[3] ὁδούς, καὶ προσάγεται μὲν πᾶσαν τὴν Γαλιλαίαν πλὴν τῶν ἐν τοῖς σπηλαίοις κατοικούντων, διανέμει δὲ καὶ ἀργύριον, κατ' ἄνδρα δοὺς ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα δραχμάς, τοῖς δὲ ἡγεμόσι πολὺ πλέον, καὶ εἰς[4]
418 τὰ χειμάδια διέπεμψεν.[5] καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Σίλων ἧκε παρ' αὐτὸν καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν ἐν τοῖς χειμαδίοις, Ἀντιγόνου τροφὰς παρέχειν οὐ θέλοντος· μῆνα γάρ, οὐ πλέον, αὐτοὺς ὁ ἀνὴρ ἔθρεψε, διέπεμψε δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κύκλῳ κελεύων τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἀνασκευάσασθαι καὶ εἰς τὰ ὄρη φυγεῖν,[6] ὡς μηδὲν ἔχοντες Ῥωμαῖοι τῶν ἀναγκαίων[7] λιμῷ
419 διαφθαρεῖεν. Ἡρώδης δὲ τὴν μὲν τούτων πρόνοιαν Φερώρᾳ τῷ νεωτάτῳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐπιτρέπει, κελεύσας αὐτὸν ἀνατειχίζειν[8] καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρειον. ὁ δὲ ταχέως τε τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐν ἀφθονίᾳ πολλῇ

[1] ταχέως LAMW: ταχέως θρασέως F.
[2] ex Lat. Niese: αὐτῶν codd.
[3] ἄλλους κατ' ἄλλας ex Lat. coni. Bekker: κατ' ἄλλας codd.
[4] καὶ εἰς ed. pr.: εἰς codd. E.
[5] ἔπεμψεν FLVE. [6] φεύγειν P.
[7] τῶν ἀναγκαίων om. P.
[8] ἅμα τειχίζειν P Lat.

[a] Mod. *Khirbet Irbid*, a few miles W. of the Sea of Galilee and N.W. of Tiberias, *cf. Ant.* xii. 421 note *a*. In *Vita* 188 Josephus calls the place "the Cave of Arbela." The ruins

near a village called Arbela.[a] Forty days later he himself came with his entire army, and under the enemy's bold[b] attack the left wing of his line gave way, but when he appeared in person with a compact body of men,[c] he put to flight those who had before been victorious, and rallied those of his men who were fleeing. And he pressed on in pursuit of the enemy as far as the river Jordan, to which they fled along different[d] roads[e]; and so he got into his hands all the people of Galilee except those who lived in the caves[f]; he then distributed money, giving each of his men a hundred and fifty drachmas, and considerably more to the officers, and dismissed them to their winter quarters. Meanwhile Silo and the officers of the men who were in winter quarters came to him because Antigonus was unwilling to furnish them with food; that worthy had fed them for a month and no longer; he had, moreover, sent out orders to the inhabitants round about that they were to gather up all the provisions throughout the country and flee to the hills in order that the Romans might be entirely without necessary food and so perish of hunger. Accordingly Herod entrusted the care of these men to Pheroras, his youngest brother, and ordered him to fortify Alexandreion also. And he quickly made it possible for the soldiers to have

of a later synagogue may still be seen there, *cf.* E. Sukenik in *JPOS* 15 (1935), p. 143.

[b] Variant "swift."

[c] *B.J.* i. 306 reads a little differently, "Herod instantly wheeling round his troops from the right wing, where he was in command."

[d] Text slightly emended from Latin.

[e] *B.J.* i. 307 adds that he destroyed large numbers of the enemy.

[f] Probably near Arbela.

τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐποίησε, τό τε Ἀλεξάνδρειον ἠρημωμένον ἀνέκτισεν.

420 (5) Ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον Ἀντώνιος μὲν διέτριβεν ἐν Ἀθήναις, κατὰ δὲ Συρίαν Βεντίδιος Σίλωνα μεταπεμπόμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους, ἐπέστελλε πρῶτον μὲν Ἡρώδῃ συλλαμβάνεσθαι τοῦδε[1] τοῦ πολέμου, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν σφέτερον
421 καλεῖν τοὺς συμμάχους. ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς σπηλαίοις λῃστὰς ἐπειγόμενος Σίλωνα μὲν ἐξέπεμψε Βεντιδίῳ, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἐξώρμησεν.
422 ἦν δ' ἐν ὄρεσι τὰ σπήλαια τελέως ἐξερρωγόσι, καὶ κατὰ τὸ μεσαίτατον ἀποκρήμνους ἔχοντα τὰς παρόδους, καὶ πέτραις ὀξείαις ἐμπεριεχόμενα· ἐν δὴ τούτοις μετὰ πάντων τῶν οἰκείων ἐφώλευον.[2]
423 ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς λάρνακας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς πηξάμενος καθίει ταύτας σιδηραῖς ἁλύσεσιν ἐκδεδεμένας διὰ μηχανῆς ἀπὸ κορυφῆς τοῦ ὄρους, μήτε κάτωθεν ἀνιέναι διὰ τὴν ὀξύτητα τοῦ ὄρους δυναμένων μήτε
424 ἄνωθεν καθέρπειν ἐπ' αὐτούς. αἱ δὲ λάρνακες πλήρεις ὁπλιτῶν ἦσαν[3] ἅρπας μεγάλας ἐχόντων, αἷς ἔμελλον ἐπισπώμενοι τοὺς ἀνθεστῶτας τῶν λῃστῶν κτείνειν καταφερομένους. τὴν μὲν δὴ[4] κάθεσιν τῶν λαρνάκων σφαλερὰν εἶναι συνέβαινε,

[1] τοῦδε om. P.
[2] ἐφέδρευον LAM : ἐνεφώλευον E : latebant Lat.
[3] V : ὑπῆρχον rell. E.
[4] μὲν δὴ Bekker : μέντοι γε P : μέντοι rell. E.

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[a] Nothing is said about Silo or Antigonus in the parallel, *B.J.* i. 308, which says merely that Pheroras was instructed to take charge of the commissariat (ἀγορά) of Herod's army and to fortify Alexandreion (see above, § 92). Laqueur,

an abundance of the necessary provisions, and also restored Alexandreion, which had been left in ruins.[a]

(5) About the same time, while Antony was staying at Athens,[b] Ventidius in Syria sent for Silo to join him against the Parthians,[c] but instructed him first to assist Herod in the present war and then summon their allies to the Romans' own war. But Herod, who was hastening against the brigands in the caves, sent[d] Silo off to Ventidius, and set out against them by himself. Now their caves were in hills that were altogether rugged, having their entrances half-way up the sheer cliffs and being surrounded by sharp rocks; in such dens did they lurk with all their people. Thereupon[e] the king, whose men were unable either to climb up from below or creep upon them from above because of the steepness of the hill, had cribs built and lowered these upon them with iron chains as they were suspended by a machine from the summit of the hill. The cribs were filled with armed men holding great grappling hooks, with which they were supposed to draw toward them any of the brigands who opposed them, and kill them by hurling them to the ground. The lowering of the cribs was proving to be a risky business because of the

How Herod destroyed the Galilean brigands in their caves.

p. 202, argues that § 418 is not an original part of Josephus' source, abbreviated in *B.J.*, but a later addition, probably by Josephus himself rather than from a second source, designed to show the unreliability of Antigonus.

[b] Antony and his wife Octavia went to Athens in the autumn of 39 B.C.: he remained there for two years with brief trips to Asia and Italy.

[c] For an account of this campaign (against Pacorus) in the spring of 38 B.C. see Debevoise, pp. 116-120.

[d] *B.J.* i. 309 more pointedly reads "gladly sent off."

[e] §§ 423-428 add considerable detail to the brief account of the attack on the caves given in *B.J.* i. 311.

κατὰ βάθους ἀπείρου γινομένην· ἔνδον μέντοι καὶ
425 τὰ ἐπιτήδεια παρῆν αὐτοῖς. ὡς δὲ καθιμήθησαν
μὲν αἱ λάρνακες, ἐτόλμα δ' οὐδεὶς προελθεῖν[1] τῶν[2]
ἐπὶ τῶν στομίων, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ δέους ἠρέμουν, μάχαιράν
τις περιζωσάμενος τῶν ὁπλοφόρων καὶ ταῖν χεροῖν
ἀμφοτέραιν δραξάμενος ἁλύσεως ἀφ' ἧς ἤρτητο ἡ
λάρναξ, κατῄει ἐπὶ τὰ στόμια δυσχεράνας τὴν τρι-
426 βὴν τῶν ἐπεξιέναι μὴ τολμώντων. καὶ γενόμενος
κατά τι στόμιον πρῶτα μὲν παλτοῖς ἀνακόπτει
τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ στομίου, ἔπειτα ἅρπῃ
τοὺς ἀνθεστῶτας ἐπισπασάμενος ὠθεῖ κατὰ τοῦ
κρημνοῦ, καὶ τοῖς ἔνδον ἐπεισελθὼν ἀποσφάττει[3]
πολλούς, καὶ εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὴν λάρνακα ἡσύχασεν.
427 φόβος δὲ εἶχε τοὺς ἄλλους τῆς οἰμωγῆς ἀκούοντας
καὶ περὶ[4] τῆς σωτηρίας ἀπόγνωσις, τὸ μέντοι γε
πᾶν ἔργον ἐπέσχε νὺξ ἐπελθοῦσα[5]· καὶ πολλοὶ[6]
συγχωρήσαντος τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπικηρυκευσάμενοι[7]
428 παρέδοσαν σφᾶς ὑπηκόους εἶναι. τῷ δ' αὐτῷ
τρόπῳ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἐχρήσαντο τῇ
προσβολῇ, μᾶλλον ἔτι τῶν ἐν τοῖς πήγμασιν[8]
ἐπεξιόντων αὐτοῖς καὶ κατὰ θύρας μαχομένων πῦρ
τε ἐνιέντων, ἐξαφθέντων τε τῶν ἄντρων, πολλὴ
429 γὰρ ἦν ἐν αὐτοῖς ὕλη. πρεσβύτης δέ[9] τις ἀπ-
ειλημμένος ἔνδον σὺν ἑπτὰ τέκνοις καὶ γυναικί,
δεομένων τούτων ἐᾶσαι σφᾶς ὑπεξελθεῖν πρὸς τοὺς
πολεμίους, στὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ στομίου τὸν ἀεὶ πρῶτον

[1] Niese: προσελθεῖν codd. E.
[2] τοῖς P: om. FE.
[3] + τε P.
[4] περὶ om. ed. pr., secl. Schmidt.
[5] ἐπέσχε νὺξ ἐπελθοῦσα ex Lat. Lowthius: ἐπέσχεν ἐπεξελθοῦσιν PE: ὑπέσχεν ὑπεξελθοῦσι rell.
[6] VE: πολλοῖς rell.
[7] coni. Cocceji: ἐπικηρυκευσαμένου codd.
[8] P: πλέγμασιν rell. E.
[9] δέ om. PWE.

immense depth that lay below them, although the men within them had everything they needed. But when the cribs were let down, none of the men standing near the entrances of the caves dared come forward; instead, they remained quiet out of fear, whereupon one of the soldiers in irritation at the delay caused by the brigands who dared not come out, girded on his sword, and holding on with both hands to the chain from which the crib was suspended, lowered himself to the entrance of a cave. And when he came opposite an entrance, he first drove back with javelins most of those who were standing there, and then with his grappling hook drew his opponents toward him and pushed them over the precipice; after this he attacked those within and slaughtered many of them, whereupon he re-entered the crib and rested. Then fear seized the others as they heard the shrieking, and they despaired of their lives; all action, however, was halted by the coming on of night[a]; and many, after sending spokesmen with the king's consent,[b] surrendered and made their submission.[c] The same method of attack was used the following day, when the men in the baskets[d] fell upon them still more fiercely and fought at their doors and threw flaming fire inside, and so the caves, which had much wood in them, were set on fire. Now there was an old man shut up within one of the caves with his seven children and his wife: and when they begged him to let them slip through to the enemy, he stood at the entrance

[a] The word "night" is conjecturally supplied from the Latin.

[b] Text slightly emended.

[c] *B.J.*, on the contrary, says that "not one of them voluntarily surrendered."

[d] Or "cribs," see above, § 423.

ἐξιόντα τῶν παίδων ἀπέσφαττεν, εἰς ὃ πάντας διεχρήσατο, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα, καὶ ῥίψας κατὰ τοῦ κρημνοῦ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐπικατέβαλεν
430 ἑαυτόν, θάνατον πρὸ δουλείας ὑπομένων. πολλὰ δὲ πρῶτον ὠνείδισε τὸν Ἡρώδην εἰς ταπεινότητα, καίτοι τοῦ βασιλέως (ἦν γὰρ ἄποπτα αὐτῷ τὰ γινόμενα) δεξιάν τε προτείνοντος καὶ πᾶσαν ἄδειαν. τὰ μὲν οὖν σπήλαια τούτων γενομένων ἤδη πάντα ἐκεχείρωτο.

431 (6) Καταστήσας δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῖς αὐτόθι στρατηγὸν Πτολεμαῖον, εἰς Σαμάρειαν ᾤχετο σὺν ἱππεῦσιν ἑξακοσίοις ὁπλίταις δὲ τρισχιλίοις ὡς
432 μάχῃ κριθησόμενος πρὸς Ἀντίγονον. οὐ μὴν τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ προυχώρησε τὰ κατὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν, ἀλλ' οἱ καὶ πρότερον τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ταράξαντες ἐπεξελθόντες[1] αὐτὸν διεχρήσαντο, καὶ τοῦτο δράσαντες συμφεύγουσιν εἴς τε τὰ ἕλη καὶ τὰ δύσβατα τῶν χωρίων, ἄγοντες καὶ[2] διαρπάζοντες τὴν αὐτόθι
433 πᾶσαν. τιμωρεῖται δὲ τούτους Ἡρώδης ἐπανελθών· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἀναιρεῖ τῶν ἀποστάντων, τοὺς δὲ ἀναφυγόντας εἰς ἐρυμνὰ χωρία πολιορκίᾳ παραστησάμενος αὐτούς τε ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τὰ ἐρύματα κατέσκαψεν. ἐζημίωσε δέ, παύσας οὕτως τὴν νεωτεροποιίαν, καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἑκατὸν ταλάντοις.

434 (7) Ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ Πακόρου πεσόντος ἐν μάχῃ καὶ τῶν Πάρθων πταισάντων[3] πέμπει βοηθὸν ὁ Βεντίδιος Ἡρώδῃ Μαχαιρᾶν σὺν δυσὶ τάγμασι καὶ χιλίοις ἱππεῦσιν, ἐπισπεύδοντος Ἀντωνίου.

[1] ἐπελθόντες FLAMW.
[2] τε καὶ AMWE.
[3] PV: τραπέντων rell. Lat.

and cut down each of his sons as he came out, and afterwards his wife, and after hurling their dead bodies over the precipice, threw himself down upon them, thus submitting to death rather than to slavery. But before doing so, he bitterly reviled Herod for his meanness of spirit, although the king—for he was a witness of what was happening—stretched out his right hand and promised him full immunity. By such methods, then, all the caves were finally taken.

(6) The king thereupon appointed Ptolemy general in that region, and departed for Samaria with six hundred mounted men and three thousand foot-soldiers to try the issue of battle with Antigonus. Ptolemy, however, was unsuccessful in his command, and the men who had formerly disturbed Galilee fell upon him and took his life; after doing this, they fled in a body to the marshes and other inaccessible places, harrying and plundering the entire country thereabout. But Herod returned and punished them; some of the rebels he slew, and those who had taken refuge in fortified places he subjected to a siege and killed, and demolished their strongholds as well. After putting an end to the rebellion in this way, he also fined the cities a hundred talents.

Further victories of Herod in Galilee.

(7) Meanwhile, after Pacorus had fallen in battle and the Parthians had been defeated,[a] Ventidius at the urging of Antony[b] sent Machaeras to the assistance of Herod with two legions and a thousand horse.

The Roman general Machaeras gives Herod ground for complaint.

[a] Variant "had been routed." The battle took place in June, 38 B.C. at Gindarus in the Syrian district of Cyrrhestica. For the ancient sources see Debevoise, pp. 118-119, notes 97-100.

[b] Who was now (summer of 38 B.C.) in Syria, see below, § 439.

435 Μαχαιρᾶς μὲν οὖν, Ἀντιγόνου καλοῦντος αὐτὸν παρὰ τὴν Ἡρώδου γνώμην χρήμασι διεφθαρμένος ἀπῄει ὡς κατασκεψόμενος αὐτοῦ τὰ πράγματα. τὴν δὲ διάνοιαν ὑπιδόμενος[1] αὐτοῦ τὴν τῆς ἀφίξεως Ἀντίγονος οὐδὲ προσεδέξατο, ἀλλὰ σφενδόναις βάλλων αὐτὸν ἀνεῖργε, καὶ διεδήλου τὴν αὐτοῦ[2]
436 προαίρεσιν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ τὰ βέλτιστα Ἡρώδην αὐτῷ παραινοῦντα καὶ ἑαυτὸν διημαρτηκότα, παρακούσαντα τῆς ἐκείνου συμβουλίας, ἀνεχώρει μὲν εἰς Ἀμμαοῦν πόλιν, οἷς δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν Ἰουδαίοις περιετύγχανε τούτους ἀπέσφαττεν ἐχθρούς τε καὶ φίλους, ὀργιζόμενος ὑπὲρ ὧν πεπόνθει.
437 παροξυνθεὶς δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ Σαμαρείας ᾔει· πρὸς γὰρ Ἀντώνιον ἐγνώκει περὶ τούτων ἀφικέσθαι· δεῖσθαι γὰρ οὐχὶ τοιούτων συμμάχων, οἳ βλάψουσι μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους· ἐξαρκεῖν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς[3] πρὸς τὴν Ἀντιγόνου
438 καθαίρεσιν. παρακολουθῶν δ᾽ ὁ Μαχαιρᾶς ἐδεῖτο μένειν· εἰ δὲ οὕτως ὥρμηκεν, ἀλλὰ τόν γε[4] ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Ἰώσηπον παρακαθιστάνειν σφίσι προσπολεμοῦσιν Ἀντιγόνῳ. καὶ διαλλάττεται μὲν πολλὰ

[1] Dindorf: ὑπειδόμενος codd. E.
[2] Naber: αὐτοῦ codd.
[3] coni. Bekker: αὐτῷ codd.: ἑαυτῷ E: αὐτὸν ed. pr.
[4] E: om. L: τε rell.

[a] Cf. *Ant.* xiii. 15 note *c*.

[b] The preceding account of Machaeras' actions differs in some important details from the parallel, *B.J.* i. 317-319, which says that Antigonus, complaining bitterly of Herod, tried to bribe Machaeras, but the bribe was refused because Machaeras respected the orders of Ventidius and was also tempted by a larger bribe offered by Herod; after being repulsed by Antigonus, Machaeras in shame (nothing is said of his belated recognition of the soundness of Herod's advice)

Now Machaeras, being invited by Antigonus and bribed by him, went off against Herod's wish, as if to reconnoitre his position; but Antigonus, suspecting his intentions in coming, did not admit him, but kept him away with sling-shots, and so revealed his own purpose. Thereupon Machaeras, perceiving that Herod had given him excellent advice and that he himself had made a mistake in disregarding his counsel, withdrew to the city of Emmaus[a] and slaughtered all the Jews whom he met on the way, whether friends or foes, in anger at the treatment he had suffered.[b] Enraged at these acts, the king went to Samaria, for he had decided to go to Antony about these matters and say that he had no need of such allies, who would do more harm to him than to his enemies, and that he was quite able to crush Antigonus by himself.[c] But Machaeras, who accompanied him, begged him to remain, or, if he were bent on going, at least to leave his brother Joseph as their associate in the war with Antigonus.[d] And so, at

was forced to retire to Emmaus and rejoin Herod, on the way killing all the Jews he met, not sparing even the Herodians. Otto, *Herodes*, p. 31 note, assumes that in *Ant.* Josephus used two contradictory sources, while Laqueur, pp. 202-205, argues that Josephus has tendentiously altered *B.J.* in writing *Ant.* out of hostility to Antigonus (while still being hostile to his opponent Herod). But so far as Antigonus is concerned the only difference between *B.J.* and *Ant.* is that in the former he tries to bribe Machaeras unsuccessfully, and in the latter succeeds in bribing him. Thus the alleged anti-Antigonus revision of *Ant.* is not very clear.

[c] Contrast *B.J.* i. 320, "Indignant at these acts Herod hastened to attack Machaeras as an enemy, but restraining his anger, set out instead to lay before Antony an accusation of his lawlessness."

[d] Herod's brother Joseph is not mentioned by Machaeras in the parallel, *B.J.* i. 320.

τοῦ Μαχαιρᾶ δεηθέντος, καταλιπὼν δὲ τὸν Ἰώσηπον αὐτόθι σὺν στρατῷ παρῄνεσε μὴ ἀποκινδυνεύειν μηδὲ τῷ Μαχαιρᾷ διαφέρεσθαι.

439 (8) Αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ἔσπευδεν (ἐτύγχανε γάρ[1] πολιορκῶν Σαμόσατα τὸ πρὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ χωρίον) σὺν ἱππόταις τε καὶ πεζοῖς κατὰ συμ-
440 μαχίαν αὐτῷ παροῦσιν. παραγενόμενος δ' εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ πολλοῖς ἐπιτυχὼν ἠθροισμένοις καὶ[2] πρὸς Ἀντώνιον μὲν σπουδὴν βαδίζειν ἔχουσιν, ὑπὸ δέους δὲ διὰ τὸ κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐπιτίθεσθαι τοὺς βαρβάρους καὶ πολλοὺς ἀναιρεῖν οὐ τολμῶντας[3] ἐξορμᾶν, παραθαρρύνας αὐτὸς ἡγεμὼν γίνεται
441 τῆς ὁδοῦ. κατὰ δὲ σταθμὸν δεύτερον τῶν Σαμοσάτων[4] ἐλόχα μὲν αὐτόθι τῶν βαρβάρων ἐνέδρα τοὺς φοιτῶντας πρὸς Ἀντώνιον, δρυμώνων δὲ τὰς εἰσβολὰς τὰς εἰς τὰ πεδία διαλαμβανόντων προλοχίζουσιν αὐτόθι τῶν ἱππέων οὐκ ὀλίγους ἠρεμήσοντας ἕως ἂν[5] εἰς τὸ ἱππήλατον οἱ διεξιόντες

[1] PE : δὲ rell.
[2] καὶ secl. Dindorf. [3] τολμῶσιν Dindorf.
ante aut post τῶν Σαμοσάτων aliquid excidisse putat Niese.
[5] ἂν secl. Naber.

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[a] In *B.J.* Herod's warning to Joseph not to engage Antigonus (nothing is said about quarrelling with Machaeras, although his untrustworthiness is mentioned) follows the account of the siege of Samosata instead of preceding it, as here.

[b] On the parallelism between §§ 439-464 and *B.J.* i. 321-342

the earnest entreaty of Machaeras, Herod became reconciled and left his brother Joseph there with an army, warning him not to take any risks or to quarrel with Machaeras.[a]

(8) [b] He himself hastened to Antony, who was just then besieging Samosata, a place near the Euphrates, with horsemen and foot-soldiers who had come to his assistance.[c] When he arrived at Antioch,[d] he found many men gathered there who were anxious to reach Antony but dared not set out for fear of the barbarians who were attacking men on the way and slaying many of them: these he encouraged and became their leader on the road. But two days' march from Samosata [e] there was an ambush of barbarians lying in wait for those who were on their way to Antony. And as there were thickets covering the entrance to the plains, they had there placed in ambush [f] not a few horsemen to remain quiet until those passing through should reach the place where

Herod rescues the troops sent to aid Antony from the Parthian ambush.

see Laqueur, pp. 205-210, who assumes that in *Ant.* Josephus used a second source beside Nicolas of Damascus, namely the Memoirs of Herod himself. But this assumption seems to contradict Laqueur's theory that *Ant.* is more anti-Herodian than *B.J.*

[c] Antony had come to supersede Ventidius who was besieging the Parthians' ally Antiochus of Commagene. For the ancient sources see W. W. Tarn in *CAH* x. 53 note 3 and Debevoise, p. 120 note 103.

[d] *B.J.* adds that "Herod quickened his pace, as he saw in this a favourable opportunity for displaying his courage and strengthening his hold upon Antony's affection." The details of Herod's march and reception by Antony in §§ 439-444 are not found in the corresponding sections, *B.J.* i. 321-322.

[e] This would be about 40 miles S.W. of Samosata, probably near the southern border of Commagene.

[f] προλοχίζουσι is a Thucydidean term.

442 ἔλθοιεν. ὡς δ' οἱ πρῶτοι διεξῆλθον, ὠπισθοφυλάκει μὲν Ἡρώδης, προσπίπτουσι δὲ ἐξαπιναίως οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας ὄντες εἰς πεντακοσίους· καὶ τρεψαμένων τοὺς πρώτους, ἐπιδραμὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῇ ῥύμῃ τῇ περὶ αὐτὸν παραχρῆμα μὲν ἀνακόπτει τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐπεγείρει δὲ τὸ τῶν οἰκείων φρόνημα καὶ θαρραλέους ἀπεργάζεται, καὶ τῶν πάλαι φευγόντων ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς μαχομένων ἐκ-
443 τείνοντο πανταχόθεν οἱ βάρβαροι. ἐπέκειτο δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀναιρῶν, καὶ τὰ διηρπασμένα (πολλὰ δ' ἦν σκευοφόρα καὶ ἀνδράποδα) πάντα ἀνασωσάμενος
444 προήει. καὶ πλειόνων αὐτοῖς ἐπιτιθεμένων τῶν ἐν τοῖς δρυμῶσιν οἳ πλησίον τῆς εἰς τὸ πεδίον ἐκβολῆς ἦσαν, καὶ τούτοις προσμίξας[1] αὐτὸς μετὰ στίφους καρτεροῦ τρέπεται, καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνας ἀδεᾶ τοῖς ἑπομένοις τὴν[2] ὁδὸν παρεῖχεν· οἱ δὲ σωτῆρα καὶ προστάτην αὐτὸν ἀπεκάλουν.[3]

445 (9) Ἐπεὶ δὲ πλησίον τῶν Σαμοσάτων ἐγεγόνει, πέμπει τὸ στράτευμα ὑπαντησόμενον Ἀντώνιος σὺν τῷ οἰκείῳ κόσμῳ, τιμὴν Ἡρώδῃ ταύτην ἀπονέμων καὶ ἐπικουρίας ἕνεκα· τὴν γὰρ τῶν βαρ-
446 βάρων ἠκηκόει κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπίθεσιν. καὶ δὴ παρόντα τε εἶδεν ἀσμένως, καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτῷ πεπραγμένα μαθὼν ἐδεξιοῦτο καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐθαύμαζεν, αὐτός τε περιλαβὼν αὐτὸν Ἀντώνιος ὡς εἶδεν[4] ἠσπάζετο προυτίμα τε νεωστὶ βασιλέα

[1] V: συμπροσμίξας P: συμμίξας rell. E.
[2] τὴν add. Niese.
[3] ἐκάλουν P: ἐπεκάλουν AM.
[4] ὡς εἶδεν secl. Ernesti.

horses could be used. As the first men went through, Herod was guarding the rear, and when the men in ambush, numbering some five hundred, suddenly[a] fell upon them and routed those in front, the king rushed up and by the force of his charge at once drove the enemy back; at the same time he raised the spirits of his men and filled them with courage: and when those who had before been fleeing turned back to fight, the barbarians were killed on all sides. But the king pressed on, slaying as he went, and after recovering all the plunder that had been taken, consisting of a great many pack-animals and slaves, he went ahead. And being attacked by a larger number of men in the thickets near the entrance to the plain, he engaged them too with a stout body of men and routed and killed many of them, thus making the road safe for those who followed. Thereupon they hailed him as their saviour and protector.

(9) And when he came near Samosata, Antony sent his army with his own equipment to meet him, assigning these men as an honour to Herod and also as an aid to him; for he had heard of the barbarians' attacks upon them. Moreover when Herod arrived, he was very glad to see him, and on learning of his feats on the way, he clasped his hand and expressed admiration of his prowess; and Antony himself welcomed him with an embrace on seeing him,[b] and showed him special honour, for he had recently appointed him king.[c] But not long afterwards

Antony welcomes Herod at Samosata.

[a] ἐξαπιναίως is also Thucydidean.

[b] The text here is confused and repetitious.

[c] See above, § 386. *B.J.* i. 322 says merely that Antony "largely increased both his honours and his hopes of the kingship."

447 ἀποδείξας.[1] Ἀντιόχου δὲ μετ' οὐ πολὺ τὸ ἔρυμα παραδόντος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο παυσαμένου τοῦ πολέμου, Σοσσίῳ μὲν Ἀντώνιος Συρίαν[2] παραδίδωσι, παρακελευσάμενος δὲ[3] Ἡρώδῃ συμμαχεῖν αὐτὸς ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ἐχώρει. καὶ Σόσσιος μὲν δύο τάγματα ἐπικουρικὰ Ἡρώδῃ προύπεμψεν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τοῦ πλείονος στρατοῦ ἠκολούθει.

448 (10) Ἔτυχε δ' ἤδη κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν τεθνεὼς Ἰώσηπος τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ· λήθην μὲν ὧν αὐτῷ παρήγγειλεν ὁ ἀδελφὸς πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ἀπερχόμενος λαμβάνει, στρατοπεδευσάμενος δὲ ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρη (πέντε γὰρ αὐτῷ σπείρας Μαχαιρᾶ δόντος ἐπὶ Ἱεριχοῦντος ἠπείγετο, βουλόμενος ἐκθερίσαι τὸν
449 σῖτον αὐτῶν[4]) καὶ νεοσυλλέκτου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατεύματος ὄντος καὶ πολέμων ἀπείρως ἔχοντος (καὶ γὰρ πολὺ ἐκ Συρίας ἦν τὸ κατειλεγμένον), ἐπιθεμένων αὐτόθι τῶν πολεμίων, ἀποληφθεὶς ἐν δυσχωρίαις αὐτός τε ἀποθνήσκει γενναίως μαχόμενος, καὶ τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν ἀπέβαλεν· ἓξ γὰρ
450 σπεῖραι διεφθάρησαν. κρατήσας δὲ τῶν νεκρῶν[5] Ἀντίγονος ἀποτέμνει τὴν Ἰωσήπου κεφαλήν, πεντήκοντα ταλάντων αὐτὴν ῥυομένου Φερώρα τἀδελφοῦ. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀποστάντες Γαλιλαῖοι τῶν παρὰ σφίσι δυνατῶν, τοὺς τὰ Ἡρώδου φρο-

[1] αὐτός τε . . . ἀποδείξας] et osculabatur eum et praeponebat sibi quem paulo ante regem ipse monstraverat Lat.
[2] Συρίαν ex B.J. add. Hudson.
[3] δὲ post αὐτὸς tr. Richards et Shutt.
[4] αὐτῶν om. L Lat.
[5] inimicos Lat.

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[a] King of Commagene, see above, § 439 note *c*.
[b] *B.J.* says that Herod's arrival "brought the siege to a conclusion." According to Plutarch, *Ant.* 34, Antony made

Antiochus[a] surrendered the stronghold,[b] and thus the war came to an end; thereupon Antony entrusted Syria[c] to Sossius with instructions to aid Herod, and himself departed for Egypt.[d] And so Sossius sent two legions ahead to Judaea to assist Herod,[e] and himself followed with the greater part of his army.

(10) Before this, however, Joseph had met his death in Judaea under the following circumstances. Forgetting the orders which his brother had given him when going off to Antony, he pitched camp in the hills—for when Machaeras gave him five cohorts, he hastened to Jericho with the intention of reaping all their grain—and as the Roman army was newly recruited and had no experience of war, being raised mostly from Syria, he was left in a difficult position when the enemy attacked him there, and so he was killed, fighting bravely; his entire army was also lost, six cohorts being destroyed.[f] And Antigonus seized the dead bodies[g] and cut off Joseph's head, which his brother Pheroras ransomed for fifty talents. And after this the Galilaeans rebelled against the nobles in their country and drowned the partisans

Joseph is killed in battle at Jericho.

peace with Antiochus on the latter's payment of 300 talents (instead of 1000 earlier demanded by Ventidius). Tarn, *loc. cit.*, calls this story "absurd."

[c] "Syria" is conjecturally supplied from *B.J.*

[d] According to Plutarch, *loc. cit.*, Antony returned to Athens from Syria. In *B.J.* the instructions to Sossius are mentioned after the account of Joseph's defeat at Jericho, instead of before it, as here; § 447 = *B.J.* i. 327, while §§ 448-450 = *B.J.* i. 323-326.

[e] Tarn remarks, *C.A.H.* x. 54, that this was a "rare instance of a foreigner commanding Roman troops."

[f] This detail is not found in *B.J.*

[g] Lat. "the enemy"; our text is supported by *B.J.*

νοῦντας ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ κατεπόντωσαν, καὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας πολλὰ ἐνεωτερίσθη. Μαχαιρᾶς δὲ Γιτθᾶν[1] χωρίον ἐξωχύρου.

451 (11) Παρῆσαν δ' ἄγγελοι τῶν πεπραγμένων πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ ἐν Δάφνῃ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἐδήλωσαν αὐτῷ τὴν κατὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τύχην, προσδεχομένῳ μέντοι καὶ αὐτῷ διά τινας ὀνείρων ὄψεις τρανῶς προφαινούσας τὸν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ
452 θάνατον. ἐπειχθεὶς οὖν κατὰ τὴν πορείαν ὡς κατὰ Λίβανον τὸ ὄρος γίνεται, ὀκτακοσίους μὲν τῶν αὐτόθι προσλαμβάνει, ἔχων δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαϊκὸν ἓν τάγμα εἰς Πτολεμαΐδα παραγίνεται, κἀκεῖθεν νυκτὸς ἀναστὰς μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ προῄει διὰ τῆς
453 Γαλιλαίας. ὑπήντων δ' οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ κρατηθέντες τῇ μάχῃ κατεκλείσθησαν εἰς χωρίον ὅθεν ἦσαν ὡρμηκότες τῇ προτεραίᾳ· προσβολὰς δὴ τοὐντεῦθεν ἕωθεν[2] ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ πολλοῦ χειμῶνος καταρραγέντος οὐδὲν ποιεῖν δυνάμενος, ἀπάγει τὴν στρατιὰν εἰς τὰς πλησίον κώμας. ἐλθόντος δ' αὐτῷ παρ' Ἀντωνίου καὶ δευτέρου τάγματος, οἱ τὸ χωρίον ἔχοντες φοβηθέντες νυκτὸς ἐξέλιπον[3]
454 αὐτό. καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔσπευδεν ἐπὶ Ἱεριχοῦντος, τιμωρήσασθαι κατὰ νοῦν ἔχων αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ τά-

[1] Hudson: Ηττον P (post χωρίον): Γιθὰν AMW: Γιθτᾶν V: Γήθαν rell.
[2] ἕωθεν om. PE Lat.
[3] ἐξέλειπον PFV.

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[a] Of Gennesaret (the Sea of Galilee).
[b] *B.J.* has "Idumaea," probably the correct reading since, as Otto points out, *Herodes*, p. 32, Judaea had not been held by Herod, while, according to *B.J.* i. 303, he had earlier feared a revolt in Idumaea.
[c] Name slightly emended after *B.J.* The site may have been S.W. of Hebron, *cf.* Dr. Thackeray's note on *B.J.* i. 326.

of Herod in the lake [a]; a good part of Judaea [b] also revolted. Machaeras then fortified the place called Gittha.[c]

(11) But messengers came to the king to report these happenings, and at Daphne near Antioch they informed him of his brother's fate, which, however, he himself was expecting from certain dream visions which clearly foreshadowed his brother's death.[d] He therefore hastened on his way, and when he came to Mount Lebanon, took on eight hundred men of that region, and with a Roman legion as well came to Ptolemais; from there he set out by night with his army and proceeded through Galilee.[e] When the enemy met him, they were defeated in battle and were shut up in the fortress from which they had set out the day before; he then attacked them repeatedly at dawn,[f] but not being able to do anything because of a severe storm which broke out, he led his army back to the villages nearby. But when a second legion came to him from Antony,[g] the men who were holding the fortress were terrified and abandoned it by night. And the king hastened to Jericho with the intention of taking revenge on

Herod hastens to Jericho to avenge Joseph's death.

[d] *B.J.*'s language is more dramatic, "springing in dismay from his bed, he was met by the messengers bringing news of the catastrophe."

[e] The stop at Ptolemais is not mentioned in *B.J.* Laqueur, pp. 206-207, argues that in *Ant.* Josephus has deliberately suppressed the details of his source which showed Herod's passionate haste to avenge his brother. But *B.J.* is simply more rhetorical than *Ant.*, see preceding note and below, on § 458.

[f] The variant omits "at dawn," a detail not found in *B.J.*; the word ἕωθεν may be a scribal error due to the preceding τοὐντεῦθεν.

[g] See above, § 447.

δελφοῦ. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέζευξεν, εἱστία μὲν τοὺς ἐν τέλει, μετὰ δὲ τὴν συνουσίαν παρῆλθεν εἰς τὸ
455 δωμάτιον ἀπολύσας τοὺς παρόντας. ἐνταῦθα ἴδοι τις ἂν τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ εὔνοιαν· πίπτει μὲν γὰρ ἡ στέγη τοῦ οἰκήματος, οὐδένα δὲ ἀπολαβοῦσα διέφθειρεν, ὥστε πάντας πιστεῦσαι τὸν Ἡρώδην εἶναι θεοφιλῆ, μέγαν οὕτω καὶ παράδοξον διαφυγόντα κίνδυνον.

456 (12) Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ τῶν πολεμίων ἑξακισχίλιοι ἀπ' ἄκρων κατιόντες τῶν ὀρῶν εἰς μάχην, ἐφόβουν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. οἱ δὲ γυμνῆτες προσιόντες τοῖς παλτοῖς[1] ἔβαλλον καὶ λίθοις τοὺς περὶ τὸν βασιλέα ἐξεληλυθότας, αὐτόν[2] τε παλτῷ[3] τις παρὰ τὴν
457 λαπάραν ἔβαλεν. Ἀντίγονος δ' ἐπὶ τὴν Σαμάρειαν πέμπει στρατηγὸν Πάππον ὄνομα σὺν δυνάμει τινί,[4] βουλόμενος παρασχεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις δόξαν πολεμοῦντος ἐκ περιουσίας. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Μαχαιρᾶ τῷ στρατηγῷ προσεκάθητο[5]· Ἡρώδης δὲ πέντε πόλεις καταλαβών,[6] τοὺς ἐγκαταληφθέντας[7] περὶ δισχιλίους ὄντας ἐφόνευσεν, αὐτάς τε τὰς πόλεις
458 ἐμπρήσας ἐπανῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν Πάππον· ἐστρατοπεδεύετο δὲ οὗτος περὶ[8] κώμην Ἰσάνας καλου-

[1] P (πάλτοις): πελτοῖς rell. [2] αὐτῷ FLAMW.
[3] P (πάλτῳ): πελτῷ rell.: πέλτῃ E.
[4] πολλῇ P. [5] παρεκάθητο FV: προεκάθητο L.
[6] PE: παραλαβὼν rell.
[7] edd.: ἐγκαταλιπόντας P: καταληφθέντας, η in ει corr. E: ἐγκαταλειφθέντας rell.: relictos Lat.
[8] ex B.J. Niese: ἐπὶ codd.

[a] The matter is put less factually in *B.J.* i. 332, which says that Herod "judged this to be a sign both of perils and of preservation in the coming war."
[b] Presumably in an earthquake, as is supposed by J. Garstang, *The Story of Jericho* (1940), p. 136.

them for his brother. And when he had found quarters, he entertained the men in authority, and after the party, sent away the guests and went to his room. And from the following incident one may see how well disposed God was toward the king.[a] For the roof of the house collapsed[b] without killing anyone who was caught within; so that they all believed that Herod was a favourite of God for having escaped so great and unexpected a danger.

(12) On the following day, however, six thousand of the enemy descended from the summits of the hills to fight, and struck terror into the Romans.[c] The light-armed troops came close and cast javelins[d] and stones at the king's men who had come out against them, and one of them struck the king himself in the side with a javelin. Antigonus then sent a general named Pappus with a force[e] to Samaria, wishing to give the enemy the impression that he was fighting with men to spare. And while he occupied himself with the general Machaeras, Herod took five cities, and after slaughtering those who were caught[f] in them—about two thousand—and burning the cities themselves, returned to face Pappus, who had pitched his camp near a village called Isana.[g]

Antigonus' force is defeated by Herod at Jericho.

[c] *B.J.* i. 332 says, on the contrary, that Antigonus' troops had not the courage to come to close quarters with the Romans. Possibly in *Ant.* we should read, not ἐφόβουν, but ἐφοβοῦντο (τοὺς Ῥωμαίους) "but they were afraid of the Romans."

[d] Text slightly emended.

[e] ms. P "a large force."

[f] So the editions: mss. "left."

[g] Not "Kana" as in *B.J.* through a scribal error. Isana is bibl. Jeshanah (*cf. Ant.* viii. 284), identified by Albright, *BASOR* 9 (February 1923), p. 7 (*cf.* Abel, *GP* ii. 364 and Klein, *EY*, p. 85 note 8) with mod. *Burj el-Isâneh*, *c.* 20 miles N. of Jerusalem on the Nablus road.

μένην. καὶ πολλῶν αὐτῷ προσρεόντων ἐκ τῆς
Ἱεριχοῦντος[1] καὶ τῆς ἄλλης[2] Ἰουδαίας, ἐπεὶ
πλησίον γίνεται, τῶν πολεμίων ἐπεξελθόντων
αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ θάρσους συμβαλὼν κρατεῖ τῇ μάχῃ,
καὶ τιμωρῶν τἀδελφῷ φεύγουσιν εἰς τὴν κώμην
459 εἵπετο[3] κτείνων. πεπληρωμένων δὲ τῶν οἰκήσεων
ὁπλιτῶν καὶ πολλῶν[4] ἀναφευγόντων ἐπὶ τὰς
στέγας κρατεῖ τούτων, καὶ τοὺς ὀρόφους τῶν
οἴκων ἀνασκάπτων, ἔμπλεα τὰ κάτω[5] τῶν στρατιω-
460 τῶν ἑώρα ἀθρόων ἀπειλημμένων. τούτους μὲν
οὖν πέτραις ἄνωθεν βάλλοντες σωρηδὸν ἐπ' ἀλλή-
λοις ἀνῄρουν. καὶ θέαμα τοῦτο δεινότατον ἦν
κατὰ τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον, νεκρῶν τὸ πλῆθος ἀπείρων
461 ἐντὸς[6] τῶν τοίχων[7] ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις κειμένων. τοῦτο
τὸ ἔργον μάλιστα τὰ φρονήματα τῶν πολεμίων
ἔκλασε καραδοκούντων τὸ μέλλον· ἑωρῶντο γὰρ
παμπληθεῖς πόρρωθεν συγγινόμενοι περὶ τὴν κώ-
μην· οἳ τότε ἔφευγον, καὶ εἰ μὴ χειμὼν ἐπέσχε
βαθύς, ἧκεν ἂν καὶ ἐπὶ Ἱεροσόλυμα ἡ βασιλέως
στρατιὰ θαρροῦσα τῷ νενικηκέναι, καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἦν
ἂν εἰργασμένη· καὶ γὰρ Ἀντίγονος ἤδη τὴν παντελῆ
φυγὴν ἐσκόπει καὶ ἀπανάστασιν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως.

[1] Hudson: Ἱεριχοῦς codd. E.
[2] ἄλλης PE: om. rell. Lat.
[3] ἐπέκειτο V fort. recte.
[4] τινων P: πολλῶν τινων F.
[5] τὰ κάτω E: τὰ κατὰ P: om. F: ταῦτα rell.
[6] ἐκτὸς (τῶν τειχῶν) coni. Lowthius.
[7] Niese: τειχῶν codd.

[a] Variant "from Jericho and Judaea"; *B.J.* "from Jericho and the rest of the country (χώρας)"—probably meaning Judaea. *B.J.* adds that these recruits came, "some drawn by hatred of Antigonus, others by his own successes, the majority by a blind love of change."

Meanwhile many people streamed to him from Jericho and the rest of Judaea [a]; and when he drew near the enemy, they boldly advanced to attack him, but on engaging them in battle he overcame them, and to avenge his brother [b] he followed and killed them as they fled to the village. The houses were filled with armed men, and many [c] took refuge on the house-tops, but he seized these, and on pulling down the roofs of the houses, saw the space below filled with soldiers wedged in tightly together. Accordingly his men hurled stones at them from above [d] and slew them in heaps, one upon another. And the most terrible sight of any during the war was this mass of countless dead bodies lying one upon another within the walls of the houses.[e] It was this action which did most to break the spirits of the enemy, who were waiting to see what would happen; for great crowds were seen coming together from a distance about the village, and they now fled; and if a severe storm [f] had not prevented, the king's army, made confident by their victory, would have marched on Jerusalem as well and ended the whole business; for Antigonus was already considering headlong flight and withdrawal from the city.

[b] This is more dramatically expressed in *B.J.* i. 336, "with his memories of his murdered brother, hazarding all to be avenged on his murderers." There are several other dramatic phrases in these sections of *B.J.* not paralleled in *Ant.*

[c] Variant "some"; *B.J.* supports our text.

[d] This detail is not found in *B.J.*

[e] *τοίχων* "house-walls" is conjectured for mss. *τειχῶν* "city-walls." A conjectured variant is "outside" for mss. "within." *B.J.* has "there was such a heap of corpses that the streets were impassable."

[f] This must have been during the winter of 38–37 B.C. or in the early spring of 37 B.C.

462 (13) Τότε μὲν οὖν ὁ βασιλεύς, ὀψία γὰρ ἦν, δειπνοποιεῖσθαι κελεύει τοὺς στρατιώτας, αὐτὸς δὲ[1] (ἐκεκμήκει γάρ) εἰσελθὼν εἴς τι δωμάτιον περὶ λουτρὸν ἦν. ἔνθα καὶ κίνδυνος αὐτῷ μέγιστος
463 συνέπεσεν, ὃν κατὰ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν διέφυγε· γυμνοῦ γὰρ ὄντος αὐτοῦ καὶ μετὰ παιδὸς ἑνὸς ἀκολούθου λουομένου ἐν τῷ ἐντὸς οἰκήματι, τῶν πολεμίων τινὲς ὡπλισμένοι συμπεφευγότες αὐτόθι διὰ φόβον ἦσαν, καὶ[2] μεταξὺ λουομένου ὁ πρῶτος ὑπεξέρχεται[3] ξίφος ἔχων γυμνὸν καὶ διὰ θυρῶν χωρεῖ, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν δεύτερος καὶ τρίτος ὁμοίως ὡπλισμένοι, οὐδὲν βλάψαντες τὸν βασιλέα ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως, ἀγαπῶντες δὲ τὸ[4] μηδὲν αὐτοὶ παθόντες εἰς τὸ
464 πρόσθεν διεκπεσεῖν. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ τὴν μὲν Πάππου κεφαλὴν (ἀνῄρητο γάρ) ἀποκόψας Φερώρᾳ ἔπεμψε, ποινὴν ἀνθ' ὧν ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ πάθοι· οὗτος γὰρ ἦν αὐτόχειρ ἐκείνου γεγενημένος.
465 (14) Λήξαντος δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἄρας ἐκεῖθεν ἐγγὺς Ἱεροσολύμων ἔρχεται, καὶ πλησίον στρατοπεδεύεται τῆς πόλεως· τρίτον δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦτο ἔτος
466 ἦν ἐξ οὗ βασιλεὺς ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἀπεδέδεικτο. ἀναστρατοπεδευσάμενος δὲ καὶ πλησίον ἐλθὼν τοῦ τείχους κατὰ τὸ ἐπιμαχώτατον πρὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καταστρατοπεδεύεται,[5] προσβαλεῖν διεγνωκὼς ᾧ[6] καὶ πρότερόν ποτε Πομπήιος. τρισὶ δὲ διαλαβὼν

[1] E Lat.: τε codd. [2] ἦσαν καὶ om. AMW.
[3] P: ἐπεξέρχεται rell. [4] τῷ V.
[5] στρατοπεδεύεται PE. [6] Niese: ὡς codd. E.

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[a] On the slight differences of detail between *Ant.* and *B.J.* in the following (perhaps apocryphal) story see Laqueur, pp. 209-210 (rather too subtle).
[b] Or "unarmed."

(13) [a] At this point the king ordered his soldiers to have their supper, as it was late, and he himself, being tired out, went into a room to bathe. And here he came into very great danger, but by the providence of God, escaped it. For he was naked [b] and taking his bath, with only a single servant in attendance, in an inner chamber, where several of the enemy, who were armed, had taken refuge out of fear; and while he was bathing, one of them stole by [c] with his sword drawn, and went out through the door, and after him a second and a third who were similarly armed, but in their consternation they did the king no injury, and were content to have got away into the open without suffering any harm. The following day he cut off the head of Pappus, who had already been slain, and sent it to Pheroras in revenge for what his brother had suffered. For it was Pappus who had been his executioner.[d]

Herod's miraculous escape from assassination.

(14) [e] When the storm subsided, he removed from there and came near to Jerusalem, encamping close to the city. This was in the third year after he had been made king at Rome.[f] He then moved his camp and came close to the wall, encamping before the temple, which was the point where the wall could most easily be assaulted, for he had made up his mind to attack at the same place where Pompey had attacked before.[g] On this site he made three lines

Herod interrupts the siege of Jerusalem to marry Mariamme at Samaria.

[c] The variant "advanced upon him" is excluded by the context.
[d] See above, § 450.
[e] On the parallelism between §§ 465-491 (end of book) and *B.J.* i. 343-357 see Laqueur, pp. 210-215.
[f] More exactly two and a half years after his appointment; this had taken place in the late autumn of 40 B.C. (see above, § 389) and it was now the early spring of 37 B.C.
[g] See above, §§ 60 ff.

χώμασι τὸν τόπον πύργους ἀνίστη, πολλῇ τε χειρὶ πρὸς τὸ ἔργον χρώμενος καὶ τέμνων τὴν
467 πέριξ ὕλην. παρακαταστήσας δὲ τοῖς ἔργοις τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους, ἱδρυμένης ἔτι τῆς στρατιᾶς αὐτὸς εἰς Σαμάρειαν ἐπὶ τὸν γάμον ᾤχετο, ἀξόμενος τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλου θυγατέρα· ταύτην γὰρ ἦν ἐγγεγυημένος, ὥς μοι καὶ πρότερον εἴρηται.

468 (xvi. 1) Μετὰ δὲ τοὺς γάμους ἦλθε μὲν διὰ Φοινίκης Σόσσιος, προεκπέμψας τὴν δύναμιν διὰ τῆς μεσογαίας, ἦλθε δὲ καὶ ὁ στρατηγός,[1] πλῆθος ἔχων[2] ἱππέων τε καὶ πεζῶν, παρεγένετο δὲ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκ τῆς Σαμαρείτιδος, οὐκ ὀλίγον πρὸς τῷ πάλαι στρατὸν ἄγων· περὶ τρισμυρίους[3] γὰρ
469 ἦσαν. πάντες δὲ ἐπὶ[4] τὸ Ἱεροσολύμων ἠθροίζοντο τεῖχος, καὶ διεκάθηντο πρὸς τῷ βορείῳ τείχει τῆς πόλεως στρατιὰ[5] ἕνδεκα μὲν οὖσα τέλη ὁπλιτικοῦ,[6] ἓξ δὲ χιλιάδες ἱππέων, ἄλλα δὲ[7] ἐπικουρικὰ ἀπὸ τῆς Συρίας· δύο δ' ἡγεμόνες,[8] Σόσσιος μὲν ὑπ' Ἀντωνίου σταλεὶς[9] σύμμαχος, Ἡρώδης δ' ὑπὲρ αὑτοῦ, ὡς[10] Ἀντίγονον ἀφελόμενος τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀποδειχθέντα ἐν Ῥώμῃ πολέμιον, αὐτὸς ἀντ' ἐκείνου βασιλεύσειε[11] κατὰ τὸ τῆς συγκλήτου δόγμα.

470 (2) Μετὰ πολλῆς δὲ προθυμίας καὶ ἔριδος, ἅτε

[1] στρατὸς PE: om. Lat.: ἦλθε . . . στρατηγός del. Herwerden.
[2] ἔχων om. PE Lat.
[3] περὶ τρισμυρίους PV: τρισμύριοι rell.
[4] ὑπὸ Naber.
[5] ed. pr.: στρατιᾶς codd.
[6] Niese: ὁπλιτικούς P: ὁπλιτικόν rell.: ὁπλιτικά Naber.
[7] τε ed. pr.
[8] + ἦσαν E.
[9] ἀποσταλεὶς FLAMW.
[10] ὃς AMW.
[11] βασιλεὺς εἴη P.

[a] Mariamme.

of earthworks and erected towers, employing a great many hands in the work and cutting the timber round about. He then put capable men in charge of these works, and while his army was still encamped, himself went off to Samaria to marry the daughter[a] of Alexander, son of Aristobulus, to whom he was betrothed, as I have said before.[b]

(xvi. 1) After the wedding Sossius, who had sent his forces ahead through the interior, came through Phoenicia, the general himself coming[c] with a large number of horsemen and foot-soldiers. And the king also arrived from Samaria, leading a considerable army in addition to the one he had earlier, there being about thirty thousand.[d] All these assembled before the wall of Jerusalem and took up their position at the north wall of the city; they made up an army of eleven divisions of foot-soldiers and six thousand mounted men, as well as auxiliaries from Syria[e]; and there were two commanders, Sossius, who had been sent as an ally by Antony, and Herod, acting on his own behalf, to take the royal power from Antigonus, who had been declared an enemy at Rome,[f] and in his stead to become king himself in accordance with the decree of the Senate.

Sossius and Herod join forces.

(2) It was with great zeal and bitterness,[g] the entire

The ingenuity and

[b] See above, § 300. *B.J.* i. 344 adds, "He made his wedding an interlude (πάρεργον) of the siege, for he was already contemptuous of the enemy."

[c] Text awkward and probably corrupt; it is clear, however, from the parallel in *B.J.* that "the general" is Sossius.

[d] *B.J.* does not give the number of Herod's men.

[e] *B.J.* adds "who formed no small part (of his army)."

[f] There is no mention of Antigonus in the parallel, *B.J.* i. 346.

[g] Instead of "zeal and bitterness," *B.J.* speaks of the "agitation" (ἐτετάρακτο) of the people within the city.

σύμπαντος ἠθροισμένου τοῦ ἔθνους,[1] οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι
τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην ἀντεπολέμουν, κατειληθέντες[2]
ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους, πολλά[3] τε ἐπεφήμιζον περὶ τὸ
ἱερὸν καὶ πολλὰ ἐπ' εὐθυμίᾳ[4] τοῦ δήμου, ὡς
471 ῥυσομένου[5] τῶν κινδύνων αὐτοὺς τοῦ θεοῦ. τά
τε ἐκτὸς[6] τῆς πόλεως ἀπεσκευάσαντο, ὡς μηδ'
ὅσα τροφὴ δύναιτο εἶναι ὑπολιπεῖν ἢ ἀνθρώποις
ἢ ὑποζυγίοις, λῃστείαις τε λάθρα χρώμενοι ἀπορίαν
472 παρέσχον. ταῦτα δ' Ἡρώδης συνιδὼν πρὸς μὲν
τὰς λῃστείας ἐν τοῖς ἐπικαιροτάτοις τόποις προ-
ελόχιζε, πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πέμπων ὁπλιτικὰ
τέλη πόρρωθεν ἀγορὰν συνεκόμιζεν, ὡς ὀλίγου
χρόνου πολλὴν ἀφθονίαν αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι τῶν
473 ἀναγκαίων. ἤρτο δέ, συνεχῶς[7] ἤδη πολλῆς χειρὸς
ἐργαζομένης, καὶ τὰ τρία χώματα εὐπετῶς· θέρος
τε γὰρ ἦν καὶ οὐδὲν ἐμποδὼν πρὸς τὴν ἀνάστασιν
οὔτ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀέρος οὔτ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἐργαζομένων, τά
τε μηχανήματα προσάγοντες κατέσειον τὸ τεῖχος
474 καὶ πάσαις ἐχρῶντο πείραις. οὐ μὴν ἐξέπληττον
τοὺς ἔνδον, ἀλλ' ἀντετεχνῶντο κἀκεῖνοι πρὸς τὰ
παρὰ τούτων γινόμενα οὐκ ὀλίγα, ἐπεκθέοντές τε
τὰ μὲν ἡμίεργα ἐνεπίμπρασαν τὰ δ' ἐξειργασμένα,

[1] πλήθους PE.
[2] P: καταλειφθέντες FM[1]V: καταληφθέντες LAE[1]: καταληφθέντος W.
[3] πολλοί Niese.
[4] E: εὐφημίᾳ codd.
[5] PVE: ῥυσαμένου rell.
[6] E Lat.: ἐντὸς codd.
[7] Niese: συχνῶς codd. E et Lat. vid.

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[a] Variant "multitude" or "populace."

[b] Variants "were left," "were caught."

[c] So the Epitome; mss. "in praise of." The text is rather obscure, but from *B.J.* it is clear that (Messianic) prophecies are meant.

nation[a] being gathered together, that the Jews who were confined[b] within the walls fought against Herod and his men; many were the invocations made about the temple, and many were the things said to encourage[c] the people, to the effect that God would deliver them from danger. And everything on the land outside the city[d] had been carried off, so that nothing was left that might serve as food for men or beasts; and by secret raids also they caused a lack of provisions. But[e] when Herod observed this, he took steps against the raids, on the one hand, by posting ambushes in the most suitable places, and against the lack of provisions, on the other hand, by sending divisions of armed men to gather supplies from a distance, so that within a short time they had a great abundance of necessities. And the three lines of earthworks had been raised with ease, for there were a great number of hands now continuously[f] at work, and as it was summer,[g] there was no hindrance to their erection either from the weather or from the workmen; and so they brought up their engines and battered the wall, trying every expedient. They did not, however, intimidate those within the city, who on their part contrived a good many counter-devices against those of their enemies; they would dash out and set fire to their works, some of them half-finished, others completed; they would also

Bravery of the besieged.

[d] So Epitome and Lat. (agreeing with *B.J.*); MSS. "everything within the city."

[e] There are several Thucydidean touches in the following sections (which have only partial parallels in *B.J.* i. 348-351): ἀντετείχιζον and ἀπονοίᾳ in § 475, and ἀντίπαλον in § 479.

[f] Text slightly emended.

[g] Of 37 B.C. (see below on §§ 487-488). Herod and Sossius had encamped outside Jerusalem as early as the spring of 37 B.C. according to § 465. This detail is not found in *B.J.*

εἴς τε χεῖρας ἰόντες οὐδὲν κακίους τὰς τόλμας τῶν
475 Ῥωμαίων ἦσαν, ἐπιστήμῃ δ' ἐλείποντο. πρός τε τὰς μηχανὰς ἀντετείχιζον ἐρειπομένων τῶν πρώτων οἰκοδομημάτων, ὑπὸ γῆν τε ἀπαντῶντες ἐν ταῖς μεταλλεύσεσι[1] διεμάχοντο, ἀπονοίᾳ δὲ τὸ πλέον ἢ προμηθείᾳ χρώμενοι προσελιπάρουν τῷ πολέμῳ εἰς τοὔσχατον, καὶ ταῦτα μεγάλου στρατοῦ περικαθημένου σφᾶς καὶ λιμῷ ταλαιπωρούμενοι καὶ σπάνει τῶν ἐπιτηδείων· τὸν γὰρ ἑβδοματικὸν
476 ἐνιαυτὸν συνέβη κατὰ ταῦτ'[2] εἶναι. ἀναβαίνουσι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος πρῶτον μὲν λογάδες εἴκοσι, ἔπειτα ἑκατοντάρχαι Σοσσίου· ᾑρέθη γὰρ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τεῖχος ἡμέραις τεσσαράκοντα, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον πεντεκαίδεκα· καί τινες τῶν περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐνεπρήσθησαν στοῶν, ἃς Ἡρώδης Ἀντίγονον

[1] ἐν ταῖς μεταλλεύσεσι] αὐταῖς μετ. AMW: μεταλλεύουσι ex Lat. Hudson.
[2] κατὰ ταῦτ' P: κατὰ ταὐτὸν V: κατ' αὐτὸν rell. E: tunc Lat.

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[a] This is another detail not found in *B.J.* Josephus here seems to say that the siege took place during a sabbatical year, namely that which extended from Oct. 38 to Oct. 37 B.C., as most scholars assume. But there is good reason to believe that this sabbatical year extended from Oct. 37 to Oct. 36 B.C. (see the notes on *Ant.* xii. 378, xiii. 234, xiv. 201 and below, § 487). We must therefore, it seems, make one of the three following assumptions: (1) Josephus knew that the siege occurred in the summer of the year corresponding to 37 B.C. but was mistaken in saying (or implying) that this fell in a sabbatical year (beginning Oct. 38 B.C.). (2) Josephus assumed that the siege took place during a sabbatical year, in the summer of 36 B.C. This seems to be borne out by the statement below, § 488, that Sossius and Herod captured Jerusalem 27 years after Pompey had done so (63 B.C.); thus Jerusalem fell in 36 B.C. as maintained by Gumpach and Caspari (*ap.* Schürer i. 358 n. 11). Zeitlin's argument, *MT*,

fight hand to hand, but while they were not inferior to the Romans in daring, they fell short of them in science. Against the siege-engines they devised counter-defences when their first constructions gave way, and fought underground when they met the enemy in the mines; and acting in desperation rather than with foresight, they persevered in the war to the very end—this in spite of the fact that a great army surrounded them and that they were distressed by famine and the lack of necessities, for a sabbatical year happened to fall at that time.[a] The first to mount the wall were twenty[b] picked men, and after these came Sossius' centurions. The first wall was taken in forty days,[c] and the second in fifteen more; and some of the porticoes round the temple were burnt, which Herod accused Antigonus of

Jerusalem falls to Herod and Sossius.

pp. 20-27, that the 27 years do not give 36 B.C. but Jan. (10th of Tebet), 37 B.C., reckoning 26 years and a fraction from Pompey's entry in the summer of 63 B.C., is invalidated by, among other things, the reference to the summer in § 473. (3) Josephus knew that the siege took place in the summer of 37 B.C. and was referring, rather vaguely, to a sabbatical year that began soon after the fall of Jerusalem, that is, in Oct. 37 B.C. This is not so improbable as it may seem at first. If the inhabitants of Jerusalem were distressed by famine in the summer of 37 B.C., they would not be able to lay in an extra supply of provisions for the latter part of the sabbatical year beginning in October—hence their desperation. To be sure, the 27 years of § 488 make a difficulty here, and we should have to assume that Josephus made a slip in arithmetic.

One hardly knows which assumption to prefer, in view of the apparently irreconcilable inconsistencies in Josephus himself, apart from his inconsistency with other ancient sources (see below, § 487-488 notes).

[b] *B.J.* does not give the number.

[c] This detail and those following in §§ 476-478 have no parallel in *B.J.*

ἐμπρῆσαι διέβαλε, μῖσος αὐτῷ πραγματευόμενος
477 παρὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων γενέσθαι. ᾑρημένου δὲ τοῦ ἔξωθεν ἱεροῦ καὶ τῆς κάτω πόλεως, εἰς τὸ ἔσωθεν ἱερὸν καὶ τὴν ἄνω πόλιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι συνέφυγον, δείσαντες δὲ[1] μὴ διακωλύσωσιν αὐτοὺς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς καθημερινὰς θυσίας ἐπιτελεῖν τῷ θεῷ, πρεσβεύονται ἐπιτρέψαι παρακαλοῦντες θύματα αὐτοῖς μόνον εἰσκομίζεσθαι· ὁ δ' ὡς ἐνδωσόντων αὐτῶν
478 συνεχώρει ταῦτα. καὶ ἐπεὶ μηδὲν ἑώρα γινόμενον παρ' αὐτῶν ὧν ὑπενόει, ἀλλὰ ἰσχυρῶς ἀντέχοντας ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀντιγόνου βασιλείας, προσβαλὼν κατὰ
479 κράτος εἷλε τὴν πόλιν. καὶ πάντα εὐθὺς ἦν φόνων ἀνάπλεα, τῶν μὲν Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ τῇ τριβῇ τῆς πολιορκίας διωργισμένων, τοῦ δὲ περὶ Ἡρώδην Ἰουδαϊκοῦ μηδὲν ὑπολιπεῖν σπεύδοντος ἀντίπαλον.
480 ἐσφάττοντο δὲ παμπληθεῖς[2] ἔν τε τοῖς στενωποῖς καὶ κατὰ τὰς οἰκίας συνωθούμενοι καὶ τῷ ναῷ προσφεύγοντες, ἦν τε οὔτε νηπίων οὔτε γήρως ἔλεος οὔτε ἀσθενείας γυναικῶν φειδώ, ἀλλὰ καίτοι περιπέμποντος[3] τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ φείδεσθαι παρακαλοῦντος οὐδεὶς ἐκράτησε τῆς δεξιᾶς, ἀλλ'
481 ὥσπερ μεμηνότες πᾶσαν ἡλικίαν ἐπεξῄεσαν. ἔνθα καὶ Ἀντίγονος μήτε τῆς πάλαι μήτε τῆς τότε τύχης ἔννοιαν λαβὼν κάτεισι μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς βάρεως, προσπίπτει δὲ τοῖς Σοσσίου ποσίν· κακεῖνος μηδὲν

[1] τε VE.
[2] συνεχεῖς V: quoscumque invenissent Lat.
[3] P Lat.: περιπαίοντος F: περιπεσόντος rell.

[a] Laqueur, pp. 213-214, ingeniously argues that the seemingly anti-Herodian details in these two added sections really conceal the pro-Herodian bias of Josephus' source here, namely Herod's Memoirs.

[b] The Upper City lay on the western hill.

setting on fire, making an effort to draw upon him the hatred of the Jews by this charge.[a] And when the outer precincts of the temple and the Lower City had been captured, the Jews fled into the inner precinct of the temple and the Upper City[b]; and fearing that the Romans would prevent them from offering the daily sacrifices to God, they sent an embassy to beg that they would permit them to have only victims brought in for them; and this request he granted, in the belief that they would yield. But when he saw that none of the things he expected of them was being done, and that, on the contrary, they were resisting strongly for the sake of Antigonus' kingship, he attacked them and took the city by storm. And soon every quarter was filled with the blood of the slain,[c] for the Romans were furious at the length of the siege,[d] while the Jews on Herod's side were anxious not to leave a single adversary alive. And so they were slaughtered in heaps, whether crowded together in alleys and houses or seeking refuge in the temple; no pity was shown either to infants or the aged, nor were weak women spared, but even though the king sent word around, urging them to forbear, not one of them held his hand, but like madmen they fell upon persons of every age. It was then that Antigonus, without stopping to reflect either on his former or his present fortunes, came down from the castle, and fell at Sossius' feet.

[c] At this point is resumed the close parallelism with *B.J.*; §§ 479-486 = *B.J.* i. 351-356.

[d] According to *B.J.* i. 351 the Jews sustained the siege into the fifth month, while *Ant.*, below, § 487, appears to state that the city fell in the third month (of the siege) or even less (see above, § 476); but the point of time to which "the third month" refers in *Ant.* is by no means certain.

αὐτὸν οἰκτείρας πρὸς τὴν μεταβολὴν ἐπεκρότησε[1] μὲν ἀκρατῶς καὶ Ἀντιγόνην ἐκάλεσεν, οὐ μὴν ὡς γυναῖκά γε φρουρᾶς ἐλεύθερον ἀφῆκεν, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν δεθεὶς ἐφυλάττετο.

482 (3) Πρόνοια δ' ἦν Ἡρώδῃ κρατοῦντι τῶν πολεμίων τοῦ κρατῆσαι καὶ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων[2] συμμάχων· ὥρμητο γὰρ τὸ ξενικὸν πλῆθος ἐπὶ θέαν
483 τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν ναὸν ἁγίων. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τοὺς μὲν παρακαλῶν τοῖς δ' ἀπειλῶν ἔστι δ' οὓς καὶ τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀνέστελλεν, ἥττης χαλεπωτέραν ἡγούμενος τὴν νίκην, εἴ τι τῶν
484 ἀθεάτων παρ' αὐτῶν ὀφθείη. διεκώλυέ τε καὶ τὰς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἁρπαγάς, πολλὰ διατεινόμενος πρὸς Σόσσιον, εἰ χρημάτων τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν πόλιν κενώσαντες καταλείψουσιν αὐτὸν ἐρημίας βασιλέα, καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ τοσούτων[3] πολιτῶν φόνῳ βραχὺ καὶ τὴν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἡγεμονίαν
485 ἀντάλλαγμα κρίνοι. τοῦ δὲ ἀντὶ τῆς πολιορκίας τὰς ἁρπαγὰς δικαίως τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπιτρέπειν φαμένου, αὐτὸς ἔφη διανεμεῖν[4] ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων χρη-
486 μάτων τοὺς μισθοὺς ἑκάστοις. οὕτω τε τὴν λοιπὴν ἐξωνησάμενος πόλιν, τὰς ὑποσχέσεις ἐπλήρωσε· λαμπρῶς μὲν γὰρ ἕκαστον στρατιώτην, ἀναλόγως δὲ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, βασιλικώτατα δ' αὐτὸν ἐδωρήσατο Σόσσιον, ὡς πάντας ἀπελθεῖν χρημάτων εὐποροῦντας.

[1] ἐκερτόμησε Naber.
[2] PE: ἀλλοτρίων LAMW: ἀλλοτρίων φυλῶν F: ἄλλων τριῶν φυλῶν V: ἀλλοτριοφύλων ed. pr.
[3] τοσούτῳ V. [4] Zonaras, Lat.: διανέμειν codd. E.

He, however, did not in the least pity him for suffering a change of fortune, but applauded him[a] unrestrainedly, and called him Antigone[b]; nevertheless he did not leave him unguarded, as a woman would have been, but had him put in chains and kept under guard.

Herod restrains the violence of his Roman allies.

(3) And Herod, after checking his enemies, took care also to check his foreign allies; for the crowd of strangers was bent on getting a view of the temple and the holy things in the sanctuary, and the king held them back, in some cases by appeals, in others by threats, and sometimes even by arms, for he regarded victory as something more bitter than defeat if any of the things forbidden to men's eyes should be seen by them. He also tried to prevent the plundering that went on throughout the city by strenuously arguing with Sossius that if the Romans emptied the city of its wealth and its men, they would leave him king of a wilderness, and that he would consider the sovereignty of the habitable world a poor recompense for the murder of so many citizens. And when Sossius said that he had been right to permit his soldiers this plundering in return for their labours in the siege, Herod replied that he himself would distribute rewards to each of them out of his own purse. In this way he purchased security for the rest of the city, and fulfilled his promise; for he gave splendid gifts to every soldier and proportionate gifts to their officers, while to Sossius himself he made most regal presents, so that all went away with a goodly share of wealth.

[a] That is, ironically; conjectured variant "jeered at him." *B.J.* has "burst into immoderate laughter at him."
[b] The feminine form of the name Antigonus.

487 (4) Τοῦτο τὸ πάθος συνέβη τῇ Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλει ὑπατεύοντος ἐν Ῥώμῃ Μάρκου Ἀγρίππα καὶ Κανινίου[1] Γάλλου ἐπὶ τῆς ἑκατοστῆς καὶ ὀγδοηκοστῆς καὶ πέμπτης ὀλυμπιάδος, τῷ τρίτῳ μηνί, τῇ ἑορτῇ τῆς νηστείας, ὥσπερ ἐκ περιτροπῆς τῆς γενομένης ἐπὶ Πομπηίου τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις συμ-
488 φορᾶς· καὶ γὰρ ὑπ' ἐκείνου τῇ αὐτῇ ἑάλωσαν ἡμέρᾳ, μετὰ ἔτη εἴκοσι ἑπτά. Σόσσιος δὲ χρυσοῦν ἀναθέμενος τῷ θεῷ στέφανον ἀνέζευξεν ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων, Ἀντίγονον ἄγων δεσμώτην Ἀντωνίῳ.
489 δείσας δὲ Ἡρώδης μὴ φυλαχθεὶς Ἀντίγονος ὑπ' Ἀντωνίου καὶ κομισθεὶς εἰς Ῥώμην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δικαιολογήσηται πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον, ἐπιδεικνὺς αὐτὸν μὲν ἐκ βασιλέων, [illegible]ώδην δὲ ἰδιώτην, καὶ ὅτι προσῆκεν αὐτοῦ βασιλεύειν τοὺς παῖδας διὰ
490 τὸ γένος, εἰ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς Ῥωμαίους ἐπεξήμαρτε,[2]

[1] Hudson: Καννιδίου M: Κανιδίου rell.: Κανδίδου Syncellus.
[2] ἐξήμαρτεν E Syncellus: ὑπεξήμαρτεν L: τι ἐξήμαρτε Cobet.

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[a] Except for the statement in § 488 about Sossius' dedication of the golden chain and his taking Antigonus to Antony for punishment (= *B.J.* i. 357), these last sections in *Ant.* have no parallel in *B.J.*

[b] Name slightly emended.

[c] Their consulship fell in the year 37 B.C. The 185th Olympiad ended on June 30, 37 B.C. Dio Cassius, xlix. 22, dates the fall of the city in the consulship of Claudius and Norbanus = 38 B.C. See following note.

[d] More nearly 26 years, see above § 475 note *a* and *cf.* § 66 on Pompey's capture of the city in 63 B.C. περὶ τρίτον μῆνα τῇ τῆς νηστείας ἡμέρᾳ. Dio Cassius, *loc. cit.*, says that the city was taken ἐν τῇ τοῦ Κρόνου καὶ τότε ἡμέρᾳ ὠνομασμένῃ, evidently meaning the Sabbath (as in the case of Ptolemy I, *cf. Ant.* xii. 4, and Pompey (?), *Ant.* xiv. 66 with notes); but by νηστείας Josephus here seems to mean the Day of Atonement, which in 37 B.C. fell on October 3rd. There has

(4) [a] This calamity befell the city of Jerusalem during the consulship at Rome of Marcus Agrippa and Caninius [b] Gallus, in the hundred and eighty-fifth Olympiad,[c] in the third month, on the day of the Fast, as if it were a recurrence of the misfortune which came upon the Jews in the time of Pompey, for they were captured by Sossius on the very same day, twenty-seven years later.[d] And Sossius dedicated a golden crown to God and departed from Jerusalem, taking Antigonus in chains to Antony.[e] But Herod feared that if Antigonus were kept under guard by Antony and brought to Rome by him, he might plead the justice of his cause before the Senate and show that he was descended from kings while Herod was a commoner, and that his sons ought to reign by virtue of their lineage, even though he himself had committed offences against the Romans [f];

The execution of Antigonus, the last Hasmonaean ruler.

been considerable discussion of the actual date of the city's fall, and various attempts have been made to reconcile the conflicting data; see the detailed discussions (with bibliography) in Schürer i. 358 n. 11, Otto, *Herodes*, p. 33 n. 2, Zeitlin, *MT*, pp. 20-27, Laqueur, pp. 211-212 and Kugler, pp. 418-422. Here it may suffice to remark that while the year 37 B.C. is certain, the month cannot be determined with absolute certainty, but was probably July and not October. The former is more likely if we assume, with Otto, that the reference to the Day of Atonement (if νηστείας here means that fast day and not an earlier fast day in the calendar, *e.g.* the fast of the month Tammuz) is based on a popular tradition that sought to discredit Herod by making him responsible for invading the city on the very sacred Day of Atonement.

[e] Antony had left Italy for Greece in the autumn of 37 B.C. and soon after went to Antioch. It was here that Antigonus was brought to him in the winter of that year, *cf.* Wilcken in *PW* i. 2420 and Tarn in *CAH* x. 54-55.

[f] Apparently Herod had no confidence that the Romans would continue to prefer him to the Hasmonaeans as they had done in 40 B.C., see above, § 386.

ταῦτα φοβούμενος πολλοῖς χρήμασι πείθει τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀνελεῖν Ἀντίγονον. οὗ γενομένου, τοῦ δέους μὲν Ἡρώδης ἀπαλλάσσεται, παύεται δ' οὕτως ἡ τοῦ[1] Ἀσαμωναίου γένους[2] ἀρχὴ μετὰ ἔτη ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι ἕξ. οἶκος λαμπρὸς οὗτος ἦν καὶ διάσημος γένους τε ἕνεκα καὶ τῆς ἱερατικῆς τιμῆς ὧν τε ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἔθνους οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ διεπράξαντο.
491 ἀλλ' οὗτοι μὲν διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους στάσιν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπέβαλον, μετέβη δ' εἰς Ἡρώδην τὸν Ἀντιπάτρου, οἰκίας ὄντα δημοτικῆς καὶ γένους ἰδιωτικοῦ καὶ ὑπακούοντος τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τὸ τέλος τῆς Ἀσαμωναίου γενεᾶς παρειλήφαμεν.

[1] τῶν ἀπ' coni. Niese.
[2] γένους add. duce Niese.

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[a] *B.J.* i. 357 says that Antigonus fell beneath the axe. According to Dio Cassius, xlix. 22, Antony had Antigonus scourged while bound to a cross, a punishment "which no

and because of this fear Herod gave Antony a large bribe and persuaded him to put Antigonus out of the way.[a] And when this was done, Herod was freed of his fear, and at the same time the rule of the Asamonaean line came to an end after a hundred and twenty-six years.[b] Theirs was a splendid and renowned house because of both their lineage and their priestly office, as well as the things which its founders achieved on behalf of the nation. But they lost their royal power through internal strife, and it passed to Herod, the son of Antipater, who came from a house of common people and from a private family that was subject to the kings.[c] Such, then, is the account we have received of the end of the Asamonaean line.

other king had suffered at the hands of the Romans," and then had him beheaded or had his throat cut (ἀπέσφαξεν).

[b] This would take us back to 163 or 162 B.C. Apparently Josephus is placing the beginning of the Hasmonaean dynasty at about the time when the last Oniad high priest, Onias IV, fled to Egypt, *cf. Ant.* xii. 385-388.

[c] *Cf.* § 78.

APPENDIX A

AN ANCIENT TABLE OF CONTENTS

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΙΒ

α′.[1] Ὡς Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου δόλῳ καὶ ἀπάτῃ παραλαβὼν τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, πολλοὺς ἐξ αὐτῆς εἰς Αἴγυπτον μετῴκισεν.[2]

β′. Ὡς ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ κληθεὶς Φιλάδελφος τοὺς Ἰουδαίων νόμους εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν γλῶσσαν μετέβαλεν, καὶ πολλοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀπέλυσεν, Ἐλεαζάρῳ τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ αὐτῶν χαριζόμενος, καὶ ἀναθήματα πολλὰ ἀνέθηκεν τῷ θεῷ.

γ′. Πῶς ἐτίμησαν οἱ τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεῖς τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος καὶ πολίτας ἐποίησαν ἐν ταῖς ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν κτισθείσαις πόλεσιν.[3]

δ′. Ἐκ τῆς γενομένης ἀτυχίας ἐπανόρθωσις ὑπὸ Ἰωσήπου τοῦ Τωβίου ποιησαμένου φιλίαν πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Ἐπιφανῆ.

ε′. Φιλία καὶ συμμαχία Λακεδαιμονίων πρὸς Ὀνίαν τὸν ἀρχιερέα τῶν Ἰουδαίων.

ϛ′. Στάσις τῶν δυνατῶν Ἰουδαίων πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ὡς ἐπεκαλέσαντο Ἀντίοχον τὸν Ἐπιφανῆ.

[1] numeros hab. (α′-κα′ L, α′-κβ′ AW, I-XVIII Lat.) LAW Lat., om. rell.

[2] κατῴκισεν (-ησεν V) PFLV.

[3] + κατοικίσαντες P.

APPENDIX A

AN ANCIENT TABLE OF CONTENTS

BOOK XII

[a] Variant "and settled many of its inhabitants in Egypt."
[b] One MS. "and settled the Jews and made them citizens."

ζ΄. Ὅτι στρατευσάμενος Ἀντίοχος ἐπὶ Ἱεροσόλυμα τήν τε πόλιν παρέλαβεν καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐσύλησεν.

η΄. Ὡς Ἀντιόχου κωλύσαντος τοῖς πατρίοις νόμοις χρῆσθαι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, μόνος ὁ Ἀσαμωναίου παῖς Ματταθίας κατεφρόνησεν τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ τοὺς Ἀντιόχου στρατηγοὺς ἐνίκησεν.

θ΄. Ἡ Ματταθίου τελευτή, γηραιοῦ μὲν ὄντος ἤδη, παραδόντος δὲ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων προστασίαν τοῖς παισίν.

ι΄. Ὡς ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰούδας τοῖς Ἀντιόχου στρατηγοῖς μαχεσάμενος, τοὺς Ἰουδαίους εἰς τὴν πάτριον ἐπανήγαγε πολιτείαν, καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς ἀπεδείχθη ὑπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ.

ια΄. Ὡς ὁ Ἀντιόχου στρατηγὸς Ἀπολλώνιος εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐμβαλὼν ἡττηθεὶς ἀπέθανεν.

ιβ΄. Ἡ Σαΐωνος[1] καὶ Γοργίου στρατεία ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καὶ ἧττα καὶ διαφθορὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ.

ιγ΄. Ὅτι στρατευσάμενος[2] Ἰούδας[3] ἐπὶ Ἀμμανίτας καὶ εἰς[4] τὴν Γαλαδάτιν ἐνίκησεν.[5]

ιδ΄. Ὡς[6] Σίμων ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ στρατευσάμενος[7] ἐπὶ Τυρίους καὶ Πτολεμαεῖς ἐκράτησεν[8] αὐτῶν.

[1] ἡ Σίλωνος FV : ὠ σήρωνος L[1] : ὡς Ἥρωνος L[2] : ἡ σαΐωνος, i. marg. Σίλωνος γρ Ἥρωνος ἐν ἄλλοις A : Λυσίου ex Lat. Hudson.

[2] στρατευσάμενοι FV.

[3] + καὶ Σίμων ὁ μὲν FLV.

[4] εἰς om. FLAW Lat.

[5] ἐνίκησεν om. FLV.

[6] ὁ δὲ (+ ὁ F) FLV capiti praecedenti adiungentes.

[7] στρατευσάμενος om. FLV.

[8] ἐκράτησαν LV.

[a] The restoration of "the native form of government" (*i.e.* resumption of the temple service) came after the events mentioned below in section xii, while Judas' election as high priest (§ 414) should come after section xx.

[b] Corruption of Seron.

ιε΄. Λυσίου στρατεία τοῦ Ἀντιόχου στρατηγοῦ ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίους καὶ ἧττα.

ιϛ΄. Ὡς Ἀντίοχος ὁ Ἐπιφανὴς ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν Πέρσαις.

ιζ΄. Ὡς Ἀντίοχος ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Εὐπάτωρ στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίους μετὰ Λυσίου καὶ νικήσας ἐπολιόρκει Ἰούδαν, εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἐγκλείσας.

ιη΄. Ὅτι πολλοῦ χρόνου τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τριβομένου φιλίαν ποιησάμενος πρὸς Ἰούδαν, εὐπρεπῶς ἀνεχώρησεν ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας Ἀντίοχος.

ιθ΄. Ὡς Βακχίδης ὁ Δημητρίου στρατηγὸς ἐπιστρατευσάμενος τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, ἄπρακτος ἀνέστρεψε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα.

κ΄. Ὡς Νικάνωρ μετὰ τὸν Βακχίδην πεμφθεὶς στρατηγὸς ἀπώλετο σὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ.[1]

κα΄. Ὅτι πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν Βακχίδης ἐκπεμφθεὶς ἐνίκησεν.

κβ΄. Ὡς Ἰούδας διεφθάρη μαχόμενος.

Περιέχει ἡ βίβλος χρόνον ἐτῶν ρο΄.

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΙΓ

α΄. Ὡς Ἰωνάθης ἀδελφὸς ὢν Ἰούδα τελευτήσαντος αὐτοῦ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παρέλαβεν.

[1] + αὐτοῦ P.

This book covers a period of a hundred and seventy years.

BOOK XIII

[a] This section belongs before section xiii.

β΄. Ὡς πολεμήσας Βακχίδην ἠνάγκασε φιλίαν ποιησάμενον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπελθεῖν ἐκ τῆς χώρας.

γ΄. Ὅτι Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ τοῦ Ἐπιφανοῦς Ἀντιόχου υἱὸς ἐλθὼν εἰς Συρίαν ἐξήνεγκε πόλεμον πρὸς Δημήτριον.

δ΄. Ὡς Δημήτριος πρεσβευσάμενος πρὸς Ἰωνάθην ποιεῖται συμμαχίαν πρὸς αὐτὸν αὐτόν τε[1] πολλοῖς δωρησάμενος καὶ τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν.

ε΄. Ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος ταῦτα ἀκούσας καὶ ὑπερβαλὼν τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Δημητρίου καὶ ἀποδείξας Ἰωνάθην ἀρχιερέα συμμαχεῖν ἔπεισεν αὐτῷ.

ϛ΄. Ἡ Ὀνίου φιλία πρὸς τὸν Φιλομήτορα Πτολεμαῖον κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν γενομένη, καὶ ὡς ᾠκοδόμησε τὸν Ὀνίου καλούμενον ναὸν πρὸς τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ὄντα.

ζ΄. Ὅτι Ἀλέξανδρος ἀποθανόντος Δημητρίου σφόδρα ἐτίμησεν Ἰωνάθην.

η΄. Ὡς Δημήτριος ὁ Δημητρίου παῖς πλεύσας εἰς τὴν Συρίαν ἀπὸ Κρήτης καὶ πολεμήσας τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ κρατήσας αὐτὸς ἐβασίλευσε, φιλίαν πρὸς Ἰωνάθην ποιησάμενος.

θ΄. Ὡς Τρύφων ὁ Ἀπαμεὺς καταπολεμήσας Δημήτριον Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρου υἱῷ παρέδωκεν τὴν βασιλείαν, ποιησάμενος καὶ αὐτὸς σύμμαχον Ἰωνάθην.

ι΄. Ὡς Δημητρίου ὑπὸ Πάρθων αἰχμαλώτου

[1] αὐτόν τε om. PFLV Lat.

ληφθέντος παρεσπόνδησε τὸν Ἰωνάθην καὶ δόλῳ λαβὼν αὐτὸν ἀπέκτεινε καὶ πόλεμον ἐξήνεγκε πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Σίμωνα.

ια΄. Ὡς Σίμωνι τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἐνεχείρισε τὸ ἔθνος καὶ ἀπέδειξεν αὐτὸν ἀρχιερέα.

ιβ΄. Ὡς ἐπολιόρκησεν ἐν Δώροις Τρύφωνα σύμμαχος γενόμενος Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ Δημητρίου ἀδελφῷ τῷ καὶ Εὐσεβεῖ ἐπικληθέντι.[1]

ιγ΄. Ὡς Τρύφωνος ἀναιρεθέντος Ἀντίοχος ἐπολέμησε Σίμωνα κἀκεῖνος[2] Κενδεβαῖον τὸν στρατηγὸν αὐτοῦ νικήσας τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐξέβαλεν.

ιδ΄. Ὅτι ὑπὸ τοῦ γαμβροῦ Πτολεμαίου ἐν συμποσίῳ δολοφονηθεὶς ἀπέθανεν, καὶ Πτολεμαῖος δήσας αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰ τέκνα τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτὸς ἐπεχείρησε κατασχεῖν.

ιε΄. Ὡς ὁ νεώτατος τῶν Σίμωνος υἱῶν Ὑρκανὸς φθάσας αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παραλαβὼν ἐπολιόρκησε[3] τὸν Πτολεμαῖον εἴς τι φρούριον ἐγκλείσας Δαγὼν καλούμενον.

ιϛ΄. Ὡς στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ Ὑρκανὸν Ἀντίοχος ὁ καλούμενος[4] Εὐσεβὴς καὶ προσκαθίσας τῇ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλει διέλυσε τὴν πολιορκίαν λαβὼν παρὰ Ὑρκανοῦ τάλαντα τριακόσια καὶ συμμαχίαν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ φιλίαν συνθέμενος.

[1] + καὶ τοῦτον λαβὼν ἀνεῖλεν P.
[2] καὶ PFLV Lat.
[3] + πολλῷ χρόνῳ FLAMVW.
[4] καλούμενος om. FLAMVW.

[a] Variant "for a long time besieged."
[b] Antiochus Sidetes is meant.

ιζʹ. Ὑρκανοῦ στρατεία μετὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχου τελευτὴν ἐν Μήδοις ἀποθανόντος ἐπὶ Συρίαν καὶ ὡς πολλὰς πόλεις κατὰ κράτος εἷλεν.[1]

ιηʹ. Φιλία πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν[2] Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ζαβίνα κληθέντος.

ιθʹ. Ὡς ἡττηθεὶς ὑφ' Ὑρκανοῦ Ἀντίοχος ὁ Κυζικηνὸς ἐξέπεσε τῆς Ἰουδαίας.[3]

κʹ. Ὡς παραλαβὼν Ἀριστόβουλος[4] τὴν ἀρχὴν διάδημα περιέθετο πρῶτος.

καʹ. Ὡς τελευτήσαντος Ἀριστοβούλου[5] ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβὼν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ Συρίαν καὶ Φοινίκην καὶ Ἀραβίαν καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν[6] ἐχειρώσατο.

κβʹ. Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λαθούρου πρὸς αὐτὸν[7] μάχη καὶ νίκη.

κγʹ. Ὡς στρατευσάμενος Δημήτριος ὁ Εὔκαιρος[8] λεγόμενος[9] ἐπὶ Ἀλέξανδρον[10] ἐκράτησεν αὐτοῦ.[11]

[1] πολιορκήσας εἷλεν καὶ ὑποφόρους κατέστησεν P.
[2] + καὶ ἐνδιάθετος στοργὴ P.
[3] ὡς . . . Ἰουδαίας] ὡς Ἀντίοχος ὁ Κυζικηνὸς ἐλθὼν βοηθῆσαι τοῖς Σαμαρεῦσι πολιορκουμένοις πρὸς (παρὰ F) Ὑρκανοῦ ἡττηθεὶς διέφυγε διωξάντων αὐτὸν (αὐτῷ F) τῆς Ἰουδαίας τῶν υἱῶν Ὑρκανοῦ FLV.
[4] + ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ FV : + υἱὸς Ὑρκανοῦ L.
[5] + τοῦ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἡγεμονεύσαντος P.
[6] ἐθνῶν τούτων P : ἐχθρῶν FLV.
[7] Ἀλέξανδρον P.
[8] Ἄκαιρος L.
[9] λεγόμενος om. FLAMVW.
[10] + τὸν τὴν Ἰουδαίαν διέποντα P.
[11] + μάχη P.

[a] The variant adds, "after besieging them, and made them tributary."

[b] The variant adds, "and sustained affection . . . toward."

[c] Variant (to this whole section) "How Antiochus Cyzicenus came to the aid of the Samaritans who were being besieged by Hyrcanus, and being defeated, fled from Judaea with Hyrcanus' sons in pursuit."

[d] Variants "Aristobulus, his brother": "Aristobulus, the son of Hyrcanus."

[e] Variant "Aristobulus, the ruler of Judaea."

[f] Variants "many of these nations": "many foes."

[g] Variant "Akairos," *cf. Ant.* xiii. 369 note *f*.

[h] Variant "Alexander, the ruler of Judaea."

κδʹ. Ἀντιόχου τοῦ καὶ Διονύσου[1] λεγομένου στρατεία ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίαν καὶ ὡς ἐκράτησε[2] τῇ μάχῃ.

κεʹ. Ὡς μετὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτὴν ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρα τὴν βασιλείαν ἔτεσιν ἐννέα κατασχοῦσα καὶ βιώσασα[3] μετὰ εἰρήνης καὶ δόξης ἀπέθανεν.

Περιέχει ἡ βίβλος χρόνον ἐτῶν ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ δύο.

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΙΔ

αʹ. Ὡς μετὰ τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρας θάνατον ὁ νεώτερος[4] αὐτῆς τῶν παίδων Ἀριστόβουλος ἐπολέμησεν πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν τὸν ἀδελφὸν περὶ τῆς βασιλείας καὶ κρατήσας αὐτοῦ συνεδίωξεν εἰς τὴν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις βᾶριν, ἔπειθ' ὡς συμβάντες ἔκριναν βασιλεύειν μὲν Ἀριστόβουλον, Ὑρκανὸν δὲ ἰδιωτεύειν.

βʹ. Περὶ Ἀντιπάτρου καὶ γένους αὐτοῦ καὶ τίνα τρόπον ἐκ μικρᾶς καὶ τῆς τυχούσης ἀφορμῆς εἰς λαμπρότητα καὶ δόξαν ἅμα τοῖς παισὶν προήχθη καὶ μέγεθος δυνάμεως, καὶ ὅτι πείσαντος Ὑρκανὸν Ἀντιπάτρου φυγεῖν ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων πρὸς Ἀρέταν

[1] ex Lat. (liber pater) Niese : Διονυσίου codd.
[2] ἐκράτησε] περιγενόμενος ἠρίστευσεν P.
[3] καὶ βιώσασα om. P.
[4] νεώτατος AMW.

This book covers a period of eighty-two years.

BOOK XIV

[a] Name slightly emended.

[b] Variant "how he showed his prowess and superiority in battle." According to Josephus' text, Antiochus Dionysos was killed in battle with the Arabs, fighting valiantly.

[c] The variant omits "after living."

[d] Variant "youngest."

τὸν τῶν Ἀράβων βασιλέα ἱκέτευσεν ἐλθὼν καταγαγεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν γῆν τε πολλὴν δώσειν καὶ χρήματα ὑποσχόμενος.

γʹ. Ὡς Ἀρέτας προσδεξάμενος τὸν Ὑρκανὸν ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον καὶ συμβαλὼν καὶ κρατήσας τῇ μάχῃ συνεδίωξεν ἐπὶ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ περικαθίσας τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπολιόρκει τὴν πόλιν.

δʹ. Ὡς Σκαῦρον πέμψαντος ἀπὸ Ἀρμενίας εἰς Συρίαν Μάγνου Πομπηίου ἧκον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπό τε Ὑρκανοῦ καὶ Ἀριστοβούλου πρέσβεις περὶ συμμαχίας παρακαλοῦντες.

εʹ. Ὅτι Σκαῦρος τετρακοσίοις διαφθαρεὶς ταλάντοις Ἀριστοβούλῳ προσέθετο.

ϛʹ. Ὡς Ὑρκανὸς καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος περὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐπὶ Πομπηίου δικαιολογοῦνται.[1]

ζʹ. Ὡς Πομπηίου εἰς Δαμασκὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἐλθόντος Ἀριστόβουλος καὶ Ὑρκανὸς ἐπὶ αὐτὸν ἧκον περὶ τῆς βασιλείας δικαιολογούμενοι.[2]

ηʹ. Πομπηίου ὑπέρθεσις διαγνώσεσθαι φήσαντος περὶ ὧν ἀλλήλοις[3] ἐνεκάλουν, ἐπειδὰν εἰς τὴν ἐκείνων χώραν παραγένηται, καὶ ὅτι συνεὶς Ἀριστόβουλος τίνα ἔχει διάνοιαν Πομπήιος ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Ἰουδαίαν, καὶ ὡς ἀγανακτήσαντος αὐτοῦ καὶ στρατεύσαντος ἐπ' αὐτὸν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειον Ἀρι-

[1] ὡς . . . δικαιολογοῦνται om. PFL Lat.
[2] ὡς . . . δικαιολογούμενοι insiticia esse putat Niese.
[3] ἀλλήλοις om. PFL : ἀλλήλων W.

[a] The variant omits this section.
[b] Niese brackets this section as a duplication of the preceding one.

στόβουλος ἀνεχώρησε τὸ φρούριον ὀχυρὸν ὂν καὶ δυσκαταμάχητον.

θʹ. Ὡς Πομπήιος τοῦτο συνιδὼν στρατηγήματι χρησάμενος ἔπεισε τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον καταλιπόντα τὸ φρούριον καταβῆναι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὡς βεβαιωσόμενον αὐτῷ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, οἷς πεισθέντα καὶ πολλάκις δικαιολογησάμενον πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἠνάγκασε τοῖς φρουράρχοις τῇ αὐτοῦ χειρὶ γράψαι καὶ παραδοῦναι αὐτῷ τὰ φρούρια.

ιʹ. Ὡς Ἀριστόβουλος τοῦτο ποιήσας διὰ φόβον ἔπειτα δυσχεράνας ἐπὶ τῷ μηδενὸς ὧν προσεδόκα παρὰ Πομπηίου τυγχάνειν ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα.

ιαʹ. Ὡς Πομπηίου κατὰ πόδας μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς παρακολουθήσαντος[1] μετενόησεν Ἀριστόβουλος καὶ προελθὼν ἄχρι Ἱεριχοῦντος ἀπήντησεν αὐτῷ καὶ συγγνώμης τυχεῖν δεηθεὶς περὶ τῶν ἡμαρτημένων τήν τε πόλιν καὶ τὰ χρήματα παραδώσειν ὑπέσχετο, καὶ Πομπηίου πέμψαντος Γαβίνιον μετὰ ἐπιλέκτων στρατιωτῶν ἐπί τε τὴν τῆς πόλεως παράληψιν καὶ τῶν χρημάτων οἱ Ἱεροσολυμῖται τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον ὁρῶντες ἐν φυλακῇ καθεστῶτα τὰς πύλας ἀπέκλεισαν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις.

ιβʹ. Ὡς ἐπὶ τούτῳ παροξυνθεὶς Πομπήιος Ἀριστόβουλον μὲν ἔδησε, προσαγαγὼν δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἐπολιόρκει τὴν πόλιν, καὶ δέχονται μὲν αὐτὸν οἱ

[1] κατακολουθήσαντος PFLW.

[a] It was Aristobulus who resorted to a stratagem, according to Josephus. Perhaps we should read χρησάμενον for χρησάμενος.

τὰ Ὑρκανοῦ φρονοῦντες εἰς τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἄνω, οἱ δὲ τὰ Ἀριστοβούλου φεύγουσιν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν.

ιγʹ. Ὡς αἱρεῖ κατὰ κράτος τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὴν κάτω πόλιν ὁ Πομπήιος τῷ τρίτῳ μηνί.

ιδʹ. Περὶ τῆς ἐπιεικείας αὐτοῦ καὶ θεοσεβείας, ὅτι μηδενὸς ἔψαυσε τῶν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ πολλῶν ὄντων τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ χρημάτων.

ιεʹ. Ὅτι ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος καὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ποιήσας φόροις ὑποτελῆ καὶ Ὑρκανὸν ἀποδείξας ἐθνάρχην, Ἀριστόβουλον μὲν δέσμιον μετὰ τῆς γενεᾶς εἰς Ῥώμην ἀνήγαγε, Σκαῦρον δὲ τῆς Συρίας ἐπίτροπον κατέλιπεν.

ιϛʹ. Ὅτι Σκαύρου στρατεύσαντος ἐπὶ Πέτραν βασίλειον οὖσαν τῶν Ἀράβων καὶ πολιορκοῦντος, ἐν ἐνδείᾳ τῶν στρατιωτῶν αὐτοῦ γενομένων Ἀντίπατρος πείθει τὸν Ἄραβα δόντα Σκαύρῳ τάλαντα τριακόσια συμμαχίαν πρὸς αὐτὸν ποιήσασθαι.

ιζʹ. Ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ἀριστοβούλου παῖς φυγὼν Πομπήιον καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς Ἰουδαίαν στρατιᾶς αὐτῷ πολλῆς γενομένης πόλεμον ἐξήνεγκε πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν καὶ Ἀντίπατρον.

ιηʹ. Ὡς ὑπὸ Γαβινίου κρατηθεὶς τῇ μάχῃ καὶ κατακλεισθεὶς εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειον τὸ φρούριον ἐπολιορκεῖτο.

ιθʹ. Ὡς Γαβίνιος πεισάσης τῆς μητρὸς τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου παραδοῦναι αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸ φρούριον

λαβὼν τὸν μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀφῆκεν, ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ τῇ συγκλήτῳ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ, οἳ ἦσαν μετὰ Ἀριστοβούλου τοῦ πατρὸς δεδεμένοι, λῦσαι καὶ ἀποπέμψαι πρὸς τὴν μητέρα, δηλῶν αὐτῆς τὸ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πιστὸν καὶ ὡς ἔστιν ἀξία ταύτης τῆς χάριτος τυγχάνειν.

κʹ. Ὡς μετὰ ταῦτα φυγόντα ἐκ Ῥώμης Ἀριστόβουλον εἰς Ἰουδαίαν λαβὼν Γαβίνιος αἰχμάλωτον πάλιν ἀνέπεμψε[1] εἰς Ῥώμην.

καʹ. Κράσσου κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Πάρθους στρατείαν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀνάβασις καὶ σύλησις τῶν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ χρημάτων.

κβʹ. Φυγὴ Πομπηίου εἰς Ἤπειρον καὶ Σκιπίωνος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεμφθέντος εἰς Συρίαν ἄφιξις ἐντολὴν ἔχοντος ἀποκτεῖναι Ἀλέξανδρον.

κγʹ. Ὅτι Καῖσαρ[2] λύσας Ἀριστόβουλον[3] οἷός τε ἦν πέμψαι μετὰ δύο ταγμάτων εἰς Ἰουδαίαν, ἔφθη δ' ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ Πομπηίου φρονούντων διαφθαρεὶς Ἀριστόβουλος φαρμάκῳ.[4]

κδʹ. Καίσαρος ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου στρατεία, καὶ ὡς συνεμάχησαν αὐτῷ Ὑρκανός τε καὶ Ἀντίπατρος καὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους αὐτῷ συμμάχους ἐποίησαν.

[1] ἀνέστρεψεν P : ἀντέστρεψεν V.
[2] + φυγόντος Πομπηΐου μετὰ τῆς συγκλήτου F
[3] + τῶν δεσμῶν P.
[4] + καὶ ὅτι Σκιπίων ἐπιστείλαντος αὐτῷ Πομπηΐου τὸν Ἀριστοβούλου Ἀλέξανδρον πελέκει διεχρήσατο F.

[a] Variant "and returned to Rome."

[b] One ms. adds, "when Pompey had fled together with the Senate."

[c] One ms. adds, "from chains."

[d] One ms. adds, "and how Scipio at Pompey's order executed Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, by beheading."

κε΄. Ἀντιπάτρου προθύμως ἀγωνισαμένου κατὰ τὴν μάχην ἀριστεία καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φιλία πρὸς Καίσαρα, καὶ ὡς Ὑρκανὸν Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ χαίρων ἐτίμησε μεγάλως, ἐπιτρέψας αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς πατρίδος ἀναστῆσαι τείχη.[1]

κϛ΄. Ὡς Ἀντιπάτρῳ τὴν τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπιτροπὴν ἐνεχείρισεν.

κζ΄. Καίσαρος ἐπιστολαὶ καὶ δόγματα συγκλήτου περὶ τῆς πρὸς Ἰουδαίους φιλίας.

κη΄. Ὅτι Ἀντίπατρος τοῖς παισὶν Ἡρώδῃ μὲν τὴν τῆς Γαλιλαίας[2] πρόνοιαν Φασαήλῳ[3] δ' ἐπέτρεψε τὴν Ἱεροσολύμων.

κθ΄. Ὡς Καῖσαρ Σέξστος δωροδοκηθεὶς ὑφ' Ἡρώδου ἡγεμόνος ὄντος ἐν Συρίᾳ[4] μέγαν καὶ ἔνδοξον ἐποίησεν Ἡρώδην, καταστήσας ἄρχοντα τῆς κοίλης Συρίας.

λ΄. Ὡς Κάσσιος Καίσαρος ἀποθανόντος εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀναβὰς τήν τε χώραν ἐκάκωσε καὶ τάλαντα ὀκτακόσια παρ' αὐτῶν εἰσεπράξατο,[5] πῶς τε Ἡρώδης ἐκ τῆς εἰσπράξεως τῶν χρημάτων σπουδαῖος ἔδοξε Κασσίῳ.

λα΄. Μαλίχου τελευτὴ τοῦ πρὸς Ἡρώδην στασιάσαντος Κασσίου κελεύσαντος.[6]

1 κατεστραμμένα τείχη P.
2 Ἰουδαίας AMW.
3 Φιλίππῳ AMW.
4 ἡγεμόνος . . . Συρίᾳ secl. Niese.
5 + φορολογήσας P.
6 τελευτήσαντος P: Μαλίχου . . . κελεύσαντος] ὡς Μάλιχος ἐπιβουλεύων Ἀντίπατρον ἀνεῖλε φαρμάκῳ διακονησαμένου χρήμασι τοῦ οἰνοχόου Ὑρκανοῦ· ὡς Ἡρώδης ἐπιστείλαντος αὐτῷ Κασσίου τὸν Μάλιχον ἐδολοφόνησεν FL.

[a] One MS. "the ruined walls."

[b] Variant "Judaea."

[c] Variant "Philip."

[d] Variant (to whole section) "How Malichus treacherously killed Antipater by poisoning, assisted by Hyrcanus' butler who had been paid therefor; how Herod at Cassius' order killed Malichus by treachery."

λβ'. Θάνατος τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας πρεσβευτῶν ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου μετὰ τὴν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ νίκην ἐν Συρίᾳ γενομένου καὶ ἀγανακτήσαντος ἐπὶ τῷ Ἡρώδου κατηγορῆσαι. ταῦτα δ' ἔπραξεν χρήμασι πείσαντος αὐτὸν τοῦ Ἡρώδου.[1]

λγ'. Στρατεία Πάρθων εἰς Συρίαν, καθ' ἣν τὸν Ἀριστοβούλου υἱὸν Ἀντίγονον εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν κατήγαγον.

λδ'. Ὡς Ὑρκανὸν καὶ Φασάηλον τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἡρώδου αἰχμαλώτους ἔλαβον.[2]

λε'. Ὡς Ἡρώδης φεύγων ἐκεῖθεν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν[3] παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ δεηθεὶς Ἀντωνίου[4] χρήματα πολλὰ ὑποσχόμενος, ἀπεδείχθη

[1] θάνατος . . . Ἡρώδου] ὅτι Κασσίου ἀναχωρήσαντος τῆς Συρίας καὶ Ἡρώδου πρὸς Φάβιον πορευθέντος Ἕλιξ κατὰ Φασαήλου στρατιὰν ἤθροισεν, καὶ ὡς ἡττηθέντος Ἕλικος προσφυγόντος εἴς τινα τῶν πύργων Φασάηλος αὐτὸν ὑπoσπόνδιον ἀφῆκεν. ὡς Ἀντίγονον τὸν Ἀριστοβούλου βοηθούμενον παρὰ τοῦ Τυρίων τυράννου Μαρίωνος Ἡρώδης ἀπαντήσας τρέπεται καὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐκβάλλει. ὅτι μετὰ τὸ ἡττηθῆναι Κάσσιον ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ παρὰ τοῦ νέου Καίσαρος καὶ Ἀντωνίου Ἡρώδης ἐν Βιθυνίᾳ παραγεγονότα πολλοῖς χρήμασιν ἐθεράπευσεν Ἀντώνιον. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοὺς κατηγορεῖν αὐτοῦ βουληθέντας οὐ προσεδέξατο Ἀντώνιος. καὶ ὅτι Τυρίοις ὑπὲρ Ἰουδαίων ἔγραψεν. ὅτι πάλιν εἰς Συρίαν ἐλθόντος Ἀντωνίου καὶ κατηγορούντων τινῶν Ἡρώδου καὶ Φασαήλου οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἤκουσεν αὐτῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ τετράρχας αὐτοὺς κατέστησεν. τῶν δὲ κατηγόρων δέκα τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀπέκτεινεν FL.

[2] ὡς . . . ἔλαβον om. Lat.

[3] φεύγων . . . Ἰταλίαν om. Lat.

[4] δεηθεὶς Ἀντωνίου om. Lat.

[a] Variant (to whole section) "How, when Cassius had retired from Syria and Herod had proceeded to Fabius, Helix collected an army against Phasael, and how Helix, being defeated, took refuge in a tower and Phasael let him go under a truce. How Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, being aided by Marion, the prince of Tyre, encountered Herod and was routed and driven from Judaea. How, after the defeat of Cassius in Macedonia at the hands of the young Caesar and Antony, Herod with large sums of money courted the favour of Antony, who had come to Bithynia, and how on that account Antony did not receive those who came with the intention of accusing Herod; and how he wrote to the Tyrians on behalf of the Jews. How, when Antony again came to Syria, and certain men accused Herod and Phasael, not only did he not listen to them, but he also appointed Herod and Phasael tetrarchs, and killed some of their accusers, ten in number" (*cf.* § 294).

[b] The Lat. omits this section.

[c] Lat. omits "fled from there to Italy."

[d] Lat. omits "appealing to Antony."

ὑπό τε τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ Καίσαρος βασιλεὺς τῆς Ἰουδαίας.[1]

λϛʹ. Ἔκπλους Ἡρώδου μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπὸ Ῥώμης εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καὶ μάχη πρὸς Ἀντίγονον, στρατιᾶς αὐτῷ Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἑπομένης καὶ ἡγεμόνος Σίλωνος.

λζʹ. Ὡς Σίλωνος Ἱεροσόλυμα πολιορκήσαντος, ὑπὸ Σοσσίου καὶ Ἡρώδου Ἀντίγονος διεφθάρη.[2]

Περιέχει ἡ βίβλος χρόνον ἐτῶν λβʹ.

[1] ὡς Ὑρκανὸν (λδʹ) . . . Ἰουδαίας] ὡς Ὑρκανὸς καὶ Φασάηλος πεπρεσβευκότες πρὸς Πάρθους κατεσχέθησαν παρ' αὐτῶν δεθέντες Ἡρώδου μαθόντος τὴν σύλληψιν αὐτῶν καὶ διαφυγόντος. ὡς μετὰ τὴν Ἡρώδ⟨ου⟩ φυγὴν Πάρθοι διήρπασαν τήν τε πόλιν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ τὸ βασίλειον παραδόντες Ἀντιγόνῳ δεδεμένους Ὑρκανὸν καὶ Φασάηλον· ἔτι τε ὡς Ὑρκανὸς μὲν τὰ ὦτα διελωβήθη παρ' Ἀντιγόνου ὡς μὴ πάλιν κατάσχοι τὴν ἱερωσύνην, Φασάηλος δὲ μᾶλλον ἀναιρεῖσθαι προανεῖλεν αὑτὸν ὡς ἂν μὴ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἔργον γένοιτο. ὡς Ἡρώδης διαφυγὼν Πάρθους ἦλθεν πρὸς Μάλχον τῶν Ἀράβων βασιλέα κἀκείνου μὴ προσδεξαμένου τοῦτον διὰ τῆς Αἰγύπτου πορευθεὶς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους διασώζεται. ὡς Ἡρώδης Ἀντωνίου συναγωνισαμένου βασιλεὺς τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἀναγορεύεται Καίσαρος καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου Ῥωμαίων τοῦτο κυρωσάσης L.

[2] ὡς . . . διεφθάρη] ὡς Σίλωνος καὶ Σοσσίου μετὰ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν στρατευμάτων πολιορκησάντων τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴ μὲν ἑάλω Ἀντίγονος δὲ διεφθάρη, ὁ δὲ Ἡρώδης ἐγκρατὴς τῆς βασιλείας ἐγεγόνει L.

This book covers a period of thirty-two years.

[a] One MS. has, in place of this whole section, "How Hyrcanus and Phasael, who had gone as envoys to the Parthians, were seized by them and put in chains, and how Herod learned of their capture and escaped. How after Herod's flight the Parthians plundered the city of Jerusalem and the palace, and handed over Hyrcanus and Phasael in chains to Antigonus. Further, how Hyrcanus had his ears mutilated by Antigonus in order that he might not again hold the priesthood, and how Phasael preferred to slay himself in order that his foe might not accomplish this deed. How Herod after escaping from the Parthians came to Malchus the Arab king, and when the latter refused to receive him, proceeded through Egypt and safely reached the Romans. How Herod with the active help of Antony was named King of Judaea, this being sanctioned by Caesar and the Roman Senate."

[b] One MS. has, in place of this whole section, "How, when Silo and Sossius besieged the city with the Roman armies, it was captured; and how Antigonus was put to death while Herod came into possession of the throne."

APPENDIX B

The Date of the High Priest Simon the Just (the Righteous)

Selected literature :

Bloch, Heinrich, *Die Quellen des Flavius Josephus.* 1879. Pp. 147-150, 161-163.

Derenbourg, pp. 41-52.

Destinon, J., *Die Quellen des Flavius Josephus, etc.* 1882. Pp. 29-39.

Finkelstein i. 62-64, ii. 575-580.

„ "The Anshe Keneset Ha-gedolah," *JBL* 59 (1940), 455-470.

Hölscher, G., "Die Hohenpriesterliste bei Josephus," *SB Heidelberger Akad. Wiss.*, 1939.

Moore, George F., "Simeon the Righteous," *Jewish Studies in Memory of Israel Abrahams.* 1927. Pp. 348-364.

Schürer i. 181-182 ; ii. 355 ff.

Willrich, *JG*, pp. 105-115.

Zeitlin, Solomon, art. in Hebrew in *Ner Ma'arabi*, 1925, pp. 137-141.

The last high priest mentioned in the Old Testament is Jaddua, a contemporary of Darius III and Alexander the Great (Neh. xii. 22). The high priest in the time of Seleucus IV *c.* 180 B.C. was Onias III, who figures prominently in 2 Maccabees (iii. 1 ff.).

For the succession of high priests in the intervening period of about 150 years we are almost wholly dependent upon Josephus, who is supplemented to only a slight extent by rabbinic tradition.

In Books XI and XII Josephus gives the following scheme of high priests, which in a later passage (*Ant.* xx. 261) he represents as based on written sources.

Onias I, successor of Jaddua, *c.* 300 B.C. (*Ant.* xi. 347).
Simon the Just, son of Onias I, time of Ptolemy I (*Ant.* xii. 43, 157).
Eleazar, brother of Simon the Just, time of Ptolemy II (*Ant.* xii. 44).
Manasses, uncle of Eleazar (*Ant.* xii. 157).
Onias II, son of Simon the Just, time of Ptolemy IV, V (*Ant.* xii. 157).
Simon II, son of Onias II, time of Ptolemy V and Antiochus III (*Ant.* xii. 224).

To this list we may tentatively add the name of Hezekiah, mentioned in *Ap.* i. 187 as a contemporary of Ptolemy I; he was either a high priest or assistant high priest (*cf. Ant.* xii. 9 note *b*).

There are two things about this scheme that strike one as peculiar. The first is that the young son of Simon I should have been preceded not only by his uncle Eleazar (which in itself is not remarkable) but also by his uncle's uncle Manasses.

The second point, which here chiefly concerns us, is Josephus' attribution of the epithet "the Just" or "the Righteous" (Heb. *haṣ-ṣaddiq*) to the first priest named Simon (Heb. *Šimeʿôn*). Other sources pretty clearly indicate that Simon the Just was not Simon I but Simon II, who flourished about a century later.

It is true that one rabbinic tradition makes Simon

the Just a contemporary of Alexander the Great (scholion to *Megillath Ta'anit* with a parallel in Bab. Talmud, *Yoma* 69 a; this story is translated in Appendix C to vol. vi, pp. 517-518). But this variant of Josephus' story about the meeting of Jaddua and Alexander has little historical value, particularly so far as chronology is concerned; moreover it is quite possible that, as Zeitlin argues, the king in question was originally not Alexander but Antiochus III.

The other rabbinic (and Apocryphal) traditions point more clearly to the end of the third century B.C., not the end of the fourth, as the period when Simon the Just flourished. The relevant material may briefly be summarized as follows.

Ecclesiasticus or the Wisdom of Sirach celebrates, near the end of the book (ch. l), the greatness of the high priest "Simon, son of Onias" as he presides over a solemn ceremony in the temple. The author is clearly writing of a contemporary and of a scene which he himself has witnessed, and the description of the high priest's activity and influence best fits the high priest whom rabbinic sources call Simon the Just. Now the book of Ecclesiasticus on internal grounds and on the evidence of the prologue has been dated by almost all scholars at *c.* 200 B.C. Thus we have one support for the assumption that Simon the Just lived around 200 B.C. and not a century earlier. The identity of Sirach's Simon with Simon the Just would be further strengthened if we assumed with Derenbourg that the reference in l. 2 to the high priest's erection of a wall and double colonnade in the temple is to be connected with a passage in the latter of Antiochus III (*Ant.* xii. 141) saying that the Seleucid king permits the work on the temple to be completed

"including the porticoes and any other part that it may be necessary to build."

Again the rabbinic traditions preserved in Tosephta *Soṭah* xiii. 6-8, Jerus. Talmud *Yoma* 43 c, Bab. Talmud *Yoma* 39 a, b, *Menaḥot* 109 b about the high priest Onias who built a temple in Egypt state that he was the son of Simon the Just, and so indicate that Simon II, not Simon I, is meant.

Finally the succession of rabbinic authorities during the Hellenistic period as given in the Mishnah treatise *Abot* makes Simon the Just the first in a series of seven generations of teachers of whom Jose ben Joezer is in the third, Simeon ben Shetaḥ is in the fifth, and Hillel and Shammai in the seventh. Since Jose ben Joezer was a contemporary of the high priest Alcimus (161 B.C.), Simeon ben Shetaḥ a contemporary of Alexander Jannaeus and Alexandra, and Hillel and Shammai of Herod the Great, it is obvious that in this passage Simon the Just must be placed at *c.* 200 B.C.

Less unambiguous is the statement in *Abot* i. 2 that Simon the Just was one of the survivors (*miš-šᵉ-'ârê*) of the Great Assembly (*kᵉeneset hag-gᵉ-dôlāh*). The constitution and dates of the Great Assembly are problems which the vagueness of rabbinic tradition concerning this body makes it difficult to solve. Finkelstein has plausibly argued that the Great Assembly was the body convoked by Simon the Just *c.* 200 B.C. to promulgate certain measures by which the interests of the plebeians in the Jewish state would better be served than they had been in the pre-existing Gerousia. But in that case we should have to assume either that the Mishnah has here, as elsewhere, been chronologically inexact in making Simon the Just one of the "survivors" of this body or else

that the word *šᵉʾârê* "survivors" is a scribal error for *râšê* "heads"—an assumption that is made by Zeitlin. In any case the evidence of Ecclesiasticus taken together with the majority of rabbinic passages seems sufficient to warrant the assumption that Simon the Just lived *c.* 200 B.C. and that Josephus is mistaken in making him a contemporary of Ptolemy I.

APPENDIX C

The Early Seleucid Rulers and the Jews

Selected literature :

Bevan, *H. Sel.* ii. 165-167.
Krauss, S., " Antioche," *REJ* 45 (1902), 27-29.
Niese, *GGMS* i. 394 n. 4.
Schürer iii. 79-84.
Tscherikower, pp. 296, 335-339.
Willrich, *JG* pp. 29-33, 37.
,, *Urkundenfälschung*, p. 16.

The general problem of the civic rights and privileges enjoyed by the Jews in the Hellenistic-Roman Diaspora will be discussed in an appendix to the last volume of this translation. The present appendix is concerned only with the statements made by Josephus concerning the Jewish policies of the Seleucid rulers before Antiochus III (on the latter see the following appendix).

Only two early Seleucid kings are specifically mentioned in this connexion by Josephus : Seleucus I Nicator, the founder of the dynasty, and Antiochus II Theos.

With the former of these the following passages deal. *Ant.* xii. 119-124, Seleucus Nicator granted the Jews citizenship " in the cities which he founded in Asia and Lower Syria and in his capital Antioch

itself, and declared them to have equal privileges with the Macedonians and Greeks who were settled in these cities, so that this citizenship of theirs remains to this very day ; and the proof of this is the fact that he gave orders that those Jews who were unwilling to use foreign oil should receive a fixed sum of money from the gymnasiarchs to pay for their own kind of oil ; and when the people of Antioch proposed to revoke this privilege, Mucianus, who was then governor of Syria, maintained it." Josephus goes on to say that similarly Titus and Vespasian refused to deprive the Alexandrian and Antiochian Jews of citizenship. *Ap.* ii. 39, "Our Jewish residents in Antioch are called Antiochenes, having been granted rights of citizenship by its founder Seleucus. Similarly, those at Ephesus and throughout the rest of Ionia bear the same name as the indigenous citizens, a right which they received from Alexander's successors (τῶν διαδόχων)." To these two passages we may add another which touches on the history of the Jews in Antioch before the Roman period, *B.J.* vii. 43-45, "But it was at Antioch that they specially congregated, partly owing to the greatness of that city, but mainly because the kings after Antiochus had enabled them to live there in security. For although Antiochus surnamed Epiphanes sacked Jerusalem and plundered the temple, his successors on the throne restored to the Jews of Antioch all such votive offerings as were made of bronze, to be laid up in their synagogue, and moreover, granted them citizen rights on an equality with the Greeks."

In trying to determine the historicity of the claim that Seleucus I gave the Jews citizenship and other

privileges in Antioch and elsewhere, it is well to remember that both *Ant.* and *Ap.* which specifically make this claim are suspected of containing exaggerations of an apologetic nature to a greater extent than is *B.J.*, which says nothing about Seleucus Nicator's concern for the Jews. Moreover in *B.J.*'s statement that the kings after Antiochus enabled the Jews to live at Antioch in security the Antiochus referred to is much more likely to be Antiochus III than Antiochus I, as Dr. Thackeray suggests in his note. The context indicates that Josephus is speaking of the friendly Jewish policy of all the Seleucids after Antiochus III, to which that of Antiochus Epiphanes formed the sole exception. Moreover an Antiochus without surname is much more likely to be the well-known Antiochus III the Great than the obscure Antiochus I.

Furthermore it is unlikely that there were enough Jews in Syria and Asia during the reign of Seleucus I to warrant special legislation on their behalf. It is true that Jews were beginning to settle in Egypt in considerable numbers soon after 300 B.C., but this does not seem to have been the case in Seleucid territory. Willrich and others have correctly pointed out that as late as the time of the Maccabees the Jewish settlement in Gilead was small enough to be brought en masse to Judaea. Other Apocryphal and rabbinic sources (see below) indicate that the Jewish community in Antioch first attained importance about 200 B.C. Nor is there reason to believe that the Jews of Palestine were of sufficient interest to Seleucus I for him to take favourable action toward their co-religionists in Syria and Asia. One might argue, to be sure, that the Jewish settlement in Babylonia was of

some importance to Seleucus, but, as Tscherikower reminds us, there is no reason to believe that Josephus' sources made any reference to the Babylonian Jews of that period. Finally, it may be noted that in another passage, *B.J.* vii. 107 ff., which relates that Titus refused to expel the Jews from Antioch or to remove the bronze tablets on which their privileges were inscribed, there is no mention of Seleucus at all.

Another point to be considered is Josephus' statement in *Ant.* that proof of Seleucus I's interest in the Jews is the fact that he ordered the gymnasiarchs to give money for oil to those Jews who were unwilling to use pagan oil. That some of the Seleucid rulers did make such grants is proved by the inscription cited in one of the notes to this passage (p. 61 note *b*), and that the Jews of the Diaspora were reluctant to use pagan oil is shown by other passages in Josephus, cited in the same note, and by the discussion of this matter in the Bab. Talmud *Abodah Zarah* 36 a, b. The latter passage reports a controversy between the Hillelites and Shammaites, dating from about the end of the first century B.C. In a private communication Professor Louis Ginzberg expresses the opinion that many of the regulations discussed in this passage were "not new ordinances but reinforcements." He does not, however, conclude from the Talmudic statements that the Jews of the Diaspora abstained from the use of pagan oil as early as the time of Seleucus I. On the other hand, Krauss, who cites this and other Talmudic passages, expresses doubt that there was a considerable Jewish Diaspora in Syria in the time of the early Seleucid rulers. The rabbinic traditions about Antioch point to a separate *golah* (Diaspora) in

the time of Onias III but not earlier. The grant of oil, therefore, is more plausibly to be ascribed to Antiochus III than to Seleucus I. Here, too, as in the case of other pro-Jewish enactments attributed by Josephus to the founders of the Ptolemaic and Seleucid dynasties, an apologetic motive is to be suspected. Whether Willrich is right in tracing this passage to Jason of Cyrene (on whose work 2 Maccabees is based) is a point to be discussed in another place.

We may now turn to another passage which some scholars have considered to refer to the Jewish policy of Antiochus II Theos (261–247 B.C.). In *Ant.* xii. 125-127 Josephus tells us that the Greeks of Ionia agitated against the Jews and petitioned Marcus Agrippa (during the years 16–13 B.C.) that " they alone might enjoy the citizenship which Antiochus, the grandson of Seleucus, called Theos by the Greeks, had given them, and claimed that if the Jews were to be their fellows, they should worship the Ionians' gods " ; the passage goes on to say that after a hearing at which Nicolas of Damascus spoke as advocate of the Jews, Agrippa gave his opinion that it was not lawful for him to make a new rule. This passage must be considered in connexion with *Ant.* xvi. 27-60 which relates in greater detail how Nicolas successfully pleaded for the preservation of the privileges of the Jews in Ionia (chiefly matters of religious observance), which Agrippa was the more inclined to respect because of his friendship with Herod. In the latter passage it is clearly the privileges and edicts of toleration which the *Romans* had granted that are involved, not the civic rights or privileges which the Jews claimed to have received from the Seleucids. It is

therefore reasonable to suppose that the phrase " the citizenship which Antiochus . . . Theos . . . had given them " refers to the democratic constitution set up in the cities of Asia by Antiochus II (attested by other Greek sources cited by Schürer) and that " them " refers to the Greeks and not to the Jews. If we take *Ant.* xii. 125-127 together with *Ant.* xvi. 27 ff., we see that the Ionian Greeks were attempting to have Agrippa revoke the edicts of toleration granted the Jews by the *Romans*, presumably in the time of Julius Caesar (*cf.* *Ant.* xiv. 190 ff.), which the anti-Jewish party claimed gave the Jews as great a measure of civic right as the Greeks had been enjoying as citizens since the time of Antiochus II. Here, as Wellhausen and Tscherikower remind us, Josephus confuses citizenship with privileges and grants of religious freedom. But he does not plainly say that it was Antiochus II who had given the Jews citizenship, though his language is slightly ambiguous, perhaps intentionally so. Nor should undue stress be placed on the word μετέχωσι in this passage (restored from Epitome for MSS. μετέλθωσι), as though it implied participation by Jews *and* Greeks in citizenship, since its use in similar passages taken from Nicolas shows that it has the technical sense of " enjoy " (civic rights, etc.).

In conclusion, we may say that it is very improbable that the Jewish communities in Seleucid Syria and Asia were granted either citizenship or special privileges before the time of Antiochus III.

APPENDIX D

Antiochus III and the Jews (*Ant.* xii. 129-153)

Selected literature :
Bevan, *H. Sel.* ii. 296-297.
Bickermann, E., " La charte séleucide de Jérusalem," *REJ* 100 (1935), 4-35.
Büchler, *Tobiaden*, pp. 143-171.
Dubnow ii. 33-34.
Graetz ii. 2. 243-244.
Holleaux, M., " Inscription trouvée à Brousse," *BCH* 48 (1924), 1-57.
Klausner i. 213-214.
Laqueur, R., " Griechische Urkunden in der jüdisch-hellenistischen Literatur," *HZ* 136 (1927), 229-252 (esp. 247-251).
Meyer, *Ursprung* ii. 126-127.
Niese, *GGMS* ii. 579.
Rostovtzeff, M., *CAH* vii. 180.
Schubart, W., " Bemerkungen zum Stile hellenistischer Königsbriefe," *APF* 6 (1920), 324-347 (esp. 343-345).
Schürer ii. 303 ; iii. 66.
Tscherikower, pp. 122-128, 294-295.
Welles, *Roy. Corr.*, pp. xxxvii-l.
Wellhausen, pp. 225-227.

Willrich, *JG*, pp. 39-43.
,, *Urkundenfälschung*, pp. 18-23.
Zucker, pp. 33-36.

During the struggle for the possession of Palestine and Transjordan between Antiochus the Great and Ptolemy Epiphanes between 201 and 198 B.C. the majority of Jews seem to have sided with the Seleucids (see the works listed in Appendix E). Accordingly, Josephus tells us, Antiochus rewarded the Jews by extending certain privileges to them in respect of taxes, freedom of religion, maintenance of the temple cult and the like. The three documents which contain these royal grants and privileges are cited in xii. 138-153, and have naturally aroused a great deal of discussion among modern scholars, who have expressed divergent opinions about their genuineness and accuracy.

Before examining the documents in detail, it may be well to make some general observations about the nature of Hellenistic royal letters and Josephus' use of sources bearing on the position of the Jews in the Hellenistic Diaspora.

On the basis of such a collection as Welles' *Royal Correspondence*, which contains seventy-five texts principally from the Seleucid and Attalid kingdoms, and other collections of scores of papyri from the Ptolemaic period, it should be possible to determine with a fair degree of assurance whether the enactments ascribed to Seleucid and Ptolemaic kings by Josephus and other Hellenistic Jewish writers are obvious forgeries or not. (Incidentally, these same collections enable us to distinguish to some extent between Ptolemaic and Seleucid epistolary formulas.)

But the problem is more complicated than a mere matter of obvious forgery or obvious authenticity. We are dealing with material that does not fall into the category of the obvious. True, it is of some help to find that most of the royal letters and memoranda cited by Jewish writers closely conform to the pattern of authentic documents of this kind. But this conformity is only partial evidence of their genuineness. There is no reason why Hellenistic Jewish fabricators should not have made use of epistolary manuals, the existence of which is attested by ancient authors, to devise imaginary letters concerning the Jews, or have copied the royal decrees inscribed on stone and set up in the public squares of Hellenistic cities, or have altered genuine decrees by inserting favourable references to the Jews. On the other hand, there is no reason to condemn as wholly spurious a Ptolemaic or Seleucid decree cited by Josephus or an Apocryphal author merely because in some respects it deviates from the forms known to us from inscriptions and papyri. In the first place, we are not at present in a position to fix the chronological and local variations of the style of Hellenistic chancelleries with absolute accuracy. In the second place, we must allow for the occasional possibility that the king may have made informal additions to the formal letter drawn up by his official, or have issued a general statement as a temporary measure without bothering with the conventional forms, or, in the case of a Seleucid enactment, may have ordered that a form of religious toleration earlier extended to one minority group be applied to another group, actually quite different in culture, but supposed by the king to have the same system of sacrifices, cult restrictions and the like.

Such possibilities will be concretely illustrated below. At this point it may suffice to point out that the methods of *Formgeschichte* and *Gattungsgeschichte* cannot altogether replace the study of historical context and common sense.

As for the general reliability of such an apologist-historian as Josephus and of such theological historians as the authors of the Letter of Aristeas, 2 Maccabees and similar works in matters relating to the treatment of Jews by the successors of Alexander the Great, it will be freely admitted by a conscientious scholar that the documents cited by them must be treated with a certain amount of scepticism in view of the fact that these writers undoubtedly tend to exaggerate the friendliness shown toward the Jews by the earlier Ptolemies and Seleucids, and that Josephus (or his source) has, whether carelessly or deliberately, confused special privilege with citizenship and civic equality. But such proper scepticism should not make us unrealistic. A grant or ordinance which may justly be suspected of spuriousness if attributed to Ptolemy I or Seleucus I may have every probability of genuineness if attributed to Antiochus III. The historical setting and documentary parallels must be carefully evaluated.

In this connexion a word may be said about the view held by several scholars that most of the pro-Jewish royal Hellenistic decrees cited in Josephus, Aristeas and other Jewish works are of a piece with the pro-Jewish decrees ascribed to Persian kings in the biblical book of Ezra, and that both sets of documents are spurious. The remarkable similarity between them in such details as the immunities and privileges of temple officials, subventions to the

sacrificial expenses, etc., is in itself no proof that the Hellenistic decrees are the invention of Jewish apologists. In the first place, recent independent investigation of Achaemenian policy by such competent Iranian scholars as H. H. Schaeder, has tended to support the arguments of earlier scholars, such as Eduard Meyer, that the Aramaic decrees in Ezra are genuine. In the second place, classical scholars, including some who have no special interest in Jewish history, have shown that in matters of imperial organization the Seleucids to a large extent followed the policy of the Achaemenians, so that it should not surprise us to find them granting the same privileges to the temple at Jerusalem as the Persian kings are said to have granted. The preceding arguments are, of course, secondary to the argument based on parallels found in genuine inscriptions of Hellenistic kings, which are mentioned below. A third point that might be mentioned is the fact that edicts of religious tolerance, in general similar to those ascribed to the later Seleucids, were granted by the early Roman emperors, whom we have no reason to consider as innovators in this respect.

Turning now to the documents cited in *Ant.* xii. 138-153, we shall first review briefly the views of those scholars who have expressed only a general or summary opinion about their genuineness (Schubart, Laqueur, Wellhausen, Niese, Graetz, Schürer, Klausner, Dubnow, Bevan, Meyer, Rostovtzeff), and then consider the arguments of those who have examined one or more of the three documents in some detail (Willrich, Büchler, Tscherikower, Zucker, Bickermann).

It is disappointing to find that so competent a

scholar as Schubart in the course of a long and instructive discussion of Hellenistic royal letters dismisses the letters of Antiochus III to Ptolemy and Zeuxis as spurious without attempting to analyse them or to set up criteria of style applicable to them. Laqueur, dealing with a similarly broad subject, is a little more helpful in showing how the wholly negative criticism of Willrich and Kolbe (concerning the documents in 2 Maccabees) must be considerably restricted in the light of relevant parallels from inscriptions and the bearing of the specific situation.

Wellhausen, who holds that in general Josephus' statements about the policy of Hellenistic kings toward the Jews are to be suspected of exaggeration and apologetic tendencies, refers in detail only to Antiochus III's letter to Zeuxis on the transportation of two thousand Jewish families from Mesopotamia to Lydia and Phrygia, and questions its authenticity on the ground that the names of the colonists are not given. This objection will be considered below.

Niese's opinion is that the form and contents of all three documents are strongly suspect, but he gives no detailed argument except that Josephus obviously considers the Zeuxis letter to have been written after the conquest of Jerusalem, whereas in fact it must have been written before this. He also refers to Willrich's criticisms (see below), which, however, he says are only negatively valid, presumably questioning Willrich's view that the documents are Jewish inventions of Roman date. Niese suggests that the letter to Zeuxis was put out by the Jews of Phrygia and Lydia who wished to base their claim to civic equality with the Macedonian *katoikoi* on the alleged colonization by Antiochus III ; on this see below.

Graetz seems to accept the genuineness of two of the three documents, assuming with Grotius that the privileges ascribed therein to Antiochus are identical with the royal φιλάνθρωπα mentioned in 2 Macc. iv. 11 as having been granted to "John, father of Eupolemus." The second document (§ 146) he admits is of doubtful genuineness, but does not explain why.

Schürer, whose work is concerned primarily with the period after Antiochus III, only incidentally mentions the king's grants to the temple and cult, and assumes that they are historical.

Klausner takes for granted the authenticity of all the documents and confines himself, in citing evidence, to the argument that the repair of the temple mentioned in Sirach (see Appendix B) indicates the interest of Antiochus in the temple.

Dubnow also accepts the three documents as authentic, remarking in a footnote that Niese and Wellhausen have questioned their genuineness but arguing that they should not be wholly rejected merely because certain details are improbable. He further ventures the rash suggestion that Josephus has taken the documents from Polybius, who is quoted in the preceding sections of *Ant.* xii.

Bevan, as usual, takes a sensible view of the problem and balances the probabilities. His brief comments are worth quoting in full. "I incline to doubt, with Willrich (*Judaica*, p. 58) and Büchler (*Tobiaden u. Oniaden*, p. 143 f.), the genuineness of the letters of Antiochus III, given by Joseph. *Arch.* xii. § 138 f., not so much because of any impossibility in them (which I do not think Willrich or Büchler succeeds in making out), but because of the readiness with which such documents were forged in post-Maccabaean

times (see Willrich, *Juden u. Griechen*, *Judaica*, *passim*). If, however, they are not genuine, they are forged by some one familiar with the history of the time and the style of such rescripts. He knew of Zeuxis, the governor of Lydia (perhaps from Polybius), and Ptolemy, the son of Thraseas, the governor of Coele-Syria. (In objecting that Ptolemy was made governor in 218, *Juden u. Griechen*, p. 40, Willrich is thinking of the date in which he was in the Egyptian service, Polyb. v. 65, 3. That he deserted to the Seleucid in 218 with Ceraeas and Hippolochus, Polyb. v. 70, 10, is a conjecture only. When he was made governor of Coele-Syria there is absolutely nothing to show.) He is also right in exhibiting the Jews as friendly to Antiochus. The detail of the Egyptian garrison, not mentioned in our fragments of Polybius, may therefore be taken as true. That Antiochus should in such circumstances have shown some favours to the Jews and made presents to the Temple is in itself extremely likely." After reading this, one is inclined to ask the judicious historian of the Seleucid dynasty why the privileges which he admits Antiochus most probably granted to the Jews cannot be just those recorded in the letters cited by Josephus? In other words Bevan seems less doubtful of the genuineness of the documents than he himself claims to be.

Eduard Meyer, who has no marked sympathy with the Jews either of antiquity or modern times, objects to what he calls the unjustified doubts of the authenticity of the documents expressed by Schubart, and charges that the doubting modern critics of Josephus cannot "feel themselves" into the ancient situation. As a parallel to the restrictions on foreigners approach-

ing the temple precinct mentioned in the second document, he cites the well-known Greek inscription of Roman times (*OGIS* 598, *cf. Ant.* xv. 417), *μηθένα ἀλλογενῆ εἰσπορεύεσθαι ἐντὸς τοῦ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τρυφάκτου καὶ περιβόλου, κτλ.* Meyer admits that Josephus exaggerates in saying that Antiochus published his *programma* throughout the entire kingdom.

Rostovtzeff does not commit himself about the genuineness of the letter to Zeuxis, which alone he notices, but remarks that its style is singularly like the letter of Antiochus to the city of Amyzon, and adds that " there is no doubt that the letter gives us exactly the normal procedure when the Seleucids founded a military colony." The extant fragments of the Amyzon inscription (Welles Nr. 40) read, *Ἀμυζονέων χαίρειν—τὸ ἱερὸν ἄσυλον—βασιλέως εὔνοιαν—καὶ μηθενὶ ἐνοχλεῖν ὑμᾶς—ἔρρωσθε.* It must be added that the attribution of the Amyzon inscription to Antiochus III is not certain but probable. Welles takes it to be the writing of a royal official of the king when the latter was active in Caria before the Syrian campaign of 201 B.C.

In considering the more detailed treatments of other recent scholars, we shall find it most convenient to take each of the three documents separately, first reporting the negative criticisms of Willrich and Büchler, and then giving the counter-arguments of Tscherikower, Zucker and Bickermann, and the present writer's as well.

I. The Letter to Ptolemy (xii. 138-144)

Willrich in some places expresses the opinion that Josephus has taken the Seleucid decrees from such

apologists as Jason of Cyrene and Pseudo-Hecataeus, and in other places points out that some of the enactments attributed to Antiochus III and earlier kings really date from Roman times; but his argument that Jason of Cyrene and Pseudo-Hecataeus wrote in the first century B.C. is far from convincing. The main points of his argument against the authenticity of the Ptolemy letter are as follows. The addressee, Ptolemy son of Thraseas, is known to have been governor of Coele-Syria before 218 B.C. but not later. (This argument has been answered by Bevan, see above.) The pro-Jewish provisions of the letter bear a suspicious resemblance to those attributed to Ptolemy Philadelphus in Aristeas and to Persian kings in the book of Ezra. (This argument too has been broadly dealt with in the first part of the present Appendix.) The porticoes of the temple which the king offers to have repaired indicate that the temple of Herod is really in the writer's mind. The poll-tax was not known in the Seleucid kingdom and was first introduced under Quirinius. (On this point see note *a* to § 142 on p. 74 and also the discussions of Tscherikower and Bickermann below.) The return of Jewish captives is questionable, for it is difficult to see how Jews could have been taken off if the Egyptian garrison in Jerusalem was forced to surrender; this section, therefore, is to be suspected of imitating the reference in Aristeas to the freeing of Jewish captives in Egypt by Ptolemy Philadelphus. (Incidentally, the historicity of the latter story is not wholly disproved by the recent studies of slavery in Ptolemaic Egypt by W. L. Westermann and others.) A final objection raised by Willrich, in common with some other scholars, is that there is no

mention of the Jewish high priest in the letter, as might be expected in an official document.

An even more detailed and extended attack on the genuineness of the letter is made by Büchler, who not only takes account of the criticisms of Wellhausen and Willrich but in some cases improves on them or replaces them by other criticisms. Büchler's arguments are ingenious and elaborate, but some of his statements are inaccurate, and his unsystematic skipping from document to document combined with extreme dialectical subtlety results in some confusion of intention. In addition to these defects is the artificiality of treatment involved in his fixed notion that most of the Hellenistic decrees cited in Josephus reflect the Jewish-Samaritan controversies of the first century B.C. The substance of his theory about this particular document seems to be that a Jewish apologist writing in Herodian times has altered an original Samaritan forgery which ascribed to Antiochus III certain grants made to the Samaritan temple on Mt. Gerizim. The following are the salient points of his argument. It is noteworthy that in the section taken from Polybius that precedes the letter to Ptolemy and relates the conquest of Coele-Syria by Antiochus there is special emphasis on Samaria (not apparent to the present writer), and one may infer that §§ 135-136 originally dealt with the conquest of Samaria rather than of Judaea: the former was of greater military importance than Jerusalem, and also had an Egyptian garrison. The reference in § 141 to the importing of wood for the temple is more appropriate to Samaria than to Jerusalem. On the other hand, Büchler continues, the letter makes the city and temple identical, which

does not fit the Samaritan theory, since the fortress of Samaria was separate from the temple on Mt. Gerizim except in the time of Gabinius, *cf. Ant.* xiv. 100. Nor was the senate (γερουσία) of Samaria connected with priests and Levites as in the decree. The assurance of religious and political freedom for the Jews given in § 142 pre-supposes that restrictions of this kind had been imposed on the Jews shortly before, but no such restrictions are likely to have been imposed by either the Ptolemies or the Seleucids before Antiochus IV Epiphanes. After going through the list of persecutions in the period after Antiochus Epiphanes, Büchler finds that the implied restrictions and the damage to the temple resulting from the siege must have been those due to Pompey in 63 B.C. He therefore concludes that the letter reflects the liberal enactments of Julius Caesar, who, for example, remitted Jewish taxes for a time. As for the Jewish captives mentioned in the letter, they were probably those taken to Rome by Pompey; their release may have been due to Mark Antony, who is said by Dio Cassius to have freed the captives taken by Cassius. It is no accident, says Büchler, that the grants actually made by Julius Caesar were ascribed by the Jewish author of the decree to Antiochus III, since he meant the document to be an answer to the Samaritans who boasted that Antiochus IV had shown special favour to their temple on Mt. Gerizim. The reference to the repair of the porticoes of the temple is to the Herodian temple, but this preserved the architectural features of a much earlier time; so too the Levites had earlier enjoyed special privileges. The omission of the name of the high priest is a characteristic of forged decrees

ascribed by their Jewish authors to pagan rulers, as is seen from the Aramaic documents in Ezra, which were taken as a model by Hellenistic Jewish apologists. (See the comment on Willrich and the first part of this Appendix, and on Bickermann, below.) Perhaps, Büchler adds, the high priest is not mentioned here because Hyrcanus II did not enjoy exemption from taxation. The mention of the senate under the name of γερουσία points to the Egyptian origin of the decree.

Let us now consider the counter-arguments of Tscherikower, Zucker and Bickermann (the last of whom has made so thorough an investigation of the letter to Ptolemy that he has left little to add).

Tscherikower points out that Antiochus III's liberality to the temple is inherently probable in view of the tolerance shown by Ptolemies and Seleucids to the religions of minority groups ; as an example of this he cites the decree of a King Antiochus concerning the temple of Zeus (=Baal) in Baetocaece in Syria (*OGIS* 262 = Welles 70). This decree is dated by Welles *c.* the end of the first century B.C. and is translated by him as follows. " King Antiochus to Euphemus, greeting. The inclosed memorandum has been issued. See then that its provisions are carried out as far as concerns you. Report having been brought to me of the ' power ' of the god Zeus of Baetocaece, it has been decided to grant him for all time the place whence the ' power ' of the god issues, the village of Baetocaece—formerly the property of Demetrius the son of Demetrius and grandson of Mnaseas, . . . of the Apamean satrapy —with all its property and possessions according to the existing surveys and with the harvest of the

present year, so that the revenue from this may be spent by the priest chosen by the god in the customary manner for the monthly sacrifices and the other things which increase the dignity of the temple, and also that there may be held each month on the fifteenth and thirtieth days fairs free from taxation; (it has been decided further) that the temple should be inviolable and the village exempt from billeting, as no objection has been raised; that anyone who should violate any of the above provisions should be held guilty of impiety; and that copies (of this memorandum) should be inscribed on a stone stele and placed in the same temple. It will be necessary then to write to the usual officials so that these provisions may be carried out."

Here a word of caution is in place concerning Tscherikower's use of this decree. While it is of value in furnishing a model of the Seleucid chancellery style in such matters, the reader may be reminded that it was probably issued by a Seleucid king who was in greater need of support from a local community and therefore more anxious to conciliate it than was the case with Antiochus III who was dealing with the former subjects of his Ptolemaic rival. However, as Bevan has remarked, it is very likely that Antiochus III made an effort to please the Jews, and if he did so, would have chosen some such means as his successor did in trying to please the people of Baetocaece.

Tscherikower further argues, convincingly enough, that the tax-exemption and return of the captives mentioned in the letter to Ptolemy were in keeping with the policy of Hellenistic kings, and have a parallel in Antiochus III's treatment of Lysimachia

in Thrace (*cf.* Appian, *Syria* 1). This, then, would make unnecessary Büchler's assumption that these grants were originally made by Julius Caesar and Mark Antony. Against Willrich's objection that poll-taxes were not known in the Seleucid kingdom under Antiochus III Tscherikower argues that we know too little about Seleucid taxes to be dogmatic on this point (see also Bickermann below); moreover, even if it were true that the Jews at that time paid taxes only through the high priest, as Willrich claims, there is no good reason why the Seleucid king should not have intervened on occasion. These considerations seem to dispose of some of the chief objections raised against the general trustworthiness of the letter to Ptolemy.

Like Eduard Meyer and Tscherikower, Zucker also finds support for the historicity of the documents in parallels from Hellenistic decrees, *e.g. SEG* ii. 663. He notes that in distinction from the Persian decrees quoted in Ezra vi-vii, Antiochus' grant of exemption from taxes for the *gerousia* and scribes is something new; he further supposes that from the earlier Seleucid point of view the *gerousia* corresponded to the *boulē* of the Hellenistic city-states, but that in the time of Antiochus III the Jewish *gerousia* must have been a council of temple officials assisting the high priest, something like the sacred *collegium* of the Roman empire, hence a ἱερὰ βουλή. Particularly interesting is Zucker's citation of a verse from Judith (xi. 13-14) which refers to the authority of the *gerousia* over the temple revenues. In citing the Baetocaece decree as a parallel, he points out that in it tax-exemption is granted for only one year, so that Antiochus III's grant for three years is exceptional.

Zucker concludes by expressing the opinion, quite plausible in the present writer's judgment, that the tax-exemption granted to the temple officials was a tradition inherited by the Seleucids from the Persian kings.

To Bickermann we owe the most complete and valuable study of the letter to Ptolemy. Some of the arguments he advances in defence of its genuineness have been anticipated by one or another of the scholars mentioned above; accordingly only the more important of the new arguments he has given will be summarized, and no attempt will be made to include all the textual comments, some of them very useful, which he has made.

Bickermann regards the letter to Ptolemy as the "Seleucid charter of Jerusalem," and is chiefly interested in trying to show its political motivation and results. He first stresses the importance of the Jews' services to Antiochus III in furnishing him with provisions, as is indicated by a passage in Polybius, v. 70. 5 (218 B.C.), and in helping to dislodge the Egyptian garrison from the citadel N.W. of the temple, as is indicated by Porphyry *ap.* Jerome on Daniel xi. 15, "For a long time Antiochus with the help of the Jews besieged the garrison established by Scopas in the citadel of Jerusalem."

He then shows that in the first part of the letter the friendly acts of the Jews are arranged in *crescendo* order, which is in accord with good chancellery style, *cf.* Welles Nrs. 22, 71; furthermore the expression of royal gratitude for such services is a feature of official Hellenistic style. Antiochus shows his gratitude in two ways, by restoring the city and by repopulating it. As parallels to these acts, Bicker-

mann cites the passage in Appian (see above) and the collection of texts published by Holleaux in *BCH*, 1924, pp. 30 ff.

Dealing with the " dispositions " in the second part of the letter, Bickermann calls attention to the fact that σύνταξις in § 140 is used in the sense of " aid," " contribution " (*cf. OGIS* 1. 13), whereas in Ptolemaic Greek the word means " salary " ; thus he disposes of the theory of Büchler and Reinach that the document is a fabrication of Egyptian Jews. That Antiochus III should have given money for the temple instead of gifts in kind, as did Darius and Artaxerxes according to Ezra vi-vii (here Bickermann has made a slip ; Artaxerxes gave money, not gifts in kind, according to Ezra vii. 15 ff.) is in keeping with the Hellenistic practice of *adaeratio*.

On the problem of taxation Bickermann, who is a leading authority on the subject, admits that we have no direct evidence for the poll-tax in Seleucid times (see above), but points out that this tax is named among the sources of income of the satraps (read " kings " ?) in Pseudo-Aristotle's *Economics* 1346 a, a work which reflects conditions in Asia under the Diadochi. He also argues that there is nothing remarkable in the fact that Antiochus' letter is addressed to the governor of Coele-Syria and not directly to the Jews, since a number of instances are known of the former practice though it is less usual than the latter ; he refers to Welles Nr. 9 and to 1 Macc. xi. 32, 2 Macc. xi. 22.

Bickermann reconstructs the political situation as follows. In conformity with the principles of Greek public law Antiochus III everywhere regulated the status of reconquered cities. After taking Jerusalem

he did the same, and rewarded the Jews for the services they had rendered him in his war with Ptolemy Epiphanes. In the Greek *polis* re-establishment of the civic constitution meant autonomy, more or less. In the case of Jerusalem it meant royal recognition of the authority of the Jewish constitution which was nothing else than the law of Moses. From this followed such enactments as the interdiction of access to the temple for non-Jews. In making these grants to the Jews Antiochus was following the example of his Hellenistic predecessors, who in turn had followed the precedent set by the Persian kings. Thus the letter to Ptolemy formed the Seleucid " charter " of Jerusalem, and was probably renewed by Seleucus IV and Antiochus IV, but eventually revoked by the latter.

More speculative is Bickermann's treatment of the gifts made by Antiochus to the temple. He distinguishes between the daily sacrifices made on behalf of the Jewish people and paid for by them, and the burnt-offering sacrificed on behalf of the king and paid for by him. But, argues Bickermann, Antiochus' contribution amounted to about twice as much as was needed for the royal sacrifices according to Talmudic estimates ; hence we may suppose that the king not only paid the expense of the daily sacrifice made in his name but also some of the expense of the *Tamid* sacrifice made on behalf of the Jews. For Hellenistic parallels to such contributions he refers to Holleaux's collection of texts in *BCH*, 1924.

One more important detail is interestingly discussed by Bickermann, namely the absence of the high priest's name in the letter to Ptolemy. He points out that the Jewish state, being an aristocracy,

was represented by the *gerousia* in foreign relations. The high priest is not mentioned in the Persian decrees or in the Seleucid documents quoted in 1 and 2 Maccabees before the time of Jonathan, whereas the *gerousia* continues to be mentioned beside the high priests in documents from the later Hasmonaean period. With this interpretation of the status of the Jewish senate compare that of Zucker above; the two views are not necessarily in conflict, since both Zucker and Bickermann would presumably recognize that in the time of Antiochus III the high priest shared authority over the temple with the *gerousia*. Bickermann also remarks that in distinction from the Persian kings, who exempted all the clerics of the temple from taxation, Antiochus III limited tax-exemption to the priests and two classes of Levites—a limitation that he believes to be in accord with the policy of Hellenistic rulers toward the oriental clergy.

The reader has had placed before him the chief arguments for and against the genuineness of all or most of the first document ascribed to Antiochus III by Josephus. Although certainty is not likely to be attained in such a matter, I believe that the weight of evidence supports those scholars who accept Antiochus' letter to Ptolemy as an actual decree issued by the king soon after his conquest of Coele-Syria.

II. The Ritual Interdictions (*xii. 145-146*)

More of a puzzle in some ways than the letter to Ptolemy is the brief section purporting to be a proclamation (*πρόγραμμα*) which Antiochus III published "throughout the entire kingdom" and in which non-Jews are forbidden to enter the temple enclosure,

and all persons are forbidden to bring into Jerusalem the flesh or hides of horses, mules, asses, etc., under penalty of a fine.

The mere prohibition of entrance to the temple enclosure is not remarkable; such a prohibition, under penalty of death, existed in Roman times, as is proved not only by the statement of Josephus in *Ant.* xv. 417 but also by the discovery of copies of the original inscription erected in the temple precinct (see above on Eduard Meyer and *cf.* Schürer ii. 272 and Iliffe in *QSDAP* vi. 1936. 1-3). On the fines to be paid to Jewish communities for violation of their religious statutes see note *b* on p. 76 of this volume. But that the Jews at this time or any time should have objected to the bringing into Jerusalem of horses, asses, mules, etc., alive or dead is incredible. This fact makes it impossible to believe that the document is a Jewish fabrication, as some scholars have claimed; why should any Jew, however zealous for the prestige of his temple and sacred city, have invented such an unlikely detail? It has been pointed out that the Jews did not eat such animals; it should be added that they did not use them as sacrificial animals either, so that there would have been no point in forging a prohibition of their importation into Jerusalem, especially when a good many non-Jews must have known that such animals were permitted to serve as beasts of burden in the city.

Büchler's theory that the document reflects the Jewish-Samaritan controversies of the first century B.C. over the respective merits of the temple in Jerusalem and the temple on Mt. Gerizim is not very convincing. Against this complicated assumption that Josephus' Jewish source has recast an

original Samaritan polemic seeking to show that Antiochus Epiphanes, the desecrator of the temple in Jerusalem, had been very scrupulous in respecting the Levitical prescriptions of the Gerizim temple. it may be argued that such an exaggerated Samaritan claim is inherently improbable, and that even if such a claim had been made by a Samaritan writer, it is difficult to believe that a Jewish apologist would have been naive enough to make the imaginary restrictions apply to Jerusalem.

Tscherikower, who upholds the genuineness of the document, attempts to account for the curious restriction as well as for the statement about the publishing of the proclamation throughout the entire kingdom by assuming that the decree has been preserved in an imperfect and incomplete form. This is probably true, but does not quite satisfactorily explain the statement about the importation of the animals. I venture to suggest another explanation, on the assumption that the document is not a fabrication. My suggestion is that Antiochus gave orders to the official in charge of such matters to draw up a statement protecting the sanctity of the temple, as he had presumably been requested to do by some of the Jewish leaders in touch with the Seleucid court ; but this official, being ignorant of the exact nature of Jewish ritual, simply chose a formula that was in use for the protection of the cults of various Hellenistic and Syrian cities, and slightly altered it to make it apply to Jerusalem in spite of the fact that it did not wholly fit the requirements of the Jews. For an example of such a Hellenistic decree we may cite an inscription from Ialysus in Rhodes (Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 3rd ed. 338 = Michel, *Recueil* 436, referred to

by Willrich), which prohibits the bringing into the temple or temple precincts any horse, ass, mule, etc. It is also possible, assuming the imperfection and incompleteness of the present text, that the document originally prohibited the importation of all animals *on the Sabbath*, and that this enactment has, as a result of text corruption, been altered in Josephus' source to a prohibition of the importation of ritually unclean animals at any time.

III. The Letter to Zeuxis (xii. 148-153)

The same difference of opinion that exists among modern scholars about the genuineness of Antiochus III's letter to Ptolemy and his proclamation concerning the temple and Jerusalem is found in their views concerning the letter to Zeuxis, in which Antiochus commands that two thousand Jewish families be transported from Mesopotamia and Babylonia and settled in the rebellious provinces of Lydia and Phrygia to guard the interests of the Seleucid government, and at the same time directs that they be provided with houses and land and be exempted from taxes on produce for ten years.

Willrich objects that this document in wholly in the style of the Jewish apologist Pseudo-Hecataeus, the assumed source of the passage in Aristeas §§ 12-13 which states that Ptolemy I transported Jews from Palestine to Egypt and settled them in garrisons there. As we have pointed out in notes to this volume, recent investigations by Hans Lewy and others have shown that some of the fragments attributed to Pseudo-Hecataeus are probably from the works of the genuine Hecataeus, a non-Jewish his-

torian of the early third century B.C., and are in accord with historical fact. Moreover we know from Aramaic and Greek papyri that Jews were actually taken into military service in Persian and Ptolemaic Egypt. Willrich also suggests that the letter to Zeuxis has as its historical basis Herod's settling of Jewish colonists from Babylonia in Batanaea, *cf.* *Ant.* xvii. 23-25. In this case as in other arguments against the genuineness of Hellenistic decrees quoted by Josephus, Willrich seems to be eating his critical cake and having it too. If the letter to Zeuxis is an apologetic Jewish invention modelled on Pseudo-Hecataeus, who must have written before 100 B.C., it cannot also be based on an incident that took place late in Herod's reign. Incidentally the circumstances of the Herodian settlement of eastern Jews in Batanaea were rather different from those of the alleged settlement by Antiochus III; in the former case a military group of only six hundred men was involved. But even if the circumstances were more nearly alike, the fact that a quasi-Jewish king like Herod transported Jews from Babylonia (they were originally from Babylonia but later settled at Antioch) to Batanaea is no proof that Antiochus III did not transport Jews from Babylonia to Lydia and Phrygia.

Niese, who strongly suspects the genuineness of the letter to Zeuxis, suggests that it was circulated by the Jews of Asia Minor who wished to base their claim to civic equality with the Macedonians on their colonization there by Antiochus III. But the question remains, even supposing that the Jews of Asia Minor wished to make propaganda of this sort, how did they come to be in Lydia and Phrygia in considerable numbers if Antiochus III did not settle

them there? Niese is correct, to be sure, in pointing out that Josephus is mistaken in making it appear that the transportation and settlement took place after Antiochus III's conquest of Coele-Syria in 201–198 B.C.

Nor can we give much weight to the argument of Wellhausen and Willrich that if the letter were genuine it would specify the names of the colonists and the localities in Lydia and Phrygia where they were to be settled. We must remember, as Tscherikower remarks, that Antiochus was campaigning in the East (in 206/5 B.C.) and was presumably writing in haste.

It cannot be denied that there is room for suspicion of Jewish apologetic retouching of the original letter, as in § 150 where Antiochus refers to the Jews' "piety to God" (but see the note on this phrase), and to the testimony of his forefathers concerning the loyalty of the Jews; but even these complimentary allusions may be genuine, as part of the conventional documentary style (see Bickermann's treatment of this general subject).

It seems to me, then, that there is no convincing evidence against the genuineness of Antiochus III's letter to Zeuxis.

APPENDIX E [a]

SELECTED LITERATURE ON THE ONIADS AND TOBIADS AND PALESTINE UNDER PTOLEMAIC RULE (*Ant.* xii. 154-236)

Abel, F. M., " Les confins de la Palestine et de l'Égypte sous les Ptolémées," *RB* 48 (1939), 207-236, 531-548 ; 49 (1940), 55-75, 226-239.

Bevan, *H. Sel.* ii. 296.

,, *Ptol.*, pp. 71-73, 270-271.

Büchler, *Tobiaden*, pp. 8-143.

Cuq, Édouard, " La condition juridique de la Coelé-Syrie au temps de Ptolémée V Épiphane," *Syria* 8 (1927), 143-162.

Dubnow ii. 26-35.

Fruin, R., " Studien in de joodsche Geschiedenis na 333," *Nieuw Theologische Tijdschrift* 24 (1935), 101-110 ; 25 (1936), 43-66.

Gandz, Solomon, " The Hall of Reckonings in Jerusalem," *JQR* 31 (1941), 383-404.

Graetz ii. 2. 215-241.

Gressmann, Hugo, " Die ammonitischen Tobiaden,' *SBBAW* 1921, 663-672.

Holleaux, M., " Sur un passage de Flavius Josèphe (*Ant.* xii. 4)," *REJ* 39 (1899), 161-176.

Kahrstedt, pp. 42-46.

[a] See also Appendix G.

Klausner i. 203-213.
Meyer, *Ursprung* ii. 128-136, 462.
Momigliano, A., " I Tobiadi nella preistoria del moto maccabaico," *ARAST* 67 (1932), 165-200.
Motzo, *Saggi*, pp. 180-206.
Niese, *GGMS* iii. 224-227.
Otto, Walter, art. " Hyrkanos," *PW* 9 (1916), 527-534.
Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Syria, Div. II, Sec. A. Pt. I ; Div. III, Sec. A. Pt. I (H. C. Butler and E. Littmann), 1907.
Rostovtzeff, *HHW*, pp. 340-351, 1400-1403.
Tscherikower, pp. 162-183.
,, " Palestine under the Ptolemies," *Mizraim* 4/5 (1937), 9-90.
Wellhausen, pp. 228-237.
Willrich, *JG*, pp. 91-107.
,, *Urkundenfälschung*, pp. 76-77.
Zeitlin, Solomon, " The Tobias Family and the Hasmoneans," *PAAJR* 4 (1933), 169-233.
Zucker, pp. 12-32.

APPENDIX F

Selected Literature on Spartans and Jews (*Ant.* xii. 226-227, xiii. 164-170)

Bévenot, pp. 140-142.

Bickermann, E., art. " Makkabäerbücher " in *PW* 14 (1930), esp. p. 786.

Büchler, *Tobiaden*, pp. 128-143.

Dubnow ii. 86.

Freudenthal, pp. 29-30.

Fruin, R., " De Spartaansche Koning nit I Macc. XII," *Nieuw Theologische Tijdschrift* 21 (1932), 350 ff.

Ginsburg, Michael, " Sparta and Judaea," *CP* 29 (1934), 117-122.

Grimm, pp. 187-191.

Meyer, *Ursprung* ii. 30-31.

Momigliano, *Prime Linee*, pp. 141-170.

Schlatter, pp. 15, 389-390.

Schubart, W., " Bemerkungen zum Stile hellenistischer Königsbriefe," *APF* 6 (1920), 324-347.

Schürer i. 237.

Willrich, *Urkundenfälschung*, pp. 23-27.

APPENDIX G[a]

Selected Literature on the Background of the Maccabaean Revolt

Bevan, *H. Sel.* ii. 162-174.

Bickermann, Elias, *Der Gott der Makkabäer.* 1937.

Büchler, *Tobiaden*, pp. 8-143.

Dubnow ii. 39-58.

Graetz ii. 2. 268-295, 399-406.

Heinemann, Isaak, " Wer veranlasste den Glaubenszwang der Makkabäerzeit ? ", *MGWJ* 82 (1938), 146-172.

Kahrstedt, pp. 132-145.

Klausner i. 218-219, 276-287.

Kolbe, pp. 150-154.

Meyer, *Ursprung* ii. 121-166.

Momigliano, A., " I Tobiadi nella preistoria del moto maccabaico," *ARAST* 67 (1932), 165-200.

Momigliano, A., *Prime linee di storia della tradizione maccabaica.* 1931.

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Abel = Père F.-M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, vol. i, 1933; vol. ii, 1938.

Abrahams, *Campaigns* = Israel Abrahams, *Campaigns in Palestine from Alexander the Great* (Schweich Lectures). 1927.

AJA = *American Journal of Archaeology.*

AJP = *American Journal of Philology.*

Andrews = H. T. Andrews, Trans. and Comm. The Letter of Aristeas in R. H. Charles. *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, ii. 83-122.

Ant. = *Jewish Antiquities* of Josephus.

APF = *Archiv für Papyrusforschung.*

Aptowitzer = V. Aptowitzer, *Parteipolitik der Hasmonäerzeit, etc.* 1927.

ARAST = *Atti della reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino.*

ARSP = *Annali della R. Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Lettere, Storia e Filosofia.*

Ath. Mitt. = *Athenische Mittheilungen.*

A.V. = Authorized Version of the Bible.

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CAH = *Cambridge Ancient History.*
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HTR = *Harvard Theological Review*.

HUCA = *Hebrew Union College Annual*.

HZ = *Historische Zeitschrift*.

Jacoby, *FGH* = Felix Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*.

JHS = *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.

JÖAI = *Jahreshefte des oesterreichischen archäologischen Instituts*.

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